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INVERNESS

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The County Histories of Scotland

COUNTY OF INVERNESS

A HISTORY

OF THE

COUNTY OF INVERNESS

(MAINLAND)

BY

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AUTHOR OF

'THE ABBEY OF PAISLEY,' 'ST GILES', EDINBURGH,' ETC.

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TO

MRS ELLICE OF INVERGARRY,

WHO, WITH HER LATE HUSBAND,

EDWARD ELLICE, ESQ., M.P.,

HAS EVER MANIFESTED A DEEP INTEREST IN ALL
THAT PERTAINS TO THE PROSPERITY
OF INVERNESS-SHIRE.

PREFACE.

THE object of the writer has been to view the history of Inverness-shire from the standpoint of the general history of Scotland, to bring into prominence the various particulars in which the former has been affected by the latter, and so to trace the story of the county from the earliest time to the present day.

In following out this design, no great stress has been laid upon isolated incidents which have only a local interest. The story of the various districts of the county has been told, and well told, by different writers, to whom reference is made in these pages. Few counties of Scotland have had more done for them than has been done for Inverness in the gathering together of the traditions and historic associations of particular localities. The history of the clans belonging to the county, their genealogies and feuds, have also been fully narrated, especially in the popular and well-known books of Mr Alexander Mackenzie. These are only referred to in what follows when deemed necessary to illustrate the general trend of things, and the evolution of present social conditions from a somewhat misty and chaotic past.

Considerable attention has been given to biographical details, and to the productions of the Inverness-shire bards. These, it is hoped, may not only be interesting in themselves, but may also bring into prominence the men by whom in great measure the destinies of the county have been shaped and the character of its people formed.

The history of the islands belonging to Inverness-shire falls to be dealt with in another volume of the series of County Histories of which this book forms part. These islands are but slightly connected historically with the mainland. From the days when they formed part of the Norwegian kingdom, and afterwards of the Lordship of the Isles, they have associations and interests which are peculiarly their own, and which deserve special treatment.

Generous assistance has been given to the writer by many Inverness-shire men who have taken a kindly interest in his work. He wishes specially to mention the Rev. Dr Forsyth, Abernethy; Mr Kenneth M'Donald, the Town Clerk of Inverness; Mr Alexander Macpherson, Kingussie; Mr George Malcolm, Invergarry; and Mr William Mackay, author of the 'History of Glenmoriston and Glenurquhart,' Inverness. To the last in various ways he has been much indebted, especially in the compilation of the appended Bibliographical list. His best thanks are also due to J. R. Finlay, Esq. of Aberlour, for kindly revising the proofs of his work.

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INVERNESS.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY ANNALS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE — THE FOUR KINGDOMS — INVERNESS-SHIRE WITHIN THAT OF THE PICTS—THE CRUITHNE OF THE NORTH—ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF MORAY—ITS DISTURBED CAREER —THE BATTLE-GROUND BETWEEN THE NORSEMEN AND THE SCOTS—FINALLY INCORPORATED WITH SCOTLAND UNDER MALCOLM CAENMORE —THE RELIGION OF THE NORTHERN PICTS — ITS CHARACTER AND WORSHIP — RELICS OF THE OLD HEATHENISM STILL EXISTING — THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY TO INVERNESS-SHIRE—ST COLUMBA AT THE PICTISH COURT OF KING BRUDE—THE WORK OF THE SAINT IN INVERNESS-SHIRE—HIS PREACHING AND MIRACLES—THE CHURCHES OF THE BRETHREN OF IONA THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY — SURVIVING MEMORIALS OF PRIMITIVE INVERNESS-SHIRE.

WHEN the light of history first breaks upon Inverness-shire we find the country now called Scotland divided into four kingdoms. To the south of the line of the Forth and Clyde lay the kingdom of the Britons of Strathclyde, and that of the Saxons of Northumbria; to the north of that line, those of the Scots and the Picts, separated from each other by the mountain-chain called by the old writers Dorsum Britanniæ, or Drumalban, the range of hills which now divides the counties of Argyle and Perth. What is now Inverness-shire lay wholly within the kingdom of the Picts. These were the ancient Caledonians, the fierce people of whom we have

descriptions from the Roman historians,—men of red hair and long limbs, who had no walled cities, and nothing deserving the name of a town; who lived by pasturage and the chase; who painted their bodies with pictures of wild animals; and who could stand for days immersed in the waters of their marshes. Their language was that now known as the Gaelic; and their capital, or the seat of their king, at the commencement of the Christian era, was at the mouth of the river Ness, possibly on the site now occupied by the capital of the Highlands.

The Picts were divided into two sections—the northern and the southern Picts. The former, called by the Irish annalists the Cruithne Tuath or Cruithne of the North, lay to the north, and the latter to the south, of the range of mountains called the Month, which now bears the name of the Grampians. In the northern portion, at least, the Romans effected no settlement. The geographer Ptolemy, in the second century, speaks of the Varar Æstuarium or Beauly Firth in describing the coast, and preserves for us the ancient name of the people, Caledonii, who inhabited the districts of Badenoch, Stratherrick, Glengarry, Glenmoriston, Glenurquhart, the Aird, Strathnairn, Strathdearn, and Athole. These Caledonians were undoubtedly Celts, ancestors of the same people who now inhabit the Scottish Highlands.

The connection between the northern and the southern Picts was at no time, probably, of a very intimate character. The men of the Highlands and those of the Lowlands, though nominally under the same sovereign, had in many respects but little in common. They were separated geographically by a wild mountain-chain. Their customs were different, and so for a time was their religion; and when in 843 Kenneth Macalpine, a Scot, obtained the kingship over the southern Picts, those north of the Grampians took up a separate position.

They formed themselves into a confederacy of their own, and asserted their independence. The new province that emerged from the severance of the north from the south was called the province of Moray, and comprehended most, if not all, of what is now Inverness-shire. It was far more extensive than that which afterwards bore the same name, and stretched from the river Spey on the one side, and from Loch Lochy on the other, to Caithness. This territory was governed by a sovereign, sometimes called a Maormor, a title peculiar to the Gaelic people, and sometimes Ri Moreb or King of Moray.

This kingdom had a troubled existence. It was placed between two fires. To the north were the Norsemen, who, obtaining foothold in Orkney, had extended themselves over what are now the counties of Caithness and Sutherland. To the south was the growing kingdom of Scotland, ever ambitious of extending its territory. Between the descendants of the vikings and the inhabitants of the southern kingdom the men of Moray had but little peace. The Ri Moreb had from time to time to enter into an alliance with the one power to protect himself against the other. More than once the Norwegians entirely conquered Moray. A mighty Norse warrior, Thorstein the Red, ruled over the province for a year. In the closing years of the ninth century, Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, followed in his train and overran the country, though his sovereignty did not last very long. The Scottish monarchy also made inroads from the south upon Moray, and King Malcolm, son of Donald, King of Alban, endeavoured to annex, but with small success, the northern province. He slew Cellach, its maormor, but the province retained its independence.

The men of Moray were of a stubborn and indomitable character, and they fought both their northern and their southern foes with desperation. They were a fighting race,

and when not attacked by their neighbours they made forays upon them. In 1020 Finlaec or Findlay, maormor of Moray, entered Caithness with a large army and challenged the Norse earl, Sigurd, to meet him in battle. The Norwegian, aided by the men of Orkney, accepted the challenge, and the maormor was defeated. Sigurd, pursuing his victorious way southward, overran the provinces north of the Spey, and Moray became again, and remained, it is supposed, for two years, a Norwegian province. On the death of Sigurd it again resumed its independence. In the end the brave little province fell into the hands, not of its northern, but of its southern, neighbour.

How this was brought about, and how Moray became incorporated with Scotland, may here be briefly told. It is not necessary to give details which do not immediately concern our narrative. In 1003 the King of Scotland, King Malcolm, died, leaving two grandsons, Duncan, and Thorfin Earl of Caithness. Between the two the contest for the throne was long and fiercely waged. The maormor of Moray at the time was Macbeth, a name made famous by the great dramatist; and from the position of his territory, lying between the combatants, his alliance was naturally regarded as of the utmost importance by both claimants. At first he sided with King Duncan, and his territory suffered in consequence. Thorfin and his Norsemen were victorious, and Moray was desolated with fire and sword. King Duncan then collected an army and hurried north, and a battle ensued at Burghead, in which the Norsemen were again the victors. They drove the fugitive Scots before them, and conquered the country all the way to Fife. At this stage King Duncan was deserted by the maormor of Moray, who attached himself to Thorfin. He felt that his interests lay rather with his victorious northern neighbour than with the Scots.

The traditional story of his murdering King Duncan is well

known, and, as Sir Walter Scott says, has been adopted by Hollinshed, dignified by the classical Latinity of Buchanan, and dramatised by Shakespeare. It is with a sigh of regret that the historian has to regard the picturesque tale as utterly mythical; to remember that no such persons as Banquo and Fleance ever existed, and that the famous scene in the castle of Inverness never took place. All we do know is, that King Duncan was slain in some conflict with Macbeth at a place called Bothgowan near Elgin. The name Bothgowan means a smith's house, where perhaps Duncan sought shelter when the battle went against him, and where he met his fate by the sword of his former ally.

Thorfin, the Norwegian, and Macbeth divided between them the conquered territory. Thorfin ruled the North, including the province of Moray, which thus again became Norwegian. Macbeth became king of the southern district beyond the Grampians, which had Scone as its capital, where he ruled as King of Scotland for seventeen years. At the end of that period he was dethroned. Malcolm Caenmore, son of the murdered Duncan, advanced against him from the south, drove him across the Month, and slew him at Lumphanan in Mar. In the year in which Macbeth met his fate, his ally Thorfin died, and Moray became again a kingdom. Malcolm was, however, very desirous to reduce it to his authority, and invaded it in 1078. He conquered the hereditary ruler Maelsnectan, who escaped with his life, and who died seven years after in a fortress of Lochaber in which he had taken refuge. Moray thus became a part of Scotland, though the power of the kings over the wild northern territory was for many years more nominal than real, maormors holding sway there oftener than once.

It is pleasant to turn from this troublous story of incessant warfare, which preceded the absorption of Inverness-shire

into Scotland — a story which historians have disentangled from the accounts of Irish annalists, Saxon chronicles, and Norwegian sagas — to tell of the coming of Christianity to our county, and of its peaceful triumphs.

The religion of the northern Picts at the advent of Christianity was entirely pagan, and was apparently the same in kind as that followed by their neighbours the Scots. Holding a high place among both Scots and Picts was a class of men called Druids. They are frequently mentioned in the lives of Columba and Patrick, and in the ancient Celtic manuscripts which have come down to us from Irish sources. They dwelt at the residence of the kings, and exercised great powers in national affairs; but beyond that we know little about them. There are no grounds for asserting that they formed a sacerdotal order. They appear to have been magicians, soothsayers, and enchanters—workers of spells and charms—their influence with the people being founded on the belief that by their necromancy they could aid those who sought their assistance, or injure those opposed to them. A favourite method of divination among them was by sneezing, or by the song of a bird perched upon a tree. In an old poem attributed to St Columba, these and similar practices are referred to and abjured. The poet thus sings:—

"Our fate depends not on sneezing,
Nor on a bird perched on a twig,
Nor on the root of a knotted tree,
Nor on the noise of clapping hands:
Better is He in whom we trust,
The Father, the One, and the Son."

And in another verse of the same poem he says—

"I adore not the noise of birds,
Nor sneezing, nor lots in this world,
Nor a son, nor chance, nor woman;
My Druid is Christ, the Son of God."

In another poem, in the form of a prayer, he alludes to the magical gift of his adversaries. He recognises their power over the elements of nature, and exclaims—

"My Druid—may He be on my side!—
Is the Son of God and truth with purity."

What is called Druidism, so far as known to the Celts, was a system of necromancy, like that which has ever been inseparably connected with heathenism,—a belief in men who can awaken storms, and bring down rain, and bewitch fields. If the Druids were in any sense the ministers of a religion, it was of a debased and grovelling kind, a species of fetichism, an adoration of natural objects and of the powers of the external world, the rocks, the winds, the thunder. Among the pagan Scots, and probably among their neighbours, pillar-stones were objects of worship, and were either overthrown or were consecrated with the sign of the cross by the Christian teachers. The Picts seem also to have believed in what were called the Sidhe—spirits who were supposed to haunt nature and to dwell underground.

St Columba seems to have had full belief in the existence of these demons, which were supposed to have their dwelling-places in fountains and green hillocks. He delighted in exorcising them. "While the blessed man was stopping," says his biographer, "in the province of the Picts, he heard that there was a fountain famous among the heathen people, which foolish men, having their reason blinded by the devil, worshipped as a god. For those who drank of the fountain, or who purposely washed their hands or feet in it, were allowed by God to be struck by demoniacal art, and went home either leprous or purblind, or at least suffering from weakness, or some kind of infirmity.

"By all these things the pagans were seduced, and they paid divine honours to this fountain. Having ascertained this, the

saint one day went up to the fountain fearlessly; and on seeing this, the Druids, whom he had often sent away vanquished and confounded, were greatly rejoiced, thinking that, like others, he would suffer from the touch of that baneful water. The saint then blessed the fountain, and from that day the demons departed from the water; and not only was it not allowed to injure any one, but even many diseases among the people were cured by this same fountain after it had been blessed and washed in by the saint."

From such notices as these in the lives of the saint we may form some idea of what was the early religion of Inverness-shire. Many traces of this paganism survive at the present day. In the belief in charms, in fairies, in witchcraft, in the power of the evil eye, which still lingers in many of our Highland glens, we have relics of the old Celtic heathenism still existing in the midst of our present civilisation. Such superstitions were treated very gently by the early Christian teachers, and perhaps on that account have survived. Fountains were blessed and became holy wells. Demonology was recognised, and exorcism practised. The advice given by one of the Popes to British missionaries was, that they should disturb pagan practices as little as was necessary. You cannot, he argues, cut off everything at once from rude natures. He who would climb an ascent must climb step by step, and not by leaps and bounds. On this principle the early teachers of Christianity in the Highlands seem to have acted, and hence the existence in our own time of traces of that paganism against which they contended.

The greatest of the Christian teachers who came to our northern county was St Columba, the greatest also among Celtic saints. It is quite possible that he was not the first pioneer of Christianity in Inverness-shire. The mountains that divided Moray from Christian peoples were not impass-

able by Christian teachers, and one of these, Merchard, from beyond the Month, is known to have settled in Glenurquhart. He may have been one among others like him. But in that early time St Columba is the outstanding figure in a light almost modern in its clearness. In the year 565 he made a pilgrimage, accompanied by two companions, Congal of Bangor and Kanneach of Achaboe, to the Court of the King of the Picts. His biographer Adamnan tells in graphic language of his interview with King Brude at his palace. The precise spot where this was situated we do not know. All that we can learn from the narrative is, that it was situated in the neighbourhood of the river Ness. Some have placed its site on Craigphatrick, others at Torbean, others at the place where the river Ness issues from the loch bearing its name, others where the castle of Inverness once stood. The last may perhaps be the most likely supposition; but the subject is only one for conjecture, regarding which we have no specific evidence.

When the saint arrived at the palace of the king he was refused admittance. "The king, elated by the pride of royalty, acted haughtily, and would not open his gates to the blessed man. When the man of God observed this, he approached the folding-doors with his companions, and having first formed upon them the sign of the cross of our Lord, he then knocked at and laid his hand upon the gate, which instantly flew open of its own accord, the bolts having been drawn back with great force. The saint and his companions then passed through the gate thus speedily opened, and when the king heard what had occurred, he and his councillors were filled with alarm; and immediately setting out from the palace, he advanced with due respect to meet the blessed man, whom he addressed in the most conciliatory and respectful language, and ever after from that day, as long as he lived,

the king held this holy and revered man in very great honour, as was due." The result of the saint's meeting and intercourse with Brude was that the king was baptised, and probably owing to his power over his subjects the work of Columba in preaching the Gospel among them was greatly facilitated.

In Adamnan's life of Columba we have many notices of the saint's work beyond the dorsal range of Britain, and many of his miracles are recounted as taking place in Inverness-shire. These accounts are too numerous to give at length. They are all of the same marvellous character. Sometimes in his travels he traversed the great glen of Scotland which leads to Loch Ness, probably striking the glen through the pass which terminates at Laggan, between Loch Oich and Loch Lochy; sometimes he followed the track which leads from Lochaber into Badenoch and the valley of the Spey; but wherever he went marvels attended his footsteps. When chanting the evening hymns near the fortress of King Brude, he and his companions were molested by some Druids. The saint then sang the 44th Psalm, his voice like pealing thunder striking king and people with terror and amazement. When some of his companions had taken five fish in the river Sale (Sheil in Moidart), they were commanded by the saint to try again, and were promised a large fish. They obeyed the saint's command, and hauled out with their net a salmon of astonishing size.

In Lochaber the saint blessed the heifers of a poor man who had entertained him hospitably, and from that day the five heifers increased to 150 cows. In the same country he blessed a stake which killed wild beasts, but which could not harm men or cattle; and the happy peasant who possessed it was plentifully supplied with animals which were impaled thereon, until at the evil instigation of his wife he cut the stick

in pieces and burned it in the fire. When travelling by the bank of the river Ness he saw people burying a man who while swimming had been seized by some monster. He directed one of his companions to swim across the river and bring over a coble from the other side. The monster darted after him with a terrific roar; but, at the command of the saint, he stayed his pursuit, and retired to the depths where he dwelt. Broichan, the Druid of King Brude, held in captivity a Scotic slave, and refused to set her free. The saint prophesied the Druid's death; but when appealed to in his illness, and being assured he had freed the slave, he restored him to health by causing him to drink water on which there floated a white pebble, which Columba had picked up in the channel of the river Ness. On Loch Ness, "the long lake of the river Nessa," he sailed in his boat rapidly against the adverse wind which the Druid Broichan had raised. While walking by Loch Ness, he was suddenly inspired by the Holy Ghost to go and baptise a heathen for whose soul angels were waiting. He came to Glenurquhart, and there found an aged man named Emchat, who, on hearing the Word of God preached by the saint, believed and was baptised, and, accompanied by angels, passed to the Lord. The saint and his brethren seem to have penetrated every corner of Inverness-shire.

What was the monastery which formed the base of their missionary operations, and to which they could retire for rest and refreshment, we do not know. Probably for the northern part of the county it was the Columban Monastery of Birnie in Moray, and for the West the parent house of Iona; or some cell among the Scots might suffice. The churches of the brethren of Iona are to be found everywhere throughout the county. We have churches of Columba at Petty, Kingussie, and Glenmoriston; of Tolargain at Kintarlity, in the Aird; of

Drostan in Glenurquhart; of Baithen and Curadon in Strathglass; of Adamnan in Urquhart, and at Inch-on-Spey; of Cainneach on Loch Laggan; of Donnan in Glengarry; and of Finnan at the head of Loch Lochy, and in the island on Loch Sheil which bears his name. Only twenty years ago the bell of St Merchad was taken away from Glenurquhart. That of Adamnan still remains at Inch, a purely Celtic bell, which is said to have the peculiarity possessed by bells of the same type, of finding its way back to the place where it was originally deposited. A similar bell, that of St Finnan, may still be seen on his island on Loch Shiel in Moidart.

What form of Church order was followed by these early missionaries of the Cross, or what were their special theological doctrines, we are not called on here to inquire. We leave such matters to be fought over by rival ecclesiastics. We content ourselves with the certainty that they were good Christian men; and the evidence of Adamnan is sufficient, if we had no more, that the foundation of Columba's preaching, and his great instrument in the conversion of the heathen, was the Word of God.

Of the early times in the history of Inverness-shire of which this chapter tells, and of times that are probably prehistoric, we have some material memorials remaining. Stone axes and other instruments of the same kind have been discovered in considerable numbers. Swords have been dug up in peat-mosses. Brooches and other ornaments have been found, beautiful specimens of art, like the brooch found at Croy, the gold armlet at Cromdale, and the massive silver chain at Craigphatrick — the last worthy to have adorned the King of the Picts himself. What are called "Druidical circles," though we believe they have no right to the name, abound throughout Inverness-shire. They cluster thickly in the valley of the Ness and in the neighbourhood of the Highland capital.

Few parishes in the county are without a specimen of these astonishing feats of ancient engineering.

Whether these circles are to be regarded as places of burial, as temples of worship, as the meeting-places of clans, or as memorials of departed heroes, are questions rather for the antiquary than for the historian. Archæologists are divided in opinion on the point, and we are not called upon to interfere in the controversy. There are artificial islands—lake-dwellings, as we may call them—in most of the Inverness-shire lakes, of the type of which those in Loch Lundy in Glengarry, on Loch Beauly, and on the Loch of the Clans are specimens. There are distributed throughout the county many of the curious massive circular towers called "brochs," of which those in Glenelg on the western coast are outstanding specimens—fortresses into which the inhabitants could retire for security, and which are justly regarded by competent authorities as part of that wonderful Celtic civilisation which reached so high a point of development in the centuries before the eleventh. There are also what are called vitrified forts, like that of Craigphatrick, of Dundardghill in Glen Nevis, at Achterawe in Glengarry, and those at Arisaig in the West, showing the scorified appearance which is the result of the action of fire upon masses of loose stone. Of the real character of such forts little is known. These and other works of a similar nature are memorials of the far-distant past, of a brave and warlike race far from destitute of civilising elements, and of the centuries before Inverness-shire became an integral part of the kingdom of Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

INVERNESS-SHIRE FEUDALISED UNDER KING DAVID, HIS GRANDSON MALCOLM, WILLIAM THE LION, AND ALEXANDER II.—THE COMING TO THE NORTH OF NORMAN AND SAXON COLONISTS — THEIR CHARACTER AND THE NATURE OF THE FEUDAL POLITY — INVERNESS-SHIRE PORTIONED OUT AMONG THE STRANGERS — THREE GREAT FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS PLANTED IN THE COUNTY — THE CASTLE, THE BURGH, AND THE CHURCH—CASTLE-BUILDING IN EACH DISTRICT OF INVERNESS-SHIRE—SUPREMACY OF THE BARON—THE POSITION OF THE NATIVES—THE BURGH OF INVERNESS FOUNDED — ITS PRIVILEGES GUARANTEED BY ROYAL CHARTER—ITS EARLY PROGRESS—CHANGE IN CHURCH POLITY —THE BISHOPRIC OF MORAY FOUNDED—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONVENTUAL SYSTEM—THE PRIORY OF BEAULY—THE DIVISION OF THE COUNTY INTO PARISHES—THE DESPOTIC POWER OF THE FEUDAL LORDS —EXTENT OF INVERNESS-SHIRE IN THOSE EARLY DAYS.

We have to tell in this chapter of the working of new social forces, which, like the blows of hammer upon hot iron, welded Inverness-shire into compact and indissoluble union with Southern Scotland. Armies from north and south had conquered Moray, but again and again the wild Celts had repelled their invaders. They were now to be brought into final subjection by the introduction among them of feudal institutions.

Between the death of Malcolm Caenmore and the time of David I. the state of the North was one of constant insurrection. The former sovereign is generally supposed to have built a castle at Inverness upon the present site, but from its walls there apparently emanated but little authority. The

risings of the men of Moray—"Homines inquieto semper ingenio," as Buchanan terms them—were more numerous than we care to chronicle. With King David, a new policy was inaugurated—a policy which was carried out by his grandson Malcolm, by William the Lion, and by Alexander II. During the reigns of these kings the state of our northern county was entirely altered.

During the twelfth century there took place in Scotland what can only be regarded as a revolution, although unaccompanied by the turmoil and bloodshed which have generally been the concomitants of great social changes. A new people began to pour across the Scottish Border from the south, displacing, or predominating over, the old inhabitants, encouraged by the king, and welcomed to the new home they had sought for themselves. There was a stream of English colonisation towards the Lowlands of Scotland. It was an extraordinary emigration, not like that of our Aryan ancestors, who moved in tribes, and not like that caused by the pressure of an overcrowded population. The new-comers belonged to the ranks of the aristocracy. They were of noble birth and knightly accomplishments—men of the sword, used to the court, the camp, and the usages of chivalry. Some of them were Anglian, of families settled long in Northumbria; most were of the Norman race, which had come over with William the Conqueror.

These emigrants were cordially received by the king. It was doubtless thought that their culture and their skill in arms would prove useful in developing and defending the country, and it was reasonably expected that they would prove loyal to the sovereign to whose generosity they owed their fortunes. His generosity to them was great. They received lands from him, which they held in feudal tenure; and they settled on the estates thus acquired. The natives gave way before them,

or remained under their protection. Knightly Norman and Saxon lord built their castles, and gave lands to their followers under a similar title to that by which they held their own; and the feudal system became stamped upon the whole country. That system was a very simple one. The king was regarded as the owner of the whole land of the kingdom. He retained large estates in his own hands, from which he derived his personal followers and his royal revenues. The rest he gave to his nobles, on condition that they should maintain for the defence of the kingdom a certain number of armed men. These tenants of the Crown followed the example of the sovereign. Each retained a portion of the land in his own hand, and bestowed the rest in estates of smaller or larger size on condition that each noble or knight who held of him should supply a portion of the armed force he was required to furnish for the royal standard. Each knight, again, let his land to men of inferior degree on condition that they provided themselves with requisite arms, and assembled under his banner for military service.

These great changes in the South were viewed with apprehension by the men of the North, who feared their application to themselves. King David had only reigned six years when they raised an insurrection against him, led by Malcolm, a natural son of his predecessor. Following Malcolm were the men of Moray, with their maormor Angus, now termed the Earl of Moray, at their head. With 5000 men they entered Scotia. The commander of the royal army met them in battle and was victorious. He pursued them into Moray, and reduced again that ancient kingdom into subjection. The Irish annalists chronicle the fight: "Battle between the men of Alban and the men of Moray, in which fell 4000 of the men of Moray with their King Oangus, son of the daughter of Lulag." The changes that

followed this battle were rapid, and all in the same direction.

David proceeded to deal with the maormor's territory as forfeited to the Crown. He portioned it out to men who were strangers to the country, and who held their estates as vassals, according to Norman usage. Their fortresses rose throughout the conquered kingdom of Moray. Unlike the strongholds that preceded them — the raths, buildings of wood or wattles on the top of a mound protected by earthen works—these fortresses were of stone. They were not for defence but for aggression; each was a centre of royal authority, each a menace to the rebels of the district: the Comyn, a great Norman lord, held Badenoch and Lochaber with his castles at Ruthven and Inverlochy. Bisset, another Norman with lesser barons under him, dominated the Aird and Strathglass from his castle at Beaufort. Durward, a third, ruled Glenurquhart and its neighbourhood from the royal castle on Loch Ness; whilst at Inverness itself there was a royal castle, held by a sheriff in the king's name, and visited often by the king in person.

The ancient inhabitants were thoroughly brought into subjection. If we may believe Fordun, Malcolm IV. "removed the whole nation of the Moravianses from the land of their birth, as of old Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon had done with the Jews, and scattered them through the other kingdoms of Scotland, both beyond the mountains and on this side thereof, so that not even one native of that land abode there, and installed therein his own peaceful people." How far this eviction of the old inhabitants was carried out, we have no means of knowing. It was probably but partial in extent, and confined to the border of the Moray Firth; but those inhabitants who remained were thoroughly under the dominion of their overlords. The *nativi*, as they were called,

were entirely their property: they were serfs, the goods and chattels of their master. The castle rising in each separate district of Inverness-shire proclaimed the supremacy of the baron and the king.

But the castle and all it represented was not the only instrument by which our northern county was brought into harmony with the rest of Scotland. There were two other important feudal institutions planted among its people, which exercised upon them a great and beneficent influence. These were the Burgh and the Church.

It was part of the policy of King David I. and King William the Lion to create trading communities in different parts of the kingdom—chartered corporations endowed with special privileges, and living under the protection and superintendence of the king. These royal burghs, as they were called, with the lands belonging to them, were his exclusive property, and generally they rose under the shadow of a royal castle. The inhabitants were vassals of the Crown.

The hamlet of Inverness with its noble and safe harbour was in every way suited to be a commercial centre. It was accordingly erected by the Crown into a burgh, and under the protection of the king a number of Anglo-Saxons, Flemings, and southern Scots settled there: the names of the early citizens testify to their foreign origin.

Inverness was probably made a royal burgh by David I.; but its privileges were clearly defined and confirmed by King William the Lion, who granted four charters in its favour. By the first of these, the privileges of the town were extended to all the king's burgesses of Moray, and it was declared that burgesses were not liable to prosecution for any debt that was not personally their own. The second charter, dated 1180, granted land for the support of the burgh. It exempted all burgesses of Inverness from all tolls and customs throughout

the kingdom, and prohibited any one not a burgess from buying or selling within the burgh or in the shire. The king promised to make a fosse round the town, which the burgesses were to enclose with a good paling. The third charter confirmed to Geoffray Blund, burgess of Inverness, and his heirs, and to all the burgesses of Inverness and their heirs, exemption from the wager of battle,—"Perpetual liberty that they shall never have combat among them, nor shall any burgess or any other man of our whole kingdom have combat with our said burgesses of Moray, or with their heirs save on oath: moreover, I have granted to my said burgesses of Moray and their heirs that they make half the oath and half the forfeiture which my other burgesses make in my whole kingdom, and they shall be free of toll throughout my whole kingdom for ever." The fourth charter appointed the Sabbath-day (Saturday) as the day for a weekly market, and granted the king's peace to all who should come to it. It granted to the burgesses all privileges enjoyed by those of other burghs of Scotland. It prohibited all without the burgh from manufacturing cloths, dyed or cut, charging the Sheriff of Inverness, should any such cloth be found, to seize it. It forbade buying or selling merchandise or keeping taverns in any place in the shire except the burgh, "unless in a town where a knight or laird of the town may be staying"; and it conferred on the bailies authority to enforce the observance of all its stipulations.

With the privileges granted in these charters the burgh of Inverness entered on its career as a commercial centre and an outpost of civilisation. The establishment of a free town, with privilege of trade and right of government by its own laws, marked a new era in the history of the Highlands. The burgh was the home of freedom. While the dwellers without the walls of Inverness were but serfs—hewers of wood and

drawers of water to those above them—those within the burgh were free men; and by the laws of the burgh, as of all burghs in the kingdom, it was enacted that "if any man's thyrll barouns or knikhts cumys to burgh and byes a borowage, and dwels in the borowage a twelfmoneth and a dey, frorutyn challenge of his lorde or his bailye, he shall be ever mare fre as a burges within that kingis burgh, and joyse the freedom of that burgh."

The position of the newly founded town must have been long a very difficult and trying one to maintain, and it had many times to suffer from the assaults of the wild tribes among which it was placed. But its progress, if often interrupted, was steady. The burgh rose slowly but surely to a position of importance. In 1249, Matthew Paris, describing the armament which accompanied Louis IX. on his crusading expedition to the Holy Land, speaks of the great ship of the Earl of St Poll and Blois—a "wonderful vessel" he calls it—which had been built for the earl at Inverness. Even at that early period the Celtic village on the banks of the Ness had outgrown its primitive character, and had, under its new privileges, become the home of such labour and skill that there were found in it workmen able to fit out a great ship, whose beauty excited wonder and admiration amid the vessels manned by the chivalry of France.

But neither the influence of the Castle nor that of the Burgh affected Inverness-shire so powerfully as that of the Church.

The Church planted by St Columba and his followers had apparently been brought, as regarded its doctrines and ceremonies, into conformity with the Church of Rome; but its general framework and polity were peculiar to itself. It was a collegiate system. Its clergy lived together in communities, and in some central position, whence they went

forth as missionaries to preach among the surrounding tribes. With the coming of the Normans and the feudalising of the North, this Church polity was changed. A parochial clergy superseded the missionary system that had formerly supplied the spiritual wants of the people. The monastic orders of the Church of Rome were introduced among them, and a bishop ruled over the territory which had formerly been subject to the jurisdiction of the Columban monastery.

The bishopric of Moray was founded by King Alexander I. in 1107, but at that time the northern part of the kingdom was so disturbed that the bishop was unable to fix his residence there. It was not till the time of Bricius, the sixth bishop, in 1203, that the bishop became resident. His cathedral was at Spynie, and at his death it was transferred to Elgin. A great part of what is now Inverness-shire was within the diocese of Moray, and was included in the deaneries of Inverness and Strathspey. The rest of our county lay within the diocese of Argyle, the bishopric of which was founded in 1200; and the parishes in Inverness-shire were partly within the deanery of Lorn and partly within that of Morven. The whole of Inverness-shire was thus placed under the parochial system. It was one that touched very closely the life of the people. Each separate district had its resident priest, who discharged the offices of religion to those living within its bounds, and who was responsible for their superintendence. He was maintained by the tithes of the baron's land, of his corn, his pastures, and his fishing. Some of these parishes were erected and endowed by the Crown; others by the strangers who had settled in the country. Thus Kingussie was erected by a certain Gilbert de Kathern; Kiltarlity and Kirkhill by Bisset, Lord of Beaufort; and there were other territorial magnates who were equally munificent.

The conventual system of the Church of Rome was but

slightly represented within the bounds of Inverness-shire, compared with other parts of Scotland. The monasteries of Pluscarden and Kinloss, not far from its southern border, and Beauly on its northern confines, were probably sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants. The Priory of Beauly occupied, until the Reformation, a conspicuous place in Inverness-shire. It was founded by John Bysset, Lord of the Aird, in 1230, and belonged to the Vallescaulians, or order of Vallis Caulium. It was one of the three monasteries of that order then existing in Scotland. The monks were men of austere lives. All property was held in common. Chapter was kept daily. Flesh-meat was forbidden in the refectory. For part of the year two meals a-day were allowed: bread, water, and pulse formed the diet for the rest of the year. Sackcloth was worn next the flesh. Most of their time the monks spent in reading, prayer, and contemplation. They wore a white cassock with a narrow scapulary, and they never went beyond the precincts of their convent. The brethren were much occupied with gardening, and with the cultivation of the neighbouring lands belonging to them. The site of their house well deserves its name of Beauly, or, as it is called in the Latin charters, *Monasterium de bello loco.* It was placed amid the tract of alluvial soil brought down by the river, open to the sunny south, looking across to the wooded hills beyond the water, and surrounded by level land producing the finest wheat. The influence of the brethren must have been considerable among the wild tribes where their lot was cast. They held up before them for generations the virtues of a peaceful and self-denying life. They showed them what might be done in the improvement and cultivation of the soil. They received within their precincts the children of the neighbouring barons, and gave them such education as they were able

to impart. The remains of their church still exist. It was not a great building from an architectural point of view, forming without aisles an oblong 150 feet long, with lateral chapels on the sides of the east end. It was not largely endowed; but it held the churches of St Lawrence, Conveth, Comar, and Abertarff, and it had a considerable revenue from the salmon-fisheries of the neighbouring river.

In the town of Inverness there was founded in 1233 a monastery of preaching friars of the order of St Dominic. It must have been a building of importance, and it was well endowed. Only a small fragment of it now remains. It is said that Alexander II., when in Paris in 1217, saw the founder of the order, and besought him to send some of his brethren to Scotland in order to teach the people, promising them all help and encouragement. It was in fulfilment of that promise that he founded in several towns in Scotland, as well as at Inverness, monasteries of the Dominican order.

Thus by the power represented by the Castle, the Burgh, and the Church, Inverness-shire was entirely feudalised, and Normans, Saxon Lords, and Flemings dominated the ancient Celtic inhabitants. How despotic their power was is illustrated by an agreement entered into between the Bishop of Moray and Comyn, the great Lord of Badenoch. In this agreement it is provided, in regard to the native men (*nativi*), that the bishop should have all the cleric and two lay native men, but that all the other native men on lands in Badenoch, with all their chattels and possessions, and with their children and all their posterity, and the chattels of their children, should belong to Walter Comyn.

It is to the period of which we are writing that we owe the division of the country into counties, shires, or sheriffdoms for civil purposes. In 1153 a sheriff was stationed at Inverness whose authority extended all over Scotland north

of the Grampians. "Gif ane dwells byond Drumalbin in Moray, Ross, Caithness, Argyle, or in Kintyre," it was enacted, "he shall have fifteen days and also ane month to produce his warrant before the scherif; and gif he goes for his warrant dwelland in Moray or in Ross, or in anie other of the steids and places pertaining to Moray, and can nocht find or apprehend his warrant, he shall pass to the Scherif of Inverness; and the scherif sall send him the king's servants, quha sall see he be righteouslie treated and handled conform to the law of the land."

The shire or sheriffdom of Inverness was thus at the beginning very extensive. Gradually, as the royal authority was established over other parts of the northern kingdom, its dimensions were curtailed. Other sheriffdoms were erected, as those of Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Cromarty, and the county of Inverness by degrees assumed its present proportions.

CHAPTER III.

INVERNESS-SHIRE DURING THE SCOTTISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—EDWARD I. OF ENGLAND IN THE NORTH—THE CASTLE OF URQUHART A STRONGHOLD OF THE PATRIOTIC PARTY—RANDOLPH, EARL OF MORAY—HIS VIGOROUS RULE—DAVID II. AT INVERNESS—GREAT SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE COUNTY—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CLAN SYSTEM—THE FRASERS, GRANTS, CHISHOLMS, CAMERONS, AND OTHERS BECOME HEADS OF CLANS — THE CLAN SYSTEM IN THE MAIN A DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORMAN POLITY — THE FIRST NOTICE IN HISTORY OF THE CLANS CONNECTED WITH INVERNESS-SHIRE — FEUD BETWEEN THE CLAN CHATTAN AND THE CLAN CAMERON — BATTLE OF INVERNAHAVON — CONFLICT ON THE INCH OF PERTH.

THE county of Inverness was not affected to the same extent as other parts of Scotland by the long struggle which issued in the independence of the kingdom. It was far away from the great scenes of conflict, and the contending armies which traversed other counties left its soil almost untrodden. The great territorial lords among whom the shire was partitioned had indeed to take part in the national conflict, and, as far as we can learn from the annals of the time, they were on the patriotic side. A. John of Glenurquhart and a son of John of the Aird were among the prisoners taken by the English after the battle of Dunbar (1296). Andrew Moray, son of Sir Andrew Moray of Petty near Inverness, and of Avoch in Ross, was a close companion of Sir William Wallace, and represented his interest among the Highlanders. David, Bishop of Moray, was a chief sup-

porter of King Robert Bruce, and preached throughout his diocese a crusade in his favour. Names well known in after-years in the history of Inverness-shire appear in the historic narrative. A Simon Fraser, a John Cambron, and a Mackintosh are named among the followers of the Scottish monarch. At Bannockburn, it is said, as many as eighteen chiefs fought on the patriotic side, and among them were probably some at least from our northern county. Tradition has always represented the Macdonalds as forming part of the right wing of the royal army.

King Edward I. of England, having marched through Scotland as far as Elgin, sent parties of soldiers into Inverness-shire, who seized the northern strongholds and garrisoned them with English troops. The castle of Inverness had placed in it Sir Reginald le Chen as commandant, and that of Glenurquhart on Loch Ness was put under the charge of Sir William Fitz Warrine, a knight of renown. The invaders had a troubled time, and at last were driven out, the castles being taken by the Scots.

In 1303 the English king again appeared with an immense army in the north, and, intrenching himself in the island fortress of Loch-in-Dorb near Forres, brought the country into subjection. The castle of Inverness yielded at once to his summons, and that of Glenurquhart was taken after a long siege. These castles after a time fell into the hands of the Bruce, who came against them in person, and they were held by him during his reign as king.

Again in 1335 the King of England, Edward III., accompanied by Edward Balliol, who had been crowned King of Scotland, led an army as far as Inverness, taking the castle, and wasting the surrounding district with fire and sword. The castle of Urquhart, commanded by a stout soldier, Sir Robert de Lauder, was defended successfully

against its assailants, and continued a stronghold of the patriotic party till peace was restored to Scotland.

The long years of warfare left some marks on Inverness-shire, as well as on the rest of the country. The Comyns, the great lords of Badenoch, one of whom, as all readers of Scottish history know, had been murdered by the Bruce, disappeared from the scene, and their lands were gifted to others. Thomas Randolph, nephew of King Robert Bruce, was created Earl of Moray, with the lordship of a territory which comprised nearly the whole of what is now Inverness-shire. It included the whole lands extending from the Spey to where Glenelg meets the western sea, with its manors, townships, and thanages, and all the royal demesnes, rents, and duties. All barons and freeholders of the said earldom who held of the Crown, and their heirs, were to render their homages, fealties, attendances at courts, to Thomas Randolph and his heirs.

The new Earl of Moray thus became the most powerful northern potentate, and the overlord of many barons: he was a marked figure in his time; he acted as Regent of the kingdom in the minority of King David; and we find him holding court at Inverness, and dispensing justice with a firm hand. An incident of his vigorous rule, which occurred in the northern capital, is related by one of the early Scottish historians. The murderer of a priest having gone to Rome and procured absolution from the Pope, was brought before the Regent for trial. He was, notwithstanding his plea of papal absolution, tried, condemned, and executed: the Pope, the Regent held, might absolve him from the spiritual consequences of his crime, but for his offences against the law it was but right that he should suffer.

Towards the close of his reign (in 1369) King David II. came to Inverness in person with a considerable force, and accompanied by the barons and prelates of the kingdom.

His object was to reduce to subjection certain wild Highland lords who had kept the country in turmoil, had refused to pay their share of taxation, and generally defied the royal authority. It was the beginning of those strifes between the Crown and the chiefs that went on for centuries. The head of these insurgents was the Lord of the Isles, whose family had long intrigued with England against the Scottish Crown. The western potentate appeared in the castle of Inverness and submitted himself to the king. He supplicated the remission of his late faults: he promised that he and his following would keep the peace; that he would make reparation to all good men of the kingdom for such injuries, losses, and troubles as had been wrought by him and his sons; and he offered to give his son, his grandson, and his natural son as hostages to the king for his good behaviour. The king accepted his submission, and peace reigned for a time beyond the Highland borders.

Great social changes had by this time taken place in Inverness-shire. During the disordered state of the country the power and pride of the feudal lords in the north had been on the increase. Isolated from the rest of the kingdom, and residing among their mountain fastnesses, each of them had become a kind of sovereign to his own vassals, and exercised over them a jurisdiction almost independent of royal authority. They made war with their neighbours at their pleasure, travelled the country with military pomp, and when at home in their castles lived in barbaric magnificence. It is a characteristic of the Celtic race that they must have leaders, and this was a feeling entirely in accordance with the notions of the Normans and Saxons who had been planted among them. These barons rallied round them clans of followers who bore their names, looked to them as their leaders, and yielded to them at all times implicit obedience.

The Frasers or Frizells, lords of Lovat, a Norman family early located in the Lothians, succeeded to the chief part of the possessions of the great house of Bisset, and became chiefs of a powerful clan inhabiting the Aird and the district along the river Beauly. The Chisholms, also of the same race, one of whom had been Constable of Urquhart Castle, acquired the Erchless branch of the Bisset property, and became like their neighbours the founders of a considerable clan. The Grants, descendants of Sir Laurence le Grant or le Grand, who had been Sheriff of Inverness in the reign of Alexander III., at a time when it was highly improbable that any but a foreigner would occupy that office, obtained lands first in Stratherrick and afterwards by the river Spey, and founded the great clan that still bears their name. The Camerons were apparently also originally a Lowland family, holding lands in Forfar, Perth, and Fife as early as the thirteenth century. The surname of Cambron occurs no fewer than seven times in the Ragman Rolls—the lists of those who submitted themselves to the English king. They are sometimes termed Miles and sometimes Chevalier, and are designated as of the counties we have mentioned. A Hugh Cambron in 1214 held the office of Sheriff of Angus, and in 1261 a Robert of Cambron was forester of the castle at Cluny in Perthshire. During the reign of William the Lion, a Robert of Cambron was a witness to a grant made to the Monastery of Cambuskenneth. Very possibly the name was assumed from the district or parish of Cameron in Fife, the name of which in early charters is spelt Cambron. Some scion of this house in all likelihood acquired lands on the shores of Loch Lochy, and gathered around him the clan which bore his name. Indeed we know that in 1292 a Robert de Chambroun of Balligarnucht (Baligairny near Scone) was awarded 50 merks of pension, according to a concession of King Alexander, from

the rents of Inverness. This Robert from the south, who had come northward to push his fortunes like so many others, may have been the progenitor of the great family of Lochiel.

Probably other Inverness-shire clans were formed in like manner by strangers. The tradition of most of the clans speaks of their founders as foreigners, and the tradition is probably correct. As we have seen, the feudalisation of Inverness-shire was so complete, and the natives were so thoroughly subdued, that it is difficult to believe that any vestige of Celtic authority which may have existed in the old province of Moray had been suffered to continue. However this may be, what is called the clan system became thoroughly established throughout Inverness-shire. In addition to the clans we have mentioned, there were others equally prominent, inhabiting well-defined areas. Badenoch and the adjoining district were peopled by the Clan Chattan, a great confederation comprising several septs, such as the Macphersons, Mackintoshes, Farquharsons, and Davidsons. In Lochaber were the Macdonalds of the Isles, who had received from Balliol a grant of that district; while another branch of the same great family, called the Clanranald, held the lordship of Garmorran, comprising Moidart, Knoydart, Morar, Arisaig, and finally probably Glengarry.

The clan system thus established throughout Inverness-shire gives the key to its history throughout succeeding centuries. In its main features that system is well known, and need scarcely be described. It was a paternal form of government. The chief was regarded as the father of his people. Each district was an independent state, each clan an isolated community. The people knew no one higher than the chief, and no country except that of which his castle was the centre. His word was absolute. He held in his hand the power of life and death. His tenants followed his standard in war,

supplied his table with the produce of their labour, and their whole life was but the echo of his will.

Each clan formed a little army in which there was regular organisation. The chief was commander; the standard-bearer carried the banner of the clan; the oldest cadet led the right wing; the youngest the rear; while the head of every district was captain of his tribe. There was ample opportunity for military prowess. The feuds between the chiefs were interminable. Whatever feud was taken up by the chief was espoused by the clan, and was often handed down from generation to generation with increasing virulence. When, at rare intervals, the clans in one part of Inverness-shire were at peace, those in another part were at war, fighting their opponents in the field — harrying their lands and raiding their cattle. The history of the county is for long little else than a history of rapine, bloodshed, and internal disorder. There is scarcely anything to chronicle except the conflicts between one clan and another, or with the Crown when the king endeavoured to curb their ferocity.

The clan system of the Highlands we believe to have been the Norman polity influenced by the Celtic customs of those among whom it was planted. A clan beyond the Grampians differed but slightly from a clan on the southern Scottish Borders, at the head of which was a Norman baron. The baron held of the sovereign, and the vassals held of the baron. In the Highlands this was also the case, but there were certain peculiarities of Highland tenure which differed from that in other parts of the kingdom. When a feudal lord died, "his sovereign was entitled to see him succeeded by one capable of defending the fief; and if the nearest in blood was a minor, an imbecile, or a woman, he might refuse to renew the investiture. If a like circumstance occurred on the death of a Highland chief, the clan took up the matter, and looked

from the nearest heir by blood to some collateral relative of higher promise," to whom they gave their obedience. In this respect, and also in a few minor matters, Celtic customs prevailed; but in the main the clan system differed little from the feudal.

What took place in the north of Scotland has its counterpart in what had previously taken place in Ireland. When Henry II. went to that country in 1171, his first act was to have himself acknowledged as overlord, not only by "Strongbow," but also by the Irish chiefs. The lands of all who refused to submit were forfeited, and were apportioned among Henry's Anglo-Norman followers, who took over at the same time the headship of the clans. They became powerful chiefs. Thus the Frasers and the Camerons in Scotland had their counterparts in the Fitzgeralds and Butlers in Ireland. In after-years these Anglo-Irish chiefs, like the chiefs of Inverness-shire, were the most troublesome enemies of the English rule. Both gathered round them numerous followers, whom they ruled on feudal principles, and with whose aid they were a standing menace to royal order and authority.

The first, or almost the first, appearance of the clan system on the pages of Scottish history is connected with Inverness-shire.

In 1396 the attention of the Government was called to the warfare between two northern clans, which kept the country beyond the Grampians in a constant state of disquiet and alarm. What clans these were it is not easy now to determine. The references in contemporary historians are very obscure, especially in regard to the names which the Lowland scribes give to the septs, and which correspond to no names known now. Some have supposed the contending parties to have been the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron;

others, the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons; others, the Macphersons and the Davidsons; others, the Davidsons and the Camerons. Probably the first of these theories is the true one, though it is impossible to write on the subject with any degree of certainty. Between the Camerons and the Clan Chattan there existed an old feud regarding the possession of certain lands of Glenlui, and Locharkaig in Lochaber, claimed by the Mackintoshes by a title granted by the Lord of the Isles, which had been confirmed by the Crown, but held by the Camerons at the point of the sword. That feud lasted long, and, previous to the period of which we are writing, was the cause of a battle between the Camerons and the Clan Chattan at Invernahavon in Badenoch, when the former were defeated with great slaughter. The Government sought to settle the quarrel between the contending parties, whoever they were, by peaceable means, and commissioners were appointed to endeavour to effect a settlement. Their efforts were abortive; the quarrel was too fierce to be settled by any compromise, and ultimately a proposal was made that the opponents should abide by the ordeal of combat or wager of battle, a form of appeal to Providence which was in special favour with the Normans.

It has been said by Sir Walter Scott, who has cast the glamour of romance around this incident in the 'Fair Maid of Perth,' that it "marks with equal distinctness the rancour of these native feuds and the degraded condition of the Government of the country." The readiness with which the northern chiefs fell in with the proposal seems also to indicate their familiarity with the practice of the Norman race, to which they themselves probably belonged.

Thirty of each contending clan—that being the maximum number of compurgators required by Norman usage to clear an accused person—met on the North Inch of Perth to decide

their quarrel by the arbitrament of the sword. It was regarded as a great occasion, and many spectators were gathered together. King Robert III., his queen and Court, were present, surrounded by nobles, churchmen, knights, and foreign visitors. The population of the city and surrounding neighbourhood trooped out in large numbers to see the show. Sir Walter Scott has given so vivid a description of what took place that there is no need now to portray the scene. It is for us only to tell the result. One clan being for some cause short of a combatant, his place was supplied by an armourer of Perth called the "Gow Chrom" or Crooked Smith. The formalities required by the laws of chivalry on such occasions took place, and a murderous conflict began. At its close the only survivor of the vanquished clan sought safety by swimming the river Tay, leaving on the field eleven of the victors, among whom was the stranger who had fought in their ranks. What became of the defeated clan after the fight is a matter of conjecture. There is every likelihood that the feud which it was intended to appease continued to be waged with more or less intensity. The defeated would naturally feel that their disgrace could only be wiped out by blood, and they would thirst for vengeance. Certainly, if the combatants were, as we have supposed, the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, the quarrel between them was not brought to a close upon the banks of the Tay, but continued to be waged for many years with ever-increasing ferocity.

CHAPTER IV.

ANNALS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE NOW FALL INTO TWO DIVISIONS—THE KING AGAINST THE CLANS AND THE CLANS AGAINST EACH OTHER—EFFORTS OF THE CROWN TO BRING THE CHIEFS INTO SUBJECTION—TWO CENTURIES OF DISORDER—REBELLIONS OF THE LORDS OF THE ISLES—OF DONALD IN 1411—HIS DEFEAT AT HARLAW—VISIT TO INVERNESS OF JAMES I.—EXECUTES JUSTICE ON THE REBELS—INVERNESS BURNT BY THE ISLAND CHIEF—HIS DEFEAT IN LOCHABER AND SUBMISSION AT HOLYROOD—THE RISING OF DONALD BALLOCH—THE REBELLION OF JOHN OF THE ISLES IN 1451, AND OF HIS NEPHEW IN 1491—THE LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES FORFEITED—OTHER UPRISINGS OF THE NORTHERN CLANS—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE CROWN IN THE NORTH—THE EARL OF HUNTLY APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE HIGHLANDS — HIS DIFFICULTIES IN MAINTAINING ORDER—JOHN OF MOIDART AND THE "BATTLE OF THE SHIRTS"—THE BLACK TAILOR OF THE AXE—GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF ORDER—ROYAL VISITS TO THE NORTH—OF JAMES II., III., IV., V., AND OF MARY OF GUISE—MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT INVERNESS—THE BURGH OF INVERNESS IN THOSE TROUBLED TIMES—HOLDS ITS OWN AGAINST "CLANNED MEN" AND GROWS IN WEALTH AND PROSPERITY.

We have now come to a period when the annals of Inverness-shire fall into two divisions. Under the first we have the efforts of the Crown to bring into subjection its subjects beyond the Highland line when they became rebellious. Under the second we have the feuds of the chiefs among themselves, almost interminable, and certainly monotonous to relate with any fulness of detail: they are all of the same character, and any one of them may be taken as a sample of the rest. The history of two centuries is little else than a history of rapine and disorder.

In the struggle with royal authority, the Lords of the Isles were almost always those who raised the standard of revolt, though they were aided and abetted by other chiefs and other clans. These western magnates, after the Hebrides, which formerly belonged to Norway, were annexed by Scotland, seem to have cherished a strong feeling of antagonism to the Scottish Government. They affected the style and title of princes, maintained an army and fleet, gave charters to chiefs as their vassals, intrigued and entered into alliance with England, and spoke of the Scottish people as their "old enemies." At every suitable opportunity during many years they made efforts to maintain their independence, and to throw off their allegiance to Scotland. Inverness-shire clans were found ready to give them assistance. The Clanranald of Garmorran were their kinsmen; the Clan Cameron were their vassals; and the Clan Chattan, who were probably also their vassals for their holding in Lochaber, powerfully supported their pretensions on more than one occasion. Again and again the King of Scotland had to take the field against them, and bring them into subjection. Though often pardoned and treated with a clemency which seems surprising, they returned again and again to their old courses, and were a standing menace to the peace of the kingdom.

In 1411 the Lord of the Isles was named Donald. He was a chief who inherited all the warlike propensities and all the proud pretensions of his forebears. Taking as a pretext for hostility the rejection by the Regent of the kingdom, the Duke of Albany, of his claim to the earldom of Ross, he landed on the mainland a powerful army of Islesmen armed with bows, pole-axes, knives, and swords. With little opposition, he took possession of the territory of the earldom, his title to which had been refused. Flushed with success, he gathered together at Inverness all the forces that he could muster, and marched

southward through Moray, bent upon the conquest of Scotland. The Clan Cameron, the Clan Chattan, and the Clanranald, led by their chiefs, were among his followers. For a time he carried all before him; but at Harlaw in the Braes of Buchan he encountered a force commanded by the Earl of Mar, when one of the bloodiest battles ensued of which we have account in Scottish history. The battle was a drawn one, and neither side could claim the victory. Night came down upon the combatants, and when morning dawned the Lord of the Isles had retreated. He was ultimately obliged to yield his claims to the earldom, and after making his submission to the Crown and giving hostages for his good behaviour, he received pardon for his offences.

This rebellion was quelled, but was soon succeeded by another. "Let God but grant me life," King James I. is reported to have said on his accession to power, "and there shall not be a spot in my dominion where the key shall not keep the castle and the furze bush the cow, though I myself should live the life of a dog to accomplish it." These were brave words, and the king did his best to give effect to them. The expedition of Donald of Harlaw, as he was called, showed clearly the contempt for the law, and the general spirit of insubordination, which prevailed throughout Inverness-shire. To our county, therefore, the king came in person, determined to assert authority. Accompanied by his queen, his retinue, and large numbers of his Parliament, he crossed the Month on horseback, and took up his quarters in the castle of Inverness. There was much loyal pageantry and display in the northern capital. The Highland chiefs were commanded to give attendance for the purpose of consulting as to the best means of maintaining peace and order. Not daring to refuse, for they held their lands from the Crown, they obeyed the summons, although many of them must have done so with

fear and trembling. Forty of them were imprisoned, and among them the Lord of the Isles. They were lured like wild beasts into a trap. No sooner did they enter the hall where Parliament was assembled than they were seized and committed to prison. Some of them were condemned, after what trial we know not, to periods of imprisonment; others were executed offhand. Alexander of Garmorran was among the latter, the Lord of the Isles among the former. His imprisonment was of short duration, and on making promise of good behaviour for time to come he was released. Such promises were of little value, and before the king had well reached Edinburgh they were broken. Smarting under the indignity that had been put upon him, and the treacherous treatment he had received, the Island Lord returned to the West and raised his followers. At the head of several thousand men he marched to Inverness, the scene of his disgrace, burning for vengeance. The castle, which had been specially strengthened after Harlaw, resisted his attack; the town he pillaged and burned to the ground. Having thus gratified his vengeance, he returned to Lochaber on his way home; but ere he left that country retribution overtook him. The king with wonderful activity mustered an army, placed himself at its head, found his way into that remote district, and came unexpectedly upon his rebellious subject. The Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, on seeing the royal standard, left the Lord of the Isles and went over to the king. The Lord of the Isles was so pressed that he made proposals of surrender, which were rejected. Leaving his army, he took to flight, but even in his wild dominions the outlaw found no place of safety. In desperation he resolved to throw himself on the clemency of the king. His manner of doing this was highly dramatic. On Easter Sunday the king and queen were engaged in their devotions before the high altar in the Chapel

Royal of Holyrood, when a wild and haggard figure cast himself before them: it was the Lord of the Isles, clothed only in a shirt and drawers; in one hand he held his bonnet, in the other he held his sword by the point, and offered it to the king in token of submission. Touched by the humiliating spectacle, as well as influenced by the entreaties of his queen, the king granted the chief his life, but ordered him to be imprisoned in the castle of Tantallon. It might have been better for the peace of the country if he had been more severely dealt with.

Scarcely had this rebel been in ward when a third uprising took place, which, like that which we have noticed, affected Inverness-shire. Donald Balloch, a near relative of the imprisoned lord, enraged at the treatment of his chief, and probably with his connivance, manned his galleys of war with the strength of the clan, and, disembarking on the shores of Lochaber, joined battle with the king's forces under the Earls of Mar and Caithness. A fearful engagement took place at Inverlochy, and the Islesmen were victorious. The Earl of Caithness with many barons and knights were left dead on the field, and the Earl of Mar with difficulty rescued the remains of the royal army, and made his way by the valley of the Spean into Badenoch. According to some chroniclers, he abandoned his men and fled through the mountains. Donald Balloch then ravaged at his leisure the lands of the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, who had in the former fight deserted the banner of his chief. Having thus glutted his vengeance, he retreated with much plunder to the Islands, and afterwards sought safety in Ireland.

Another rebellion took place in 1451, headed by John, Lord of the Isles, son of the man who had humbled himself at Holyrood. Inverness-shire suffered much from him, as it had suffered from his ancestors. He demolished the

castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, seized the castles of Urquhart and Inverness, and committed many outrages on the west coast of Scotland. He received for these the forgiveness of the sovereign and was restored to royal favour, but with the obstinacy of his race he soon returned to his own courses. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Government after the death of the king, he entered into a league with England, the object of which was the conquest of Scotland. He made himself master of the castle of Inverness, and assumed in the northern capital the exercise of royal authority. He seized the customs of the town, and issued proclamations commanding the inhabitants of the North to pay him their taxes, and to refuse obedience to King James. This rebellion was in time suppressed, and again the rebel had the favour of the Crown extended to him. His nephew then rebelled, and in 1494, with a large body of his mainland vassals from Lochaber and Garmorran, and with the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, marched into Badenoch, and thence to Inverness, where they captured the castle. This achievement filled the cup of the Islesman's iniquity to the brim, and brought his lordship to a close. It was forfeited and annexed to the Crown. It was long, however, before Inverness-shire ceased to be troubled by the descendants of the western viking.

In 1503 there was an incursion of Islesmen into Badenoch which was wasted with fire and sword. This insurrect on was so formidable that three campaigns had to be undertaken before it was quelled. In 1513 a large force of Highlanders, led by Sir Donald of Lochalsh, who claimed the lordship of the Isles, aided by Macranald of Glengarry and Chisholm of Comar, seized the castle of Urquhart. This rebellion lasted five years. It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that the western family ceased to harass

Inverness-shire, though they continued to be a constant source of trouble to other parts of Scotland.

Other, but less serious, uprisings of Inverness-shire clans mark this period. The lawless state of the county may be judged from a royal mandate issued in 1528 against the Clan Chattan for "daly raising of fire, slauchter, murther, heirschippis, and wasting of the countre." The powerful barons and chiefs by whom the mandate was to be executed were to "pass all at anys upon the Clan quhattane and invade them to their utter destruction be slauchtir, byrning, drouning, and uther wayis, and lief na creatur livand of that clann except priestis, women, and bairnis." The lives of the latter were to be spared, because it were inhumanity to put hands in their blood, but they were to be shipped out of the country to Jesland, Zesland, or Norway. Fortunately for the clan this terrible sentence of extermination was not carried out, but it may be taken as indicating that at the time Inverness-shire was a boiling caldron of disorder and rapine.

The Government at last adopted a distinct, though doubtful, policy in order to strengthen its authority in the Highlands. This was to commit the power of the Crown to two great territorial houses, which had shown vast capacity for their own aggrandisement, and which were expected, from their overwhelming influence, to be able to curb the rapacity of weaker clans. In the West, Argyle, whose fortunes had risen with the downfall of the Lords of the Isles, was invested with full authority. In the North, the Earl of Huntly was in 1544 appointed Sheriff of Inverness and Lieutenant-General of all the Highlands. The reign of the latter was a troubled one. He was constantly in the field against insurgents, either in the western district of Moidart, in Lochaber, or in Badenoch. In the year of his appointment he was involved in a conflict which may be taken as a specimen

of the clan feuds of the time, and the ferocity with which they were waged.

A certain Ronald Gaulda, or the foreigner, had claimed, in opposition to John of Moidart, the chieftainship of the Clanranald—a claim which was accompanied in the usual Highland fashion with disturbance and robbery. The Earl of Huntly took the side of Ronald, and with a large force set out to invade the Garmorran country. A number of Inverness-shire clans accompanied him,—the Frasers, who were connected by marriage with Ronald, and whose lands had been harried by his opponents; the Grants, with the men of Strathspey and Glenmoriston; and the Clan Chattan with 1500 men. The Macdonalds of Lochaber and Glengarry with the Clan Cameron supported John of Moidart. The forces of the latter retired before Huntly, and without a battle he placed Ronald Gaulda in apparent possession of Moidart. On his return homewards his party divided at the Water of Gloy, a stream flowing into Loch Lochy from the east near its southern extremity. Huntly, the chief of Grant, and the Clan Chattan took the route by Lochaber and Badenoch to their respective territories. The Frasers, accompanied by Ronald Gaulda and the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, continued their journey along the Great Caledonian Glen. In the narrow pass at the south end of Loch Lochy they were set upon by John of Moidart and his following. From the hills above the ancient church of Kilfinnan the Macdonalds and Camerons swooped down like birds of prey upon their enemies. A fearful hand-to-hand conflict ensued, which lasted from mid-day till late in the afternoon. At its close the Frasers were almost entirely cut off. Lovat their chief, his eldest son Ronald Gaulda, with eighty of the gentry of the Frasers, were slain. The day was hot, and the combatants stripped themselves to

their shirts—a circumstance which led to the fight being called "Blār na leinna," or "Battle of the Shirts," a name which the field of battle bears to this day. The armourer of the Clanranalds is said to have met in the conflict with his fellow-craftsman of the Frasers. "Take that," said the Macdonald, delivering a fierce blow, "from Clanranald's blacksmith." The Fraser parried the thrust, saying, "And thou receive this from MacShimie's [Lovat's] blacksmith." When the fight was over, the two men were found lying dead side by side. It was probably the fiercest battle ever waged by the clans since that of the Inch at Perth, and many traditions regarding it still linger in Highland song and story.

John of Moidart returned triumphantly to his native wilds. In the succeeding spring, with a host of marauding followers, he swept bare Invermoriston and Glenurquhart, leaving no hoof or article of value on the raided lands. He was outlawed, and his possessions were declared forfeited, but he still maintained his own. Expeditions were sent against him in vain. Argyle was to bombard his castle from the sea, Huntly to attack it from the shore, but neither was able to disturb him. The queen-regent came in person to Inverness to deal with him, but he failed to appear. Lochiel and Keppoch, his allies, were seized and beheaded, but he himself retained his freedom. At length, after being assured by the Earl of Athole, who had been commissioned to capture him, that he would be leniently dealt with, he and his sons appeared before the queen-regent. They were committed to prison, but they made their escape and found their way back to Moidart. From this nothing could dislodge the chief. The name of the notorious rebel, John Moydartach, appears often in the annals of the time. The last mention of him in the public records is a minute in which "my

Lords" are requested to report by what means John of Moidart may be "dandonit." "Dandonit" the brave old hero never was, and he died peacefully in his own house of Castle Tirrim, forty years after the battle in which he had been victor.

Perhaps no better illustration could be found, though many more might be taken from the clan histories, of the state of Inverness-shire during the years to which this chapter relates. During this period occurred the incident of the "black tailor of the axe," a story still told on the banks of Loch Arkaig. It also illustrates the wild state of the country, not untouched by gleams of romance. The black tailor, famed for his skill in wielding the Lochaber axe, was the leader of the Camerons during the minority of their chief. While out hunting, he was taken prisoner by the Mackintoshes. "Were I in your place," said the chief of the latter clan, "what would you do with me?" "I would," replied the captive, "give you a chance of escaping with your life, and if you could get free I would let you go." "Then," said the Mackintosh, "I shall do the same with you, that you may not say you outstripped me in your generosity." A ring of armed men was formed around the black tailor, and he was told to find his way out. After looking around for a time to see if he could, as he said, "pull a stake out of the paling," he suddenly made a spring to a part of the circle; a warrior fell beneath the stroke of his axe, and darting through the opening he was free, though followed closely by his late captors. The fugitive came to a wide ditch, which he leapt. The Mackintosh, leaping after him, fell into the bog. The tailor, turning, stood over him flourishing his terrible axe above his head. "I might," he said, "but I will not;" and stretching out his hand he extricated his adversary from the morass.

Mackintosh, impressed by his generosity, waved back his men, and the black tailor disappeared. Strange to say, he was never seen again in Lochaber. He vanished, and many legends were associated with his mysterious disappearance. He is now known to have gone to Cowal in Argyleshire, where he took the name of Taylor; and one of his descendants occupies at the present time an honoured place as a professor in the University of Edinburgh. His prowess was long remembered; the place where he made his famous leap is still pointed out near the banks of the Caledonian Canal at Gairlochy, and is called to this day "the leap of the tailor." "The black tailor of the battle-axe who put defeat upon the Mackintosh" is a proverbial saying throughout the Highlands.

Much, however, was done during this period to make the law respected, and a gradual evolution of order from chaos began to take place. Besides the appointment of a lord-lieutenant, there were other measures adopted to strengthen the central authority. The royal castles of Inverness and Inverlochy were strongly fortified. Huntly not only received power to add to the fortification, but was also bound at his own expense to build upon the Castlehill of Inverness a hall of stone and lime upon vaults. It was to be 100 feet in length, 30 in breadth, and the same in height, to have a slated roof, with kitchen and chapel attached. At Inverlochy he was to raise a tower of strength with a barbican. These fortresses must have tended somewhat towards the maintenance of order.

But more than any castle-building, the establishment of courts of justice throughout the county must have conduced to law and order. There was to be a depute-sheriff at Inverness; another was to hold courts at Kingussie for Badenoch, and a third at Inverlochy for Lochaber. The justice dispensed

at these tribunals may have been of the roughest and the readiest kind; still it was better than none, and it brought home to the minds both of chief and clan the existence of an authority higher than that of both.

The royal visits to the North also specially tended to bring about a more settled condition of things It is a noteworthy fact that, though the Inverness-shire chiefs might pay but little respect to the king's laws when the sovereign was at Holyrood, when he came among them in person the principles of feudalism asserted themselves: they received him with loyalty, and paid him ready submission. The visit of King James I. to Inverness we have already noticed. A large portion of the time of James II. appears to have been spent north of the Spey, and on more than one occasion he held justice-ayres at Inverness. James III., a year after his marriage, made in 1470 a journey there, and remained in the town from the 24th of July to the 24th of August. James IV. frequently came to the northern capital: he was there in 1493, 1494 twice, in 1499, in 1501, and in 1503. James V. does not appear to have gone farther north than Athole; but he visited with a large fleet the Western Isles belonging to the county, and the mainland districts of Glenelg and Moidart, when he seized and took south with him, among other Highland chiefs, the captains of Clanranald and Glengarry. Mary of Guise, queen-regent of the kingdom, accompanied by many nobles, held at Inverness in 1555 a Convention of Estates, and visited with "extreme and vigorous punishment" many offenders against the law. The last royal visitor was Mary, Queen of Scots. In 1562 she made on horseback what Randolph in a letter to Cecil calls "a terrible journey." Leaving Edinburgh on the 11th of August, she reached Inverness on the 11th of September. She was denied admission to the castle, which was held at the time by a representative of the Earl of Huntly,

with whom the queen was at variance. The Frasers, the Munros, and the Clan Chattan came to her aid, captured the castle, and hanged the captain over the battlements. Randolph, who was in attendance on the queen, describes her visit with considerable vividness :—

"At the queen's arrival at Inverness, she, proposing to have lodged in the castle, which pertaineth to herself, and the keeping only to the Earl of Huntly (Lord Gordon), being sheriff by inheritance, was refused there to have entry, and enforced to lodge in the town. That night, the castle being summoned to be rendered to the queen, answer was given by those that kept it in Lord Gordon's behalf, that without his command it should not be delivered. The next day the country assembled to the assistance of the queen. The Gordons also made their friends come out. We looked every hour to see what shall become of the matter. We left nothing undone that was needful. And the Gordons, not finding themselves so well served, and never amounting to above 500 men, sent word to those who were within, amounting to only twelve or thirteen able men, to render the castle; which they did. The captain was hanged, and his head set upon the castle; some others condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and the rest received mercy. In all those garbulles, I assure your honour I never saw the queen merrier; never dismayed; nor never thought I that stomach to be in her that I find. She repented nothing, but, when the lords and others at Inverness came in the morning from the watche, that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lye all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway, with a jack and knapsack, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword. Lest your honour should *speere* [inquire] what in this meantime I did, it may please you to know that, in good faith, when so many were occupied, I was ashamed to sit still, and did as the rest."

Unfortunately we have had little to tell in this chapter beyond the story of constant warfare. In the history of the troubled years over which we have rapidly travelled, there is but one pleasing feature which is worthy of notice. The little burgh of Inverness held its own bravely, and presented in its condition a marked contrast to the surrounding country. The town had been burned to the ground, as we have seen, by the Islesmen, but after a time of great hardship it recovered from its forlorn condition. As years went on it grew in wealth and prosperity; it carried on trade with foreign parts, chiefly with Flanders. It exported hides of cattle; skins of marten, weasels, foxes, and other wild animals; salmon, iron, and woollen cloth, spun and woven in Highland cottages, and brought to the burgh market for sale. Its imports were doubtless those of Scottish burghs of the period—wine, spices, cloth of all kinds from buckram to satin and velvet, and articles of domestic and church furniture. The growing wealth of the burgh is shown by the liberality of its indwellers to the Church; they founded altars in their parish church, and endowed chaplains to minister at them. The Scottish sovereigns entertained a sincere regard for these peace-loving citizens, and added by many charters to the privileges they already possessed. They were a community by themselves, and held no intercourse but that of trade with the tribes around. The names met with in their charters—Hay, Jasper, Vaus, Cuthbert, Dempster, Fleming, and the like—are unmingled with those of Macpherson, Mackintosh, Chisholm, or Macdonald.

The freedom the burghers enjoyed seems to have been coveted by certain of their Highland neighbours, who sought to obtain holdings within the burgh. "Outlandish men," a charter tells us, "of great clans not able or qualified to use merchandise," obtained an influence over widows of deceased

burgesses, and thus by marriage endeavoured to become possessed of property to the "hurt and skaith" of the community. Such Celtic intrusion could not be allowed. A law was therefore passed by royal authority against the "clanned men," and they were allowed neither to "scott, lott, walk, or ward" with the burgesses. What the latter possessed they would keep to themselves. The kilted Highlander might bring to the market-place the hides of the cattle his clan had raided, or the skins of the animals he had trapped among the mountains. The chief might buy from the merchant tuns of wine to enliven his castle hall, or satin and velvet to adorn his wife. Beyond that there could be no intercourse. Thus the brave little burgh kept the even tenor of its way —a centre where peace and order reigned in the midst of violence. Provost and citizen could lay their heads on their nightly pillow without fear of being awakened by the skirl of the bagpipes or the clang of broadswords. There was no other part of Inverness-shire of which that could be said.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND—SLOW PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM IN INVERNESS-SHIRE—CONFORMITY TO THE "NEW OPINIONS" MORE APPARENT THAN REAL—DEPUTATION OF THE KIRK AT INVERNESS—OFFER OF THE MACKINTOSH TO "PLANT" MINISTERS—POSITION OF THE ROMAN CLERGY IN INVERNESS-SHIRE BEFORE THE REFORMATION—MINISTERS GRADUALLY SETTLED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY—THE NEW MINISTER OF KILMALLIE AND HIS DOCTRINE—TROUBLES OF THE MINISTER OF ABERTARFF—THE REFORMATION IN THE BURGH—DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES AND DESTINATION OF THEIR PROPERTY—HARDSHIPS SUFFERED BY THE OLD CLERGY—THEIR ZEAL IN TROUBLED TIMES—CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE—HUNTLY REMAINS CATHOLIC—A PERIOD OF TERRIBLE FEUDS—THE VIGOROUS RULE OF JAMES VI.—THE KING'S WRIT MADE TO RUN FREELY IN THE NORTH—THE FIGHTING CHIEFS BROUGHT BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL—THEIR SONS ORDERED TO BE EDUCATED—THE GRADUAL CESSATION OF CLAN FEUDS—A NEW EPOCH BEGINS IN INVERNESS-SHIRE.

THE Reformation in Scotland may be said to date from the year 1560. By the Estates of the kingdom the Confession of Faith was then adopted, the Pope's jurisdiction was abolished, and it was rendered criminal to say mass. Any priest doing so was liable to confiscation of goods for the first offence, to banishment for the second, and to death for the third.

It was long, however, before Protestantism took any hold in our northern region. In 1563 a commission was given to Robert Pont, one of the Superintendents under the new order, to plant kirks in the county of Inverness. He does not seem to have made much progress, for five years after he

received his appointment he was removed to a district "where his labours might be more fruitful than they could be at that time in Moray." Certain of the Inverness-shire chiefs outwardly accepted the Reformed faith. The chief of Grant had been a member of the Parliament which had adopted the Reformation. Mackintosh and Lovat appear also to have been regarded as Protestant; while Glengarry, Chisholm, the Macdonalds of Lochaber, and others remained Roman Catholic. It is generally supposed that the people accepted the religion of the chief, and followed him as readily into the Protestant Church as they did when he commanded a foray against a neighbour. This may generally have been the case, but there were exceptions. The chief of the Moidart Clanranalds became Protestant, but his people adhered to the old faith. A large part of Lovat's people also remained Catholic.

In fact, conformity to the new opinions was long more apparent than real in Inverness-shire. In a paper drawn up by the hand of Lord Burleigh, the English statesman, in 1590, we have a statement of the comparative strength of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism throughout Scotland. We learn from it that all the northern part of the kingdom, including Inverness-shire, adhered wholly or in great part to the Roman Catholic party, being commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that faith, and directed by priests who were concealed in various parts of the country. Certainly large districts of Inverness-shire, so far as the profession of religion is concerned, remained Roman Catholic.

In 1597 a deputation from the Kirk came to Inverness to confer with those friendly to Protestantism as to the planting of the country with ministers, and as to obtaining for them suitable stipends. What progress the deputation made we do not

know; but one of their number, the Rev. J. Melville, informs us in his Diary that The Mackintosh made them the following speech, which he heartily commends: "Now it may be thought I am liberall because na minister will come amungs us, therefore get me men and sey [try] me, and I will find sufficient caution for saiftie of their persones, obedience to their doctrine and discipline, and find payment of their stipend and entertainment." Such was his earnestness and zeal in the cause, that the writer tells us "MakinToshie warred [excelled] all the rest of the gentlemen of the North." But whatever "the gentlemen of the North" may have done, the people of the wide districts of Strathglass, Lochaber, Moidart, Arisaig, and Knoydart are, speaking generally, Roman Catholic at the present day, and have been so from the earliest times. "Great and blessed Morar," runs a Gaelic proverb, "where no Protestant ever preached a sermon."

It is difficult to estimate the influence of the clergy of Inverness-shire over their flocks previous to the Reformation. There is much reason for supposing it to have been more nominal than real. In the clan histories the clergy are never mentioned as taking any part whatever in repressing the terrible feuds of the period, or as acting as mediators between contending clans. They seem to have done little or nothing for the general education of the people. Except that a priest now and again draws up a deed as a notary public, or is mentioned in some charter regarding tithes and lands, we should never know of the existence of the clergy at all. Nor do the Highlanders appear to have been deeply impressed by the sanctity of the Church. They raided the lands of the priests, as they raided those of secular persons. In 1390, the Wolf of Badenoch, as he was called, in order to avenge some slight offered to him by his bishop, burned to the ground the noble Cathedral of Elgin and the manses

of the canons. In 1430, at the Feast of Palms, the Clan Chattan killed, it is said, in a certain church nearly the whole of the Camerons. In 1488 the Macdonalds of Garmorran, Lochaber, and the Clan Cameron made a raid into Ross-shire against the Mackenzies. On a Sunday morning at Contin, they found that the aged men, women, and children of the district had taken refuge in the church. Without scruple they ordered the doors to be closed, and set fire to the building, when the priest and his congregation perished in the flames. In 1603 the Macdonalds of Glengarry, on a foray in Ross, surprised a party of their enemies in the church of Kilchrist. They burned church and congregation together, Glengarry's piper marching round the building and drowning the cries of the miserable sufferers with a pibroch, which became afterwards the family tune of the victorious clan. These atrocious deeds of sacrilege indicate a total want of that reverence for the Church and the sanctities of religion which belongs to people who have emerged in any degree from the darkness of heathenism.

The process of placing ministers in Inverness-shire among such a people was necessarily very slow. Throughout the county the parishes were generally served in the first instance by a class of teachers called "Readers" and "Exhorters." The readers read the Scriptures and the common prayers, but exercised no other ecclesiastical function; the exhorters were allowed to baptise and perform the marriage ceremony, and to preach as they had the gift. There is reason to believe that some of the priests in Inverness-shire became exhorters in their parishes. The priest of Urquhart, the vicar of Kiltarlity, and the parson of Moy did so; and there were others who followed their example. Gradually, regular ministers were settled in the parishes, but it was not till 1658 that a minister was appointed to Kilmallie, the country of the Camerons, where

"he was to remain till a kirk should be built, and the people brought to some comely order." It was only in 1720 that Kilmonivaig, the great parish which comprehended the larger part of Lochaber and the wide district of Glengarry, was supplied with Protestant ministration. It is said that the new minister of the first parish endeavoured to impress upon his people the duty of forgiving their enemies. The Camerons, who had been ordered by their chief to give attendance, were greatly exercised over the new doctrine. "That was strange doctrine," one of them is reported to have said to another; "do you think it is right?" "The minister," was the reply, "is a learned man, and he should know." "That may be," said the other, "but for my part give me Moses, 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'"

Many of the ministers settled among the clans had a very difficult position to fill, and it was frequently long before they made any progress in attracting people to their services. Often the parishioners gathered together in the neighbourhood of the church to put the stone and throw the caber, while the pastor preached to empty space. The minister of Abertarff reported to the brethren of his presbytery "that he was so troubled by the Lochaber robbers, that are so numerous and broken out, that scarce had he so much time as to provide a discourse on the Sabbath-day." Occasionally the services of the churches were broken in upon by "lymaris and idle men," who turned the worship to ridicule and rendered preaching impossible. Many of the ministers were stalwart men, and some are said to have driven the people into the church by physical force. Gradually, however, difficulties were overcome, and congregations were gathered, often more perhaps by the compulsion of the chief than by the attraction of the preacher.

The burghers of the town of Inverness seem to have adopted

the Protestant faith more readily than their Highland neighbours. The year before the Reformation was established, and when changes were imminent, the provost of the convent and his chapter deposited for security their charters and valuables with the provost and magistrates of the town. Among the valuables were five chalices, silver-gilt with gold, two silver spoons, a "little relic of silver," and some vestments. These slender possessions never found their way back to the Church. All the ecclesiastical property, altarages, and lands, which belonged either to the convent or to the parish church, were conveyed by royal charter to the provost and magistrates for the hospitality and sustentation of the poor and orphans, and of ministers within the burgh, "being situated among the Highlands and undaunted people." In 1567 Thomas Howieson or Houston, who had formerly been a priest, was appointed minister of the town. During the ecclesiastical troubles in the reign of James VI., an eminent minister, Robert Bruce, was banished to Inverness, and it is said "wonderfully illuminated that dark and remote country."

The Monastery of Beauly, with its possessions, fell into the hands of Lord Lovat. The abbot of Kinloss, who was prior of Beauly, made a charter in favour of Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, granting to him the barony town and lands of Beauly, with the different possessions and salmon-fishings owned by the monks. This charter was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in 1584. There was a struggle between Lord Lovat and the Lord of Kintail for the possession of the church property in the gift of the Crown, and both went to Edinburgh for the purpose. The minister of Kirkhill gives in his journal an amusing account of how the chief of the Frasers got the better of his competitor. "Lovat, well acquainted with the road, cuts short and arrived by a day's journey before him at Edinburgh, some saying they were a night in

one and the same lodging, or perhaps in one town, on the way, unknown to one another. But be sure Lord Lovat had his intelligence of the other's motions, and made but short stay in any part till he came to his journey's end; and in short he secured his object and got his right to Beauly through the seals, before Mackenzie came to Edinburgh. The day after, they met together in the open street, and the whole matter came above-board, and Kintail found himself outwitted."

The possessions which Lovat thus cleverly obtained still remain with the Frasers; but the monks who had been dispossessed were treated with kindness. They were restored to their cells, and a provision was assigned them for the remainder of their days, though they were forbidden to say mass in the priory church. It is supposed that certain of them continued to give instruction to some of the young gentry of the north, as nothing had been done to supply the place of the monastic schools.

Of the priory buildings there are no remains. Those of the church may be still seen. Its ancient and picturesque walls, and the noble trees around it, form a pleasing feature in a beautiful landscape.

The large number of people in Inverness-shire who adhered to the old faith were not left altogether without the ministrations of their religion. Priests disguised as peasants perambulated the country in the discharge of their religious functions, and at the risk of their lives. Members of the Jesuit, Benedictine, Franciscan, and Lazarite orders planted themselves in various districts among the Roman Catholic population. One of the Jesuit stations in North Britain was Strathglass. Irish priests also found their way into Moidart and the western district, and the chief of Glengarry obtained the services of two of them for his clan.

The hardships these clergymen endured in their wanderings were very great. One of them who ministered in Moidart was apprehended, tried in Edinburgh, banished, and threatened with the penalty of death if he ventured to return. He did return, was seized by English soldiers, and was thrown into the dungeon of Glengarry Castle, where he perished. In the neighbourhood of Castletirrim the priests' hiding-place was a small cave in the hillside, like a fox's den. The records of the Presbytery of Inverness are full of notices of "seminary priests," who were duly excommunicated, and handed over to the secular authorities. The presbytery made also strict inquiry after "Popish gear." They found on one occasion an image of St Finnan in a private house in Dunlichty, and caused it to be burned with all solemnity at the cross of the burgh. Glengarry was said to be a worshipper of the "Coan," an effigy probably of the Celtic apostle St Coan, to whom a church in Knoydart was dedicated. He was charged for this offence before the Privy Council, and the image was brought to Edinburgh and burnt at the cross. The old faith could not be put down by such measures. If presbyteries were active, priests were not less so. A succession of devoted men laboured among their co-religionists till the day of toleration came. Probably under their ministrations, and beneath the ban of persecution, the people became more earnest in their religion than they had been under their old parish priests. There are to-day to be found no more devout and exemplary people than the Catholics of Inverness-shire; and it is pleasing to add that they live, and have long lived, on terms of amity and goodwill with their Protestant neighbours.

Though the great event of the Scottish Reformation did not for long affect Inverness-shire religiously, it produced politically considerable changes. The great house of Huntly remained Roman Catholic, and as the Reformed polity made

progress, the family came into antagonism both with the Government and with those chiefs who had accepted Protestantism. This gave rise to conflicts, many of which took place outside of Inverness-shire, and we are not called upon to describe them. Those within its bounds were prolonged enough. The Mackintoshes had an old feud to settle with Huntly, whose grandfather had beheaded their chief in his castle of Strathbogie, and they were prompt to seize the opportunity. With the Grants and the Frasers they entered into alliance against the Catholic earl. The Camerons, the Macphersons, and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, as the Clanranald of Lochaber were now called, gave him their support. Thus nearly all the Inverness-shire clans were in the field on one side or the other.

It is impossible to convey a picture of the country torn by such feuds as these. In 1592 the Mackintoshes "lifted" the rents of the castle lands at Inverness which pertained to Huntly, seized those belonging to him in Badenoch, and made a raid on the Camerons. In 1593 a letter of the king tells "of great incursions, fire-raising, murder of women and bairns, and heirscheip of gear and goods upon the Earl of Huntly by the Clan Chattan." In the same year the Mackintoshes and their allies seized 4000 head of horses and cattle which Huntly had sent into Lochaber for security. "The Camerons did behold the matter, but durst not encounter." In 1594 Argyle with the Protestant forces besieged Ruthven in Badenoch, but it was so gallantly defended by the Macphersons that he was unable to take it. He then marched through the mountains to Strathbogie, where he was defeated. So the strife went on; private feuds mixed with more public interests, and the whole county was in a blaze as when the heather is on fire. The conflagration at last died out. In 1597 Huntly made his peace with the Kirk at Aberdeen.

He became an avowed Protestant, and was restored to his power and his lands. The turmoil ceased for a time, but it left Inverness-shire in many parts utterly desolate, and whole glens almost without inhabitants.

James VI. of all the Scottish kings set himself most manfully to suppress disorder in the Highlands. His predecessors had governed the North as one might ride a wild horse with slackened rein, pulling it up sharply at intervals to his own personal danger. James VI. kept the bridle always tightly in his own hands, and let the animal he bestrode feel that he was on his back. His hold over his northern subjects never relaxed. He made the chiefs of the most remote districts know that the strong arm of the law could reach them in their fastnesses. He dealt sharply with them by fine and imprisonment. He compelled them to appear personally from time to time before his Privy Council in Edinburgh, and he gave them to understand that the possession of their lands depended upon their good behaviour. Intended raids on one another's territories were often stopped before they could be executed. When carried out, severe punishment followed closely upon the offence. Before the victorious chief could well reach his castle with his prey, he was served with a summons to appear before the Council. This tribunal seemed to be in direct communication with the North: whatever took place in Inverness-shire was at once reported at Edinburgh, and the king's writ was made to run as freely in Badenoch and Lochaber as in the Lothians.

The measures adopted for the pacification of the North were severe, and often cruel, but they were effective. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1587 chiefs of clans were made to find securities to a large amount, proportioned to the number of their vassals, for the peaceable behaviour of those under them. If any person was injured by the members

of a clan, he could proceed against the sureties, and exact an amount from them proportionate to the damage he had sustained. By another Act of Parliament, in 1597, all Highland chiefs were called upon to appear personally at Edinburgh, and to produce within a year the titles by which they held their lands. In consequence of this measure, and of their failure to produce proper charters, certain chiefs lost portions of their lands, which were forfeited to the Crown, though the forfeiture does not appear to have been rigorously pressed. The king's intention probably was to plant southern colonists on his newly acquired land in the Highlands; but after the failure of an experiment of the kind made in the island of Lewis, his project was abandoned.

But more than by any enactment passed by Parliament or Privy Council, the Highlands were influenced by a decree which enjoined that the sons of chiefs should have a liberal education. "The chief principal caus," it narrates, "whilk hes procurit and procuris the continuance of barbaritie, impuritie, and incivilitie within the Yilis of this kingdom hes proceedit from the small cair that the chieftains and principall clannit men of the Yilis hes haid of the upbringing of thair childrene in virtue and lerning; who being carles of thair dewtis in that poynte, and keeping thair childrene still at home with thame, whair they see nothing in thair tender years but the barbarous and incivile formes of the countrie, thay are thairby maid to apprehend that thair is no better formes of dewtie and civilitie keepit in any other part of the countrie, sua that when thay come to the yeirs of maturitie hardlie can thay be reclaimed from these barbarous, rude, and incivil formes, whairas if thay had been sent to the inland in thair youthe, and trainit up in vertew, learning, and the Inglische tongue, thay would have been better able to reforme thair countryeis and to reduce the same to godli-

ness, obedience, and civilitie." This was the wisest of all King James's measures. Though in the first instance applicable only to the Islands, it was carried out throughout the northern Highlands. Young Inverness-shire chiefs were educated at the great seats of learning in Scotland, England, and on the Continent. Nothing could have tended more towards civilisation, and it is perhaps also in some degree true that "the first traces of that overflowing loyalty to the House of Stewart, for which the Highlanders have been so highly lauded, are to be found in that generation of their chiefs whose education was conducted on the High Church and State principle of the British Solomon."

Our limited space prevents us from giving any detailed account of the feuds which from time to time occurred in Inverness-shire, even during the vigorous reign of King James VI. — the Clan Cameron against Glengarry, Mackintoshes against Camerons, Camerons against Macdonalds, Huntly against the one or the other or both. The feud between the Clan Chattan and the Earl of Moray was of the most ferocious character. The Clan Chattan had been for many years friends of the earl, who had granted them valuable lands and possessions in return for various services they had rendered him. Having now, as he thought, no further need of their assistance, he withdrew his donations. Then arose a terrible conflict. The dispossessed clan determined to recover the abstracted territory. Two hundred gentlemen and 300 followers banded themselves together. The old historian Spalding gives a picturesque account of their operations. "They keeped the fields in their Highland weid, with swords, bowes, arrows, targets, hagbuttis, pistollis, and other Highland armour; and first began to rob and spulzie the earl's tenents, who laboured their possessions of their haill goods, geir, insight plenishing, horse, nolt, sheep, corns, and cattell,

and left them nothing that they could gett within their bounds; syne fell sorning throwout Murray, Strathawick, Urquhart, Ross, Sutherland, Brae of Man, and diverse other places, takeing their meat and food perforce wher they could not get it willingly, frae friends alse weill as frae foes; yet still keeped themselves from shedeing of innocent blood. Thus they lived as outlawes oppressing the country (besydes the casting of the earl's lands waist), and openly avowed they had tane this course to gett their own possessions again, or then hold the country walking." In the end, the Earl of Moray had the best of it. He got himself appointed the king's lieutenant in the Highlands, and received power to proceed capitally against his enemies. He was enabled to do so with considerable success. He made peace privately with some members of the clan, who betrayed the others, and having by virtue of his commission tried and executed "some slight louns followers of the Clan Chattan," he brought the difficulty to a peaceful issue. The story is a slight specimen of what went on at the time in every quarter of the country. It is sufficient to say that the supremacy of the law was always in the long-run asserted, though often very roughly, and not always with perfect justice. There is a monotonous simplicity in the process followed: offending chiefs had to travel to Edinburgh to appear personally before the Council, when they were severely fined, or put in ward, or forced to "chop hands" together and swear friendship. If they did not appear they were outlawed, "letters of intercommuning" were issued against them, and their lands were wasted with fire and sword by some neighbour to whom the Crown intrusted the commission, on the principle, as it was said, of "garring ane devil dang anither," and who often used it as much for his own interest as to uphold the supremacy of the law. Gradually the clan feuds ceased, or at least broke out at rarer

intervals. We enter upon a new epoch. The Highlandmen of Inverness-shire came to exercise their military prowess on a wider field than in strife among themselves, and in stealing each other's cattle. They are heard of henceforth as actors in scenes which occupy a conspicuous place in the nation's history.

CHAPTER VI.

HIGHLAND SEERS PROPHESY TROUBLOUS TIMES IN 1644—THEIR PROGNOSTICATIONS FULFILLED—MONTROSE BREAKS WITH THE COVENANT AND JOINS THE KING—THE FIERY CROSS SPEEDS THROUGHOUT INVERNESS-SHIRE—COLKITTO APPEARS IN THE COUNTY—ALARM OF THE BURGHERS OF INVERNESS—CAMPAIGN OF MONTROSE IN THE NORTH—HIS GAME OF "HIDE-AND-SEEK" ROUND THE GRAMPIANS — INVERNESS-SHIRE CLANS JOIN HIS STANDARD—HIS DESCENT UPON ARGYLE—CAMPS AT KILCHUMIN — HIS MARCH TO INVERLOCHY — THE BATTLE OF INVERLOCHY — HIS RETREAT TO INVERNESS-SHIRE AFTER PHILIPHAUGH — LAYS SIEGE TO THE TOWN—DISBANDS HIS ARMY—TWO OTHER ATTEMPTS TO RETRIEVE THE ROYAL FORTUNES—THE LAST EFFORT OF MONTROSE—HIS APPEARANCE AS A PRISONER AT INVERNESS—INFLUENCE OF MONTROSE ON THE HIGHLANDERS — INSPIRES THEM WITH LOYALTY TO THE STEWARTS.

IN 1644 Highland seers were busy in Inverness-shire. Those gifted with second-sight had visions of contending armies, and those not so gifted noted with alarm occurrences which appeared to them portents of coming calamity. "Prodigious signs, apparitions, spectres, and strange sights presaging war and revolutions—such as men fighting in the air, horse and foot retreating and returning—were all visibly observed," and are noted by a local historian. "Two of our fleshers," he tells us, going one morning into Inverness, "saw an army, foot and horse, marching before them, and heard the rattling noise of their arms till they came and entered into the woods of Bunchrew. Another evening, three men going to the ferry of Beauly saw an army marshalled, horse and foot, the very

colour of their horses and clothes, kettle-drums and ensign, apparent." This was not all: "Two prodigious whales came up the firth with a high spring-tide, the one pursuing the other, and fastened both upon the shallow sands. They were so big and high that the people made use of small ladders to reach their top. There were also two porpoises that ran up the river Ness under the bridge, and reached the Isle a mile above the town, where they were killed. Some conjectured that the two whales were an emblem of the king and Parliament pursuing one another; but, alas! these things portended no good. Another wonderful event happened above Beauly three several evenings—two parties fighting, so that men saw the glistening of their swords slashing at one another."

These strange prognostications found ample interpretation in subsequent events that took place in Inverness-shire. Southern Scotland had for some years been convulsed by the strife which followed the ill-advised attempt of King Charles I. to interfere with the religious convictions of his Scottish subjects. The royal forces and those of the Covenant were arrayed against each other, and the districts they traversed experienced the terrible calamities of civil war. The conflict, as it rose and fell, did not affect to any extent the county of Inverness. Grant, Lovat, and Mackintosh were Covenanters; and when in 1638 the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Lovat, and others of the party came to Inverness, the inhabitants of the town signed the Covenant, with the exception of the minister and a few others. But the greater part of the people of the county held aloof from the controversy, and took no active part either for king or for Covenant. The Camerons, Macpherson, Clanranald, Glengarry, and Keppoch remained peacefully within their own bounds, and viewed the religious strife from afar. But their swords were

not allowed to remain long in their scabbards, and a series of events took place which called them all into the field. Montrose, having broken with the Covenanters and joined the king, received a commission as king's lieutenant to raise the clans, and the fiery cross was soon speeding throughout Inverness-shire.

Early in July 1644 Alexander Macdonald—better known by his patronymic of Colkitto, or among the Gaelic people as Alasdair MacCholla Chiataich — landed in Argyleshire with a band of Irish soldiers, and, after capturing some Argyleshire castles, came to Knoydart. Thence he marched by Glen Quoich through Glengarry to Kilchumin, now Fort Augustus. The burghers of Inverness, who had so lately signed the Covenant, heard of his coming with alarm. "A number of Irish rebels," their minutes record, "a foreign public enemie, having invaded the kingdom and advanced to Glengarie, being about 3000, with intention to force all persons to join with them in ane black and doleful Covenant just opposite to their National Covenant lately subscrivit by the two kindgoms of Scotland and England. Therefore, that they prove not slack or deficient to their power to oppose the said public enemie in maintenance of the law subscrivit thereanent, have thought it expedient that eighty of the most resolute and best framed muscateers be presently sent from the borough to the heights of Stratherrick. John Cuthbert of Castlehill to be captain and prime commander, and to follow the said Irish rebels into Badenoch." The "resolute and best framed muscateers" were not able to impede their progress. Accompanied by the men of Glengarry, Colkitto marched through Badenoch, where he was joined by the Macphersons under the eldest son of Cluny, and reached Blair Athole. There he was met by Montrose; the royal standard was solemnly unfurled, and the campaign

commenced which adds such lustre to the fame of the great commander.

We have only to do, in these pages, with that part of the campaign—certainly not the least brilliant—which took place in Inverness-shire. The battle of Tippermuir, the occupation of Perth, the capture of Aberdeen, followed in quick succession. From Aberdeen, Montrose came through Strathdon and the mountain-passes of the Grampian range to Rothiemurchus on the banks of the Spey: there he intended to cross the river, but the Frasers and the Grants had seized the boats and menaced him with an army of 3000 men. He was now between two hostile forces, for the army of the Covenanters, led by Argyle, was farther east in Huntly's country; but he was equal to the occasion, and he now commenced that succession of rapid movements which his army of hardy mountaineers were so well able to execute, and which were characteristic of this great general. His object was to weary out his opponents by long marches ere he struck a decisive blow. He and they played a mutual "game of hide-and-seek" round the Grampians and through their passes. One week he was on the one side of the mountains and the next on the other. From Rothiemurchus he went down Speyside to Abernethy; thence he returned to Rothiemurchus, and from there into Badenoch. Here he was very unwell, and thought to be dying; but in a few days he was on the move again, "like to one risen from the dead," and marched by Dalwhinnie to Blair Athole. From this place he continued "his strange and rapid orbit," Argyle and his forces crawling heavily after him. He swept through Killiecrankie, passed into Angus, crossed the Dee into Strathbogie, thence by the Spey into Badenoch again, and from thence he led his warriors by a forced march by night to Blair Athole. His enemies, now thoroughly tired out, had retreated into winter quarters, and

he resolved to strike a decisive blow. Most of the royal clans surrounded his standard, and among them were those of our county — John of Moidart, chief of the Clanranald, Glengarry and Keppoch, with their men. The Badenoch Macphersons were there, and a detachment of the Clan Cameron sent by Lochiel, who was himself too old to take the field. The blow Montrose struck was daring and severe.

With his gallant following he passed down Loch Tay side and by Glenorchy into the country of Argyle, which he swept with fire and sword up to the doors of the castle of Inveraray. Even the Highland annals contain no account of a devastation so terrible as that which he inflicted on the land of the Campbells. To use the striking expression of Scripture, he "shaved it as with a razor." Hundreds of the inhabitants were put to the sword, their dwellings being given to the flames, and their cattle in vast herds driven away: none who were fit to bear arms were spared. "They left no house or hold except impregnable strength unburnt; their corn, goods, and gear; and left not a four-footed beast in his haill lands; and such as would not drive they houghed and slew that they should never make stead." So says a writer of the time. Yet bad as the spoliation was, it was not worse than that inflicted by Argyle on the Braes of Angus, when he swept the lands of the Ogilvies with fire and sword, and burnt "the bonnie house of Airlie."

Leaving desolation behind him, Montrose came once more into Inverness-shire by the Pass of Glencoe. Crossing the wild muirlands that skirt Lochtreig and Loch Ossian, he reached Lochaber by the pass through which the railway now runs to Fort William, and then skirting the shores of Loch Lochy and Loch Oich, he came to Kilchumin, or Fort Augustus, where he pitched his camp at a place called Leiter nan Lub. Here he remained several days, holding

councils of war and deliberating as to his future course. This was suddenly decided. On the 30th January there arrived at the camp the celebrated bard of Keppoch, Ian Lom, or John the Bare, who brought tidings that Argyle had established himself at Inverlochy with an army, and was spoiling the Braes of Lochaber. Instantly Montrose resolved to give him battle ere he could effect a junction with the Covenanting forces at Inverness. It was a hasty resolve, but it was well taken. His men were in splendid condition, jubilant with their successes—"well breathed by their long foray in the West, and high-blooded with Argyleshire beef." They were ready to encounter any foe, however formidable; to encounter Argyle, whom they hated, was a pleasant undertaking. The direct way to Inverlochy from Kilchumin lies by the shores of Loch Lochy and Loch Oich and the line of the present Caledonian Canal; but it was the object of Montrose to take his enemy by surprise, and he therefore adopted a more circuitous route.

Placing guards on the regular tracks to prevent intelligence of his movements being carried to Argyle, he began his wonderful march. On the 31st January 1645 his camp was in motion. They ascended the bed of the river Tarff, a rugged stream that comes brawling down to Loch Ness. Then they crossed the wild range of Corryarrick, and keeping well to the right, they came upon the river Roy, which they followed into the glen bearing its name. This they descended, passing the celebrated parallel roads, and so by Bohuntin to the valley of the Spean. It was a terrible march. The hills were deep with snow and the water-courses swollen. The journey could only have been accomplished by men inured to hardship. Crossing the river Spean near Roy Bridge, they probably followed the rough track by Corrychoile, Leanachan, and Dounie. On the evening of Saturday the 1st of February

they were within gunshot of the enemy. Above them towered the mighty Ben, in front of them were the dark towers of Inverlochy shining in the moonlight. They lay upon their arms all that night, exchanging occasional shots with the enemy, whose scouts they had killed in their advance. When the morning of Sunday the 2d February 1645 dawned they made ready for the attack. The most of them had not tasted a bit of bread during their two days' march. "The General himself and the Earl of Airlie had no more to break their fast when they went to battle than a little meal mixed with cold water, which out of a hollow dish they did pick up with their knives for want of spoons." The royal standard was unfurled and formally saluted, the pipes, trumpets, and kettle-drums sounded, and the battle began. The onslaught of the clans was fierce. "The rebels," Montrose says, "could not stand it, but after some resistance at first, they began to run." Argyle himself had taken no part in the battle, but viewed it in safety from his galley moored in Loch Linnhe. Some have said he did so because he was suffering from a broken arm, while others attribute his conduct to cowardice. When his men were defeated he set sail and departed, leaving them to their fate. The slaughter of his people was great: 1500 of them lay dead on the field. Those that escaped took their flight along the slopes above the present town of Fort William. They were followed by the victors as they made for Argyleshire as far as Lundivra, near which a cairn still stands which marks the spot where the pursuit ceased. It was a decisive battle. The power of the Campbells was broken, and Ian Lom, who had viewed the conflict from a distance, celebrated the victory over the enemies of his clan in impassioned strains, which are well known to the lovers of Gaelic poetry. Montrose at the conclusion of the battle sent an account of it to his royal master. The words

with which the letter closes are full of the exultation produced by victory: "Give me leave, after I have reduced this country and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty, as David's general to his master, Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name."

We have little more to tell of the exploits of Montrose, for his subsequent career lies beyond the limits of this story. After resting his men for a few days at Inverlochy, he went north by Loch Lochy and Loch Oich to Kilchumin, thence through Stratherrick by Boleskine and Loch Faraline into Strathnairn, then into Strathdearn, and so to Speyside, where he was joined by the Grants, whence he passed into Morayshire. After his defeat by General David Leslie at Philiphaugh, Montrose came again to the north to raise the clans, and laid siege to Inverness. "He fixed his guns," says one who witnessed the siege, "upon the old Castlehill under a hawthorn-tree due east, and battered shot. The river being fordable, several of his horse and foot sallied out as scouts westward to the Aird, and surprised the people of Farnua sowing their seed." The garrison defended themselves most valiantly. Montrose, not being supported by Huntly as he had expected, was forced to raise the siege, and retreated as General Middleton was entering from Petty. He then travelled by Strathglass and Glenmoriston, Kilchumin and Stratherrick, into Strathspey, ravaging the country as he went with fire and sword. The Clan Fraser had always opposed him, and he now took his revenge. "Betwixt the bridge-end of Inverness and Guisachan, sixteen miles," says the minister of Kirkhill, "there was not left in my country a sheep to bleat or a cock to crow, so severe were the depredations."

The hopes of Montrose were now very high: he had the Highlanders again at his back, and everything pointed to

a campaign that would efface the defeat of Philiphaugh. His hopes, however, were suddenly frustrated: he received orders from the king to disband his forces and to seek refuge on the Continent. When the great general next appeared in Inverness-shire it was as a prisoner.

Two other attempts by the brave Highlanders were made to retrieve the royal fortunes, which we can only glance at. In 1647 Huntly received a private commission from the king to raise an army, and for a time he made a gallant stand. He was opposed by David Leslie, and was forced to retire through Badenoch into Lochaber, where he disbanded his forces, and with a few friends sought refuge in flight. Leslie followed closely after him, captured Ruthven, and held the castle of Inverlochy. Another great general then engaged in the pursuit of Huntly, following him through Glenmoriston into Badenoch and other places, and he was at length captured in Strathdon.

In May 1649, after the execution of Charles I., a northern rising in support of the royal cause took place under Lord Reay and others, which was equally abortive. At the head of 1500 of their followers they entered the town of Inverness, expelled the troops from the garrison, and demolished the walls of the town. "They crossed the bridge of Ness," says the minister of Kirkhill, "on the Lord's Day in time of divine service and alarmed the people of Inverness, impeding God's worship in the town. For instead of bells to ring into service I saw and heard no other than the noise of pipes, drums, pots, pans, kettles, and spits in the streets to provide them victuals in every house. And in their quarters the rude rascality would eat no meat at their tables until the landlord laid down a shilling Scots upon each trencher, calling this 'argiod cagainn' (chewing-money), which every soldier got, so insolent were they." This formidable body was soon afterwards defeated

when they had crossed the Spey, 400 being killed and 1000 disarmed and made prisoners. The latter were conveyed through Moray to Inverness, "where," says the worthy minister, "I saw them pass through; and those men who in the former march would hardly eat their meat without money, are now begging food, and like dogs lap the water, which was brought them in tubs and other vessels, in the open streets. Thence they were conducted over the bridge of Ness, and dismissed every man, armless and harmless, to his own house: this is a matter of fact which I saw and heard."

In the spring of 1650 the gallant Montrose made his last effort in behalf of the cause which he had so long and so nobly supported. He landed in Caithness with a small body of men and proceeded southwards, wishing to reach Inverness-shire, where he hoped to be joined by his old companions in arms. He was opposed by an overwhelming force, and was defeated. Seeking safety among the hills of Sutherlandshire, he was captured by Macleod of Assynt, and delivered over to his enemies. They carried him to Edinburgh in triumph. From the Diary of the minister of Kirkhill, we get a glimpse of the hero as he passed through Inverness-shire, and took his last look at the mountains he knew so well, and had so often traversed. "I set down," says the minister, "that which I myself was an eyewitness of. On 7th of May at Lovat, Montrose sat upon a little shelty horse without a saddle, but a bundle of rags and straw, and pieces of ropes for stirrups; his feet fastened under the horse's belly, and a bit halter for a bridle. He had on a dark, old, reddish plaid, and a cap on his head; a muscateer on each side, and his fellow-prisoners on foot after him. Thus he was conducted through the country; and near Inverness, on the road to Muirton, where he desired to alight and called for a draught of water, being then in the first crisis of a high fever, the

crowd from the town came forth to gaze. The two ministers went thereupon to comfort him. At the end of the bridge, stepping forward, an old woman, Margaret M'George, exclaimed and brawled, saying, 'Montrose, look above, see those ruinous houses of mine, which you occasioned to be burned down when you besieged Inverness'; yet he never altered his countenance, but with a majesty and state beseeming him, kept a countenance high. At the cross was a table covered, and the magistrates treated him with wine, which he would not taste till alloyed with water. The stately prisoners, his officers, stood under a fore-stair and drank heartily. I remarked Colonel Hurry, a robust, tall, stately fellow with a long cut on his cheek. All the way through the streets he (Montrose) never lowered his aspect. The provost, Duncan Forbes, taking leave of him at the town's end, said, 'My lord, I am sorry for your circumstances.' He replied, 'I am sorry for being the object of your pity.'"

So the noble and gallant gentleman, with brave heart and head erect, passes to his doom.

Montrose was a great power in determining the destiny of the Highlanders. When the Inverness-shire clans joined him, they were attracted to his standard more probably from hatred to Argyle than from affection for King Charles. Gillespic Gruamach, or Grim Archibald, as they called that nobleman, was their dread foe. Ever since the downfall of the Lords of the Isles his family had gone on acquiring territory in the West, and was now threatening to add lands in Inverness-shire to its possessions. Argyle had obtained the superiority of Loch Eil and of Glengarry; that of Badenoch he had received from the Presbyterians. He was credited with a scheme for the acquisition of all Lochaber. There was apparently no limit to his acquisitiveness. All the Inverness-shire chiefs regarded him as their enemy. Had he been on

the side of the king, they would probably have been on that of the Covenant. Montrose inspired them with a true feeling of loyalty. They never forgot the lesson he taught them. Henceforth devotion to the Stewarts became with them a kind of religion. It induced them to take up the cause of the king when it seemed to others hopeless. Through long years their swords were always at his command. It was not until Culloden had sealed the fate of the Stewarts that they ceased to follow in the footsteps of Montrose.

CHAPTER VII.

CROMWELL IN THE NORTH—HIS CONQUEST OF INVERNESS-SHIRE—BUILDS A CITADEL AT INVERNESS—DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS—CHURCHES RAZED TO BUILD IT—A VESSEL OF WAR PLACED ON LOCH NESS—THE CHIEF OF GLENGARRY PLOTS INSURRECTION — THE RISING OF 1653 UNDER GLENCAIRN—WONDERFUL MARCH THROUGH THE COUNTY OF GENERAL MONK—FINAL DEFEAT OF GLENCAIRN—EWEN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL REFUSES TO MAKE TERMS WITH THE ENGLISH—THE "ULYSSES OF THE HIGHLANDS"—HIS CHARACTER, AND STRUGGLES WITH CROMWELL'S SOLDIERS—MAKES PEACE WITH MONK—ACCOMPANIES HIM TO LONDON AT THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—RESTORATION OF THE KING RECEIVED WITH JOY IN THE NORTH—THE CITADEL OF INVERNESS DEMOLISHED—INFLUENCE OF CROMWELL'S SOLDIERS ON THE PEOPLE — ON THEIR DEPARTURE THE COUNTY BECOMES TURBULENT — THE KEPPOCH MURDER AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE MURDERERS—"THE WELL OF THE SEVEN HEADS"—THE MACKINTOSHES INVADE LOCHABER —THE OLD FEUD BETWEEN THEM AND THE CAMERONS CLOSED—THE LAST OF THE CLAN BATTLES OF INVERNESS-SHIRE — THE FIGHT AT MULROY—"MACDONALD TOOK THE BRAE ON THEM"—THE COUNTY ASSUMES ITS PRESENT GEOGRAPHICAL AREA.

A NEW power was now to make itself felt in Inverness-shire. That county, with the rest of Scotland, was to experience the effect of foreign domination. After the battle of Worcester the soldiers of Cromwell overran the greater part of the kingdom, and established their garrisons from Berwick-on-Tweed to Stornoway in the remote island of Lewis. Apparently with little difficulty they conquered the Highlands. The forces of the clans were no match for their well-disciplined troops. Their armies found their way into the most inaccessible places, and marched unmolested through

the wildest passes. They struck terror into the hearts of the Highlanders, who submitted themselves to the Englishmen almost without resistance. Cromwell's soldiers treated the people kindly, abstained from plundering, paid for whatever supplies they received, and generally exercised a civilising influence on the inhabitants.

In November 1651 Colonel Fitch occupied Inverness, quartering his men in the castle and "great houses betwixt Spey and Loch Ness." In the spring of the next year he commenced building a citadel, which was to accommodate 2000 men, horse and foot. "The wall," a letter from Inverness at the time informs us, "is to be of freestone, and will be of great use when finished. The ground it is to be built on is by an arm of the sea, and the river Ness, over which there is a bridge made. On Monday they are to begin digging the grafts, which are to partake of the water of Ness."

A full account of the erection is given by the minister of Kirkhill in his Diary. In 1655 he writes: "The Citadel of Inverness is now on a great length, almost finished. They had first built a long row of buildings made of bricks and planks upon the river-side to accommodate the regiment, and ramparts and bulwarks of earth in every street of the town, and also fortified the castle and the bridge and the main court of guard at the Cross. They bought a large plot of ground from the burghers, called Carseland, where they built the citadel, founded May 16, 1652, and now finished, a most stately scene! It was five-cornered, with bastions, with a wide trench that an ordinary barque might sail in at full tide; the breast-work three storeys, built all of hewn stone lined within, and a brick wall. Sentinel-houses of stone at each corner, a sally-port to the south leading to the town, and on the north a great entry or gate called the Port, with a strong drawbridge of oak, called the Blue Bridge, and a stately

structure over the gate, well cut with the Commonwealth arms and the motto 'Togam tuentur arma.' This bridge was drawn every night, and a strong guard within. Ships or shallops sailing in or out, the bridge was heaved to give way. The entry from the bridge into the citadel was a stately vault about 70 feet long, with seats on each side, and a row of iron hooks for pikes and drums to hang on. In the centre of the citadel stood a great four-square building, all hewn stone, called the magazine and granary. In the third storey was the church, well furnished with a stately pulpit and seats, a wide bartizan on top, and a brave great clock with four large gilded dials and a curious ball. . . . North-west and north-east are lower storeys for ammunition, timber, lodgings for manufactories, stablings, provision and brewing houses, and a great long tavern with all manner of wines, viands, beer, ale, and cider, sold by one Master Benson, so that the whole regiment was accommodated within these walls. All their oak planks and beams were carried out of England in ships to Kessock Roads; all their fir logs and spars were sold out of Hugh Fraser Struy's woods: I saw that gentleman receive 30,000 merks at once for timber. Most of their best hewn stone was taken from Chanonry — the great cathedral and steeple and the bishop's castle were razed—also from the Church and Abbey of Kinloss and Beauly, the Greyfriars' and St Mary's Chapel at Inverness, and many more, so that it was a sacrilegious structure, and therefore could not stand. The whole expense amounted to about eighty thousand pounds."

It must have been a brave structure, and calculated to overawe the neighbouring clans, as it stood there strong and impregnable with its blue banner floating above with the name "Emmanuel" written upon it in letters of gold. But the Englishmen performed another feat of engineering, which was thought at the time even more remarkable than the building

of the citadel. They constructed at Inverness a vessel, or frigate, as she was called, capable of containing sixty men, and carried her overground to Loch Ness. "This day," says a letter from the town, "a pinnace of above forty tons was launched by the understanding and exceeding pains of Captain Pestle, captain of the *Satisfaction;* and some of his seamen, with almost all the soldiers, with officers of Colonel Fitch's regiment, was drawn six miles and upwards overland, to the great admiration of all who were spectators; it being a work thought almost impossible. Considering the bulk of the vessel, and the ill way she was drawn over, I believe the like was never undertaken. The men broke three cables, seven inches, with hauling of her, yet it was incredible to see with what cheerfulness she was carried through their great labour. There is appointed divers soldiers and seamen to be put in her, and four pieces of ordnance, and to sail up and down a standing water called lough Nesse. She will do excellent service in preventing the Highlanders to make their passage that way, which is frequented by them."

While these brave doings were going on in the Highland capital, the turbulent spirits among the clans were plotting insurrection. The chief of Glengarry went everywhere through the North trying to effect a rising among the Highlanders. From the letters of Cromwell's soldiers his labours among the "wilde men," as they called them, were incessant. "Glengarry," writes Colonel Lilburne to Cromwell, "had a meeting in the Highlands about Strathglass. I perceive he hath been tampering with all the chiefs of clans in and about Loughaber and northward." "Their plots do ripen," he writes again, "especially among the mountains; undoubtedly one from Charles Stuart has been with Glengarry, which hath put a great deal of life into these kind of cattle." From Paris in 1652 Charles II. sent a commission to Glengarry, Cameron,

Laird of Lochiel, Macdonald of Keppoch, Fraser Foyers, and others, constituting them a council of war. This council met in the following year at Glenelg, and sent a letter to the exiled King assuring him of their readiness to spend their lives in his service. The result of these movements, in which Glengarry was the leading spirit, was the Rising in 1653 under Lord Glencairn. Glengarry brought 300 men to his banner; Cameron of Lochiel 400; and some of the other clans of Inverness-shire were also represented, though the Badenoch men refused to join. The hopes of the Royalists were short-lived. In Badenoch Lord Lorn, braving the curse of his father, joined them with 1000 foot and 50 horse; but soon after left them, and marched off with his forces in a huff, conceiving himself insulted by certain of the chiefs. As his father was the superior of Badenoch, he thought himself entitled to command the troops. This demand was refused, and he returned home. This was the precursor of failure. The army moved northward, and at Dornoch General Middleton, who had been sent by the king, took the command. Middleton was an able general, but he had to contend with men of greater ability.

General Monk, Governor of Scotland under Cromwell, hastened northwards with an army, and his march through the wildest parts of Inverness-shire is one of the most astonishing feats of the kind ever recorded. Any one who knows the country will concur in this opinion. From Ruthven in Badenoch he marched on the 20th of June to Cluny, and thence to Glenroy. On the 23d he met, at the south end of Loch Lochy, the Marquis of Argyle and the governor of Inverlochy. On the 24th he reached Glenmoriston, and on the way he met Colonel Morgan's brigade "near Glengarry's new house, which had been burned by that brigade the day before.' The remaining structure Monk ordered to be defaced by

pioneers. On the 25th the army came to Glenquoich, at the head of Glengarry, and encamped. On the 26th it reached Kintail; on the 27th it came to Loch Alsh; on the 29th, taking the road from Kintail to Glen Strathfarrar, it came to a place called by the general Glenteugh; on the 30th it marched from this place to Brouline in Glen Strathfarrar. "The way for near five miles," the general says, "was so boggie that a hundred baggage-horses were left behind, and many other horses bogged or tired. Never any horseman, much less an army, were observed to march that way before." From Glen Strathfarrar, Monk marched up Strathglass and down Glenurquhart to Inverness. Thence he went southwards through Strathnairn. At Faille, in that strath, he met with General Morgan, whom he sent towards Braemar to watch the enemy's movements. In Argyleshire he heard that Morgan had met with Middleton's forces, and had utterly routed them near Loch Garry, on the northern border of Perthshire, near Drumuchtar. The defeat at Loch Garry ended the rising of Glencairn, and in his own words, "the king's interest was broken in Scotland."

Most of the Inverness-shire chiefs now gave bonds for their good behaviour to the Government of the Commonwealth, and were permitted to live in peace within their bounds. There was one of them, however, who for long would make no terms with the English invaders. This was the chief of Lochiel.

Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, known among the Highlanders as Eoghain Dubh, or Black Ewen, and among Cromwell's Englishmen as MacIlduy, was one of the outstanding figures of his time; he was chief among chiefs. Of great strength and courage, inured to hardship, skilful in the chase, and brave in battle, he possessed all those physical qualities that naturally command the admiration of a warlike people. He

was also one whose moral and intellectual power were equally conspicuous. He was a man of great natural wisdom, which compensated for a somewhat defective education. He had above all for the time a high ideal of character and life. Chivalrous to a degree, he in many ways resembled Montrose, whom he regarded as his model. He was adored by his clan, who supposed him to be possessed of supernatural powers. His turbulent neighbours respected him as a soldier and a leader of men, and even his enemies spoke of him with admiration. His Memoir reads like the life of one of Plutarch's heroes. He has been happily called by Lord Macaulay "the Ulysses of the Highlands."

Lochiel had been brought up under the guardianship of Argyle, whose vassal he was, but at an early age he cast in his lot with the Royalists. He joined Glencairn in his insurrection, and he was one of Middleton's most trusted officers. Cromwell's soldiers at Inverlochy, where they had built a fort, lived in constant dread of their neighbour. The relation of his exploits in harassing the garrison there forms a large portion of his Memoirs. When the soldiers of the Commonwealth showed themselves abroad, he constantly fell upon them and defeated them. Cromwell's troopers were obliged to perform their devotions as regularly as their drill, and the daily prayer of an Irishman who escaped from the chief's hands is said to have been, "that God in His mercy would be pleased to keep him out of the hands of Lochiel and his bloody crew for the rest of his life." The spot is still shown near Achdalew, on the north side of Loch Eil, where the chief engaged in mortal combat with an officer commanding a party from the fort. The officer, having lost his sword, closed with his antagonist, and wrestled with him till they both fell to the ground in each other's arms. In their struggle they rolled into the channel of a burn, which the drought of summer had

left dry. Their strength was so spent that neither of them could stir a limb; but at last the Englishman recovered the use of his right hand, and seized a dagger that hung at his belt, meaning to stab his enemy, who held him fast. In endeavouring to disengage himself to give the blow, he stretched and exposed his neck, when Lochiel jumped at his extended throat, which he used to say "God had put into his mouth," and bit it right through, keeping such a hold that he brought away the mouthful. "This," he said, "was the sweetest bite I ever had in my life."

But even Lochiel had at last, for the sake of his clan, to make peace with the Englishmen. The terms he made with Monk, who commanded in Scotland, were highly honourable to himself. He would give no oath and no assurance but his word of honour. His clan should be allowed to carry their arms as before. The name of Cromwell, whom he detested as a usurper, was not to be referred to. Rather than acknowledge him, he would remain an outlaw and fugitive all his days. He and his clan were to lay down their arms, in the name of Charles II., to the governor of Inverlochy, and take them up again immediately in the name of the States. These terms and others most favourable to Lochiel, and most creditable to the generosity of Monk, were accepted. A great banquet crowned the surrender at Inverlochy, and peace reigned between the Camerons and the Sassenach.

In 1660 Monk made his famous march to London, which led to the Restoration of Charles II. Lochiel, whom he held in great honour, rode by his side. He was received by the king with marked favour, and his exploits were the talk of the town. During one of his frequent attendances at Court, the following strange incident is said to have occurred: The chief went into a barber's shop to get his hair and his beard dressed, and when the razor was passing over his throat, the

chatty barber observed, "You are from the North, sir." "Yes," said Lochiel, "I am. Do you know people from the North?" "No," replied the barber, "nor do I wish to; they are savages there. Would you believe it, sir, one of them tore the throat out of my father with his teeth, and I only wish I had the fellow's throat as near me as I have yours just now!" The feelings of the chief may be imagined. It is said he never entered a barber's shop again.

The restoration of the king was received with joy throughout the Highlands, and the northern capital abandoned itself to festivity. Races were held, at which most of the Inverness-shire chiefs were present. Grants, Mackintoshes, Frasers, and Macdonalds mingled together in the utmost cordiality. The gratitude of the king towards those who had stood by him in his adversity was supposed to be unbounded, though it cannot be said he did much to show it. Glengarry, however, received a peerage, with the title of Macdonnell and Aros; and, to please the clans, the fortresses which Cromwell had erected to keep them in subjection were ordered to be razed to the ground. The key of that of Inverlochy and its buildings was given to Lochiel, and the great citadel at Inverness was utterly demolished.

"This of Inverness," observes the minister of Kirkhill in 1661, "had not stood ten years. I was an eyewitness of the last stone that was broken of this famous citadel, as I was also witness of the foundation-stone laid." He tells, also, "how the Commonwealth arms were pulled down and broken, and the king's arms set up in their place; the Blue Bridge slighted, the sally-port broken, the magazine-house steeple broken, and the great bell taken down. All this done with demonstrations of joy and gladness, the soldiers shouting 'God save the King!' as men weary of the yoke and slavery of usurpation which lay so long about their necks.

A rare thing fell out here that was notarly known to a thousand spectators, that the Commonwealth's arms set above the most conspicuous gate of the citadel, a great *thistle* growing out above it covered the whole carved work and arms so as not a bit of it could be seen, to the admiration of the beholders. This was a presage that the Scots should therefore eclipse."

The English troops left Inverness with regret. A few of them, however, settled in the town, where their descendants still remain. "Never people left a place," says the minister, "with such reluctance. It was sad to see and hear their sighs and tears, pale faces and embraces, at their parting farewell from that town, and no wonder: they had peace and plenty for ten years in it; they made that place happy, and it made them so. The citadel was slighted, and all the country called in to raze it. I saw it founded. I saw it flourish. I saw it in its glory and grandeur, and now in its ruins. 'Sic transit gloria mundi.'"

There can be no doubt that the soldiers of Cromwell exercised a civilising influence in the North, as throughout Scotland. According to Dr Johnson, they first taught the people of Inverness to make shoes and plant kail, and to speak the English language with elegance. Some of their own letters speak hopefully of their religious influence on the Highlanders, and describe how the latter listened to their preachers, of whom there were many in every regiment, and testified their approbation by their "groans." Even the Royalist minister of Kirkhill grows eloquent as he writes of all they did for Inverness: "They brought such stores of all wares and conveniences to Inverness that English cloth was sold near as cheap as in England. The pint of claret went for one shilling. They set up an apothecary's shop, with a druggist; they not only civilised, but enriched

the place." One thing they certainly did, beyond all doubt—they kept the Highlanders in order, and repressed with strong hands those clan feuds and robberies which form so great a part of northern history, and which at their departure broke out with the old violence. Like hounds let loose from the leash, the robbers in every glen sprang to their old work. It would be tedious to tell of their doings: how reavers from Glengarry carried away cattle from the Laird of Grant's tenants; how caterans from the Clan Maclean in the dead of night lifted cows belonging to The Chisholm, and drove them into Badenoch; how the great barnyards of Culcabock, belonging to Inshes, were all set on fire—"it made such a dreadful flame as put Inverness into a consternation"—how Glenmoriston seized the Laird of Inshes and conveyed him to his glen, where he kept him a prisoner for nearly two months.

Incidents like these were common all over the county after the departure of the Englishmen; but one terrible deed, which was followed by a vengeance as terrible, we must mention. The young chief of Keppoch and his brother Ronald were sent abroad for their education, and during their absence the management of the clan and estates devolved on certain cousins, as their nearest relations. On the return of the young men to their home, a feast was given in their honour, and at this feast they were barbarously murdered by their treacherous relatives. The bard of the clan, Ian Lom, was deeply affected by their fate, and denounced their assassins with all the power of his muse. His poetry glows with fire. He used also his personal influence to bring the murderers to justice, and went from one castle to another crying for vengeance. His efforts after a time were successful. The Government authorised Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat to punish the criminals. Guided by Ian

Lom, the son of this chief made an incursion by night into Lochaber, and surprised the assassins, seven in number, in their beds. They were at once executed. Their heads were cut off, packed in a creel, and carried on a man's back; and next morning at dawn they were laid at the feet of Lord Macdonnell of Glengarry. Near the entrance to Invergarry Castle is a well where the heads were washed before being presented to the chief. This well is called to this day "The Well of the Seven Heads"; and above it stands a monument bearing an inscription, which, in Gaelic, English, Latin, and French, tells of this act of retribution, and calls on the passer-by to draw near and read a story of the justice of the Eternal God.

Two clan feuds, one of which ended peacefully, the other of which was closed in bloodshed, may here be briefly noticed. During upwards of three hundred years the Mackintoshes again and again put forward their claims to the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig, and during the same period the Camerons stoutly defended their possession of them with the sword. After the restoration of the king, the claims of The Mackintosh were strenuously pressed in the Scottish Parliament, the courts of law, and the Privy Council. The king did all he could to help his old friend Lochiel, and there were protracted negotiations, which came to nothing. In 1665 The Mackintosh determined to make a descent on Lochaber, and wrest by force the disputed lands from Lochiel. With 1500 men he entered in September his enemy's country. Lochiel mustered his clan, which, with some friendly neighbours, numbered in all a force of 1200, 300 of whom were bowmen, to meet his foe. There was every prospect of a fierce conflict. The Mackintoshes and their allies were on the north side of Arkaig Water; the Camerons guarded the ford on the other side; happily, by

the mediation of the Earl of Breadalbane, bloodshed was at the last moment prevented. Lochiel offered to purchase the disputed lands for a certain sum, and Mackintosh accepted his offer. "The combatants drank together and exchanged swords, rejoicing in the extinction of the ancient feud." The feud had indeed been an ancient one. As we have already shown, it probably led to the battle on the Inch of Perth in the reign of King Robert III. During subsequent years it was like a smouldering fire, leaping again and again into flame. Tradition asserts that, during three centuries and a half, a Mackintosh and a Cameron had never spoken together. That is doubtless an exaggeration; but it serves to show how fierce was the enmity between the two clans, handed down from father to son with all the persistence of an Italian vendetta.

The other feud closed the list of the clan battles, and on that account may be interesting to the reader, who has been told of so many.

The lands of Glenroy and Glenspean had been conferred on the Mackintoshes by an undoubted charter. They were held by the Macdonalds of Keppoch, who declined to acknowledge what they termed the "sheepskin title" of the other clan. In 1688 Mackintosh, with 1000 men, which included a party of regular soldiers from Inverness, acting with the sanction of the Privy Council, marched against his foe. The chief of Keppoch was well known throughout the Highlands by the name of "Col of the Cows"—a name given him on account of his skill in tracking and recovering stolen cattle. He had every reason to detest The Mackintosh, for while he was a student at the University of St Andrews, that chief had caused him to be imprisoned in the common tolbooth of Inverness, when he had gone north to attend his father's funeral. He had been liberated by an order of the Privy Council, but the insult had not been forgotten. With

all the men he could muster, and aided by his kinsmen of Glengarry and Glencoe, and a party of Camerons, he awaited with fierce joy the approach of his antagonist. At a place called Mulroy the two forces came into collision. A hand-to-hand conflict took place, in which the Macdonalds were victorious.

A certain Donald MacBane, who had been an apprentice to a tobacco-spinner in Inverness, and who had enlisted in the army, gives an amusing but graphic description of the fight, at which he was present: "We were no sooner in order but there appears double of the number of the Macdonalds, which made us then to fear the worst; at least, for my part, I repeated my former wish [that he had been spinning tobacco in Inverness]. The Macdonalds came down the hill upon us without either shoe, stocking, or bonnet on their head: they gave a shout, and then the fight began on both sides, and continued a hot dispute for an hour. Then they broke in upon us with their sword and target and Lochaber axes, which obliged us to give way. Seeing my captain sore wounded, and a great many more with their heads lying cloven on every side, I was sadly affrighted, never having seen the like before. A Highlandman attacked me with sword and targe, and cut my wooden-handled bayonet out of the muzzle of my gun. I then clubbed my gun and gave him a stroke with it, which made the butt-end to fly off. Seeing the Highlandmen come fast upon me, I took to my heels and ran thirty miles before I looked behind me. Every person I saw or met I took him for my enemy."

The slaughter was great. The visitor to Lochaber can still trace the graves that lie thick on the field of battle. The banner of the Mackintosh was only saved by the standard-bearer leaping over a chasm where no one dared to follow. The chief himself fell into Keppoch's hands, and, it is said,

was compelled to yield his title to the disputed land. When the captive heard the shouts of the Macdonalds welcoming the "Lord of Keppoch," he said, "You are as far from being Lord of Keppoch at this moment as you have been all your life." "Never mind," answered the victor, "we'll enjoy the good weather while it lasts." The bard of the conqueror celebrated the victory in triumphant strains, telling how the Macdonalds, like brave dogs, held at the mountain-cats and took the mewing out of their nose, regardless of their sharp claws. And the last of the clan battles, equal in ferocity to any of the innumerable ones that preceded it, is still commemorated by the well-known pibroch, "Macdonald took the Brae on them."

It may be mentioned here, for we have had no opportunity of previously doing so, that in 1661 the county of Inverness assumed its present geographical area. In that year it was disjoined from Ross-shire. Caithness had been dissevered from it in 1617, and Sutherland in 1633.

CHAPTER VIII.

INVERNESS-SHIRE DURING THE WARS OF VISCOUNT DUNDEE—"GREAT JOHN OF THE BATTLES"—TAKES UP ARMS IN FAVOUR OF JAMES VII.—COMES TO INVERNESS—FINDS THE TOWN BESIEGED BY KEPPOCH—"COL OF THE COWS"—HIS INTERVIEW WITH THAT FREEBOOTER—APPOINTS A GENERAL MUSTER OF THE CLANS—HIS MARCH THROUGH INVERNESS-SHIRE TO DALMACOMER—GATHERING OF THE CLANS—STRIKING PICTURES OF THE CHIEFS IN THE "GRÆMIAD"—GLENGARRY, KEPPOCH, LOCHIEL—THE CAMPAIGN IN BADENOCH AGAINST GENERAL MACKAY—DUNDEE AT MOY IN LOCHABER—THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE AND DEATH OF DUNDEE—THE INEFFECTUAL STRUGGLE OF THE CHIEFS ON THE SIDE OF THE KING—THE HAUGHS OF CROMDALE—MACKAY ERECTS FORT WILLIAM—THE CHIEFS SUBMIT TO GOVERNMENT—KEPPOCH AND GLENGARRY NARROWLY ESCAPE THE FATE OF GLENCOE—THE COUNTY AGAIN PEACEFUL—DEATH OF LOCHIEL.

THE form of Church government in Scotland during the reign of Charles II. was Episcopacy. In this the Inverness-shire people seem to have acquiesced. While many in the South regarded it as abomination, and resisted it to the death, within the bounds of our county there was very little religious dissension to speak of. In Ross and Moray there were Covenanters and conventicles, but in Inverness-shire the only outstanding man who uplifted his testimony against the established order of things was a Mr M'Bean, one of the ministers of the burgh. He seems to have had a certain following among the townsmen, but his career as a "schismatic" was a short one. He was firmly dealt with by his brethren and his bishop, and was finally judicially deposed by

the Privy Council at Edinburgh—the last case of deposition under Episcopacy. It was sufficient justification to the Highlanders in their support of Episcopacy that it was the religion the king wished established. What the king wished must be right.

"A Highland Host," as we know, supported Dundee, or Claverhouse, in his endeavours to put down the Covenanters, and returned to their native wilds with great plunder, taken from the Westland Whigs. By the Highlanders Dundee was regarded, not as the "bloody Claverse," who was supposed to be in league with the devil, and whose hands were imbrued in the blood of the saints, but as "*Ian mor nan Cath*," "great John of the Battles," the brave general and loyal servant of the king. When Dundee, after the revolution which drove James VII. from his throne, took up arms in favour of the deposed monarch, and against the Prince of Orange, he found the Inverness-shire clans as ready to follow him as they had been to follow Montrose.

The first note of the new "rising" was struck at Inverness on Sunday the 28th April 1689. Macdonald of Keppoch with 800 men appeared before the northern capital and threatened it with destruction. This chief, the famous "Col of the Cows" already mentioned, had been chosen by some of the neighbouring chiefs to meet Dundee and conduct him to Lochaber. He readily undertook to discharge this duty, the more so that it gave him an opportunity of gratifying his love of plunder. He came up accordingly from Lochaber, through the lands of The Mackintosh, which he thoroughly harried—Mackintosh was the enemy whom he had previously defeated at Mulroy—and then advanced to Inverness, the garrison of which had assisted Mackintosh. The authorities of the town were not altogether unprepared for his coming. They had organised a guard of the inhabitants for their pro-

tection; and a body of 300 well-armed and resolute citizens, under chosen captains, mustered in defence of their homes.

During the whole of the Sunday on which Keppoch appeared before the town they stood under arms, ready to resist any attempt he might make to effect an entrance. The ministers preached that morning at the cross, "all the citizens being necessitated to stand in a posture of defiance." It was a trying Sabbath for the burghers, but it passed off without any attack being made. The next two days Keppoch spent before the town, threatening to come in and burn it, but afraid to venture. He then demanded a ransom of 2000 dollars.

At this juncture, when everything pointed to a severe conflict, Dundee appeared on the scene, and the whole aspect of things changed. There was no longer any question of burning the town. The citizens agreed to pay 1000 dollars, and it is said Dundee gave his word to pay 1000 more on the king's return to his own, as the town had not proclaimed the Prince of Orange. The money was collected in the burgh, and the marauder ceased his threatening.

Dundee, who with some eighty troopers had reached Inverness from the South, was greatly pleased to find the Highlanders in arms, and wished at once to lead them southward to meet the revolutionary troops, who were in pursuit of him. Keppoch was received with cheers by the troopers, but he was in no way disposed to join them. "Col of the Cows" was more anxious to secure his plunder than to aid Dundee. Some of his men, he said, were Camerons, and could not march south without the express leave of their master. "The king of thieves," says one who was present, "basely debated the matter to and fro, and framed excuses for delay. He then marched rapidly his claymores to the mountains, driving before him great herds of cattle, robbing villages and dwellings as he went, and pillaging the

poorest cottages; and then, having wrapped all in flames behind him, he retired to the hills and hid himself among the rocks of his inaccessible mountains. It was a bitter disappointment to Dundee."

The writer whom we have quoted was standard-bearer to Dundee, and accompanied him throughout his Highland campaign. In an epic poem called the "Græmiad," and written in Latin, he details the achievements of his commander. We follow him in his description of Dundee's movements, for it is full of interesting local touches. The reader will make all allowance for his poetic flights.

Dundee, leaving Inverness, proceeded westward, hoping to be more successful with the other chiefs than he had been with the mercenary Keppoch. "He passed through Stratherrick, his horses scrambling over pathless mountains white with perpetual frost, to where, surrounded by its gloomy marshes, stands the castle of Invergarry crowning its lofty rock. From thence, retracing his steps by the same route, beset with vast and horrid crags, he passes on and halts at the kirk of Kilchumin." From this place, now Fort Augustus, Dundee went by the Pass of Corryarrick to the Spey, and halted at the farm of Presmukerach, on the river Truim. Here he rested for a day and wrote letters to such of the Highland chiefs as were on his side, appointing a general meeting of the clans to take place in Lochaber about the 18th May. He then went southward by Dalwhinnie and Athole, made a successful raid on Perth, and an unsuccessful attempt on the town of Dundee. He returned to Inverness-shire by Loch Rannoch, and followed the track which leads from Kinloch Rannoch to Loch Treig, past Corrour, and so on to Lochaber.

The journey is graphically described by his poetic standard-bearer, and any one who has ever made it either on foot or

by railway will recognise the truthfulness of the picture he draws of his march across the northern extremity of the wild Moor of Rannoch: "He led his troops through mountains, forcing his way by plain and rock and cliff, by sweltering bog and gully. Many of the wearied horses sink into the marsh and are lost in its depth. Failing to raise them, the riders place the saddles on their own shoulders and pursue their way on foot. I myself, having lost my horse, have to tramp by rugged path and hill and rock and river. At length, by stream and marsh and quaking bog, by forest blocked with uprooted trees, by precipice and mountain-height, we reach Loch Treig, and there fix our lofty camp. Though the glories of spring were clothing the Lowlands, we have to tear our limbs from our frozen couches, and our hair and beards are stiff with ice. We pursue our way through regions condemned to perpetual frost, and never trodden before by the foot of man or horse. By mountains rising above the airy flight of birds and cliffs towering to the sky, by devious paths among the time-worn rocks, our march unlocks the iron bolts of Nature. Hannibal with less labour clave his way by vinegar and flame across the lofty Alps. Here no smoke, no sign of human dwelling appears, but only the lair of the wild beast and a chaos of mountain, wood, and sky. Here the sun itself scarce darts a ray. At last our march is ended, and Dundee plants his foot on level ground, and presses with his heel the level bank as he crosses the deep waters of Glenroy. Gladly Lochaber receives the Grahame into her bosom."

Dundee seems to have rested, after his arduous march, for some days near what is now Roy Bridge, awaiting the general muster of the clans, and sending out the fiery cross in every direction. The poetic soldier gives a vivid description of Lochaber. In its desolation it appeared to himself and his

comrades to be the end of the world. "The horses," he says, "were sent over the plain to swell as best they might their famished flanks with the prickly shoots of the surrounding bushes. Leaving their huts white with hoar-frost, the men speed on foot through the woods and climb the steeps of the cloud-capped hills to view the surrounding region. There Keppoch extends towards the south, and Corpach to the Irish Sea, while here Ben Nevis towers aloft, raising her massive summit to the sky. Beneath their eyes is seen the lake [Loch Laggan] which pours its waters into the Spean, and the great waters of the Gloy and the sounding streams of the Roy as they flow to the sea by separate mouths. Here too they behold Lochaber parting the north wind with its frozen ridges and expanding its wild fields. Cliff rises above cliff, and the deep-lying straths are bathed in soft light. Wherever they turn, mountain and rock and river and lake, dense thickets of bramble and thorn, with here and there a peasant's cot, meet the eye. The ground beneath their feet is hard with frost, the air is freezing with the keen north wind, and the whole region is a wilderness of briar, thistle, and heather, while snow covers the mountains and ice the rivers. 'Alas!' they cry, 'to what unknown land has our fate carried us, to what uncongenial clime? 'Mid wood and rock and desert we wander in regions of eternal snow. Lochaber is surely the extremity of the earth. When and where shall these labours cease, this unfortunate journey end?'"

While Dundee and his troopers were awaiting the great muster of the clans, and his poet was describing the wild scenery of Lochaber, the enemy he was to encounter was not altogether inactive. The Revolutionist army was under the command of Major-General Mackay of Scourie in Sutherlandshire. He was a soldier of fortune, and had had considerable

experience in Continental warfare. He arrived at Inverness between the 8th and 10th of May, a few days after Dundee had left the town. On his arrival he commenced to fortify the burgh, which he describes as an open country town. He remained there a fortnight, and before he left had the satisfaction of seeing the town transformed into a sort of fortified camp. He ordered Colonel Ramsay to come north with 600 chosen men of the three Dutch regiments in Scotland, and arranged to join him at Ruthven in Badenoch on the 26th May. Early on the morning of that day Mackay left Inverness to keep his appointment with Ramsay; but before he got half-way to Badenoch he met an express from Ruthven with the news that Dundee was in Badenoch within ten or twelve miles of Ruthven, and that Ramsay, fearing to encounter him, had fallen back on Perth.

On the day that Mackay left Inverness, Dundee had arrived in Badenoch at the head of a large Highland army. While the former had been fortifying the town, the latter had been gathering the clans. His summons to the Highlanders had been largely responded to, and from every part of the West, even from far-off islands in the Hebrides, the chiefs and their men came to the place of meeting—a place called Dalmacomer in Lochiel's country. It is beside the Falls of Macomer, and close to Gairlochy, near the south end of Loch Lochy. The traveller from Inverness by steamer passes within sight of the field, which on that day in early summer must have presented an animated appearance. Many of the great chiefs of Inverness-shire were present. The Mackintoshes and the Frasers absented themselves, and Grant was a strong supporter of King William. The Macphersons were in sympathy with Dundee, but would not march without an order from their superior, the Duke of Gordon. As they had not received this, they took no

decided part in the campaign. But Keppoch, Lochiel, Clanranald, and others were there in full Celtic pomp, with banners waving and pipes playing. The poet on whose personal reminiscences we have already largely drawn, pictures the scene on what he terms "Dalcomera's plain" in glowing language. His descriptions of some of those present are photographic, and we venture to give a few of them here.

"First from his northern shores the brave Glengarry leads 300 illustrious youths in the first flower of vigorous manhood, each of whom a tartan garb covers, woven with Phrygian skill in triple stripe, and as a garment clothes their broad chests and flanks. A helmet defends the temples of the head. A coloured plaid veils their shoulders, and otherwise they are naked. The chief himself, mounted on a foaming steed and towering in glittering arms, advances into the plain claymore in hand, his cloak shining with gold, and a broad baldric with buckled clasp crossing his left breast. Following him closely comes his brother Allan the brave, with a hundred men all clothed in garments interwoven with the red stripe, their brawny calves bound with the red buskins. Afar they bristle with spears, and they stand firm with sword belted round their loins, with shields strengthened with brazen knobs protecting their bodies."

After describing M'Ian of Glencoe and Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, the poet turns to Keppoch. The conduct of "The King of Thieves" at Inverness has apparently been condoned by his appearance in full strength at "Dalcomera," and indeed he seems to have made with his followers a gallant show.

"His head is covered with a helmet, he flourishes his two-handled sword, and his shield flashes as with love of war he comes wildly on. Two hundred men of fierce aspect are gathered around him, to whom life in arms alone is pleasing,

and to drive the new booty is a delight: these carry the hand-axe with keen point, and others the gleaming javelin, and the knotty club. Others again show in their right hand the spear, in their left the shield, and the brazen gun thunders in the heads of them all with loud report."

Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel—he had been knighted by James VII.—is next portrayed. His dark Spanish countenance, of which tradition tells, is noticed. He was now sixty years of age, but full of vigour. He brought 1000 men to the muster, and was throughout the campaign the principal adviser of Dundee. He was accompanied by Sir Alexander Drummond of Balhaldy, who had married his eldest daughter.

"Here now Sir Ewen Cameron, a hero of martial fame, coming from the distant shores of the northern waters, carried with him to the field 1000 men, whom, a warlike offspring, rugged Abria nourishes, chiefs unconquered in war whom it ever delights to lift the recent prey and to apply themselves to robbery. He himself, stiff in brazen armour, rises high above his axe-bearing line, and on each side of him a faithful guard of kinsmen and clansmen is gathered. With him goes his son-in-law Balhaldy. The Cameron chief himself, mounted on a grey horse, shines in a tri-coloured tunic trimmed all round with gold lace. A helmet covers his head; to his side is girt a double-edged brand; blood-red plumes float on his crest. A cuirass of leather harder than adamant girds his breast, and on his left arm hangs his shield. His tartan hose are gartered around his calf, mail covers his shoulders, and a brazen plate his back. All his trappings are rigid with solid brass and throw back to the clouds the reflected light. His very look so fierce might fright the boldest foe. His savage glance and the swarthy view of his Spanish countenance, his flashing eyes, his head, with moustache curled as the moon's horn or as the handle of the tongs, might terrify the bands of

the half-human Sycambrians. In like arms his eldest son accompanied him in the first flower of peerless youth. He, the ornament of his race and guardian of his father's clan, has accustomed himself to bear the hard service of the camp, and holds the place in command second to his father."

Other leaders are portrayed with equal care, but the descriptions are too long to quote in full. "Macmartin rising high above the whole line, his dark locks hang around his face and cover his cheeks, and his eyes shine like the stars." "Stalwart Glendessary." "Fraser of Foyers, sprung from the Fraser clan, than whom there was none more illustrious in northern land nor any excelling him in arms." "Fraser of Culduthel, surrounded by the flower of his warriors, all stiff with brass and shining with steel and gold." "The valiant Grant, not that degenerate Grant who takes his name from Bala Castle, but the bold Grant of Urquhart, bearing unstained honour in a faithful breast, and keen against the foes of the Cæsar." "The exalted captain of Clanranald in the first flower of his age, glowing from his youthful studies, showing the preludes of a mind great beyond his years. While scarce the first down tints his cheek, he, fired with a great love of his country's glory, moved keenly to battle with his whole race. He bears along, rushing into the fight, races whom the Black Isle [Uist] has sent, those whom Knoydart and Moidart nourish in their vast fields."

A large force streamed out of the field of Dalmacomer, taking the road by Glen Roy to Badenoch. "The pipers struck up the pibroch, and the clarion and bugles sounded. The army, brilliant with the varied weapons of Lochaber, move the standard while the pipe resounds, and the whole force in marching order advances into the surrounding country. The bold Glengarry, as leader of the first line, marches in the van, accompanied by thirty horse in due order. Then the rest of

the chiefs advanced each in his own station and followed by his own people. Swift Foyers following with his marshalled clan brought up smartly the rear, and now the tartaned host had poured itself out upon the fields, and forced its way through rocks and rivers, and had left behind the confines of Glen Roy and the lofty mountains of Garviemore. Now it is over the Spey and is holding the open country."

The campaign now entered upon cannot be regarded as in any way brilliant. Mackay after leaving Inverness went first to Culnakyle and Belcastle or Castle Grant, and from that base of operation extended his lines up Speyside until he was within a few miles of Dundee, who was encamped at the old castle of Raitts, near the present site of Belville. The poet speaks of Mackay as "encamped at the kirk of chilly Alvie" in a position difficult to attack. "In his front lay a wooden bridge of vast timbers, in his rear was a ditch of rolling water, a burn protected his right, and the woods his left." Here he remained strongly intrenched, and resisting the taunts of the enemy to come out and give him battle. His position was a very difficult one. In addition to the paucity of his forces he had to contend with treachery in his camp. Some of his officers were so uncertain in their allegiance that they had to be closely watched. Two of his troopers were detected carrying information to Dundee. Had not the discovery of their treachery been made, Mackay's army would have been surrounded and probably cut to pieces.

Dundee, if in less embarrassed circumstances than his opponent, was able to do very little. Keppoch and his clan captured and burnt the castle of Ruthven, which was garrisoned by a detachment under the command of a brother of Forbes of Culloden. Keppoch also distinguished himself by burning the old castle of The Mackintosh, called Dunachton, near Loch Insh. This was pleasant work for the

Lochaber freebooter. "Keppoch," says our poet, "after he had destroyed Ruthven Castle, having returned with great pomp to this house, fired it, urged by the spur of revenge and the love of plunder, and reduced it to ashes. The flocks, the ravished wealth of the burnt houses, oxen, and the common booty of the fields, were carried off. Nor was our general able to restrain the violence of this savage soldier from breaking out and wrapping the whole district in flames." From the plundered Mackintosh we learn that Keppoch carried away "all the portable goods, worth at least 40,000 merks, and the whole tenants and possessors thereof were forced to flee, and are now with their wives and children begging their bread and living on charity." It is to the credit of Dundee that he was extremely angry with his marauding follower, and told him in the presence of all his officers that he would rather serve as a common soldier among disciplined troops than command such men as he, who seemed to make it his business to draw the odium of the country upon him. The chief made a very humble apology and promised not to repeat his conduct. He had, however, secured his plunder, and the cattle of The Mackintosh were by that time far on their way to Lochaber.

Mackay, afraid of treachery among his troops, and hearing that Dundee was moving towards him, determined to retreat. Starting at nightfall, he went down the river Spey by Ballindalloch, closely followed by Dundee. In Banffshire he received an accession to his numbers, and turned upon Dundee, who retreated before him into Badenoch. Then the marching and counter-marching ended. Dundee went back to Lochaber to wait for additional reinforcements from Ireland. Mackay, afraid to follow him through the mountain-passes, sent part of his troops to Inverness, Elgin, and Strathbogie, and went himself south to raise additional troops and to

press upon the authorities the necessity of building a fort at Inverlochy.

In Lochaber Dundee took up his abode at Moy, a house on the banks of the Lochy, and there waited the arrival of the soldiers from Ireland. When they came he was bitterly disappointed. They only numbered 500 men, poorly armed, ill-clothed, and badly disciplined. He did the best he could for them in the circumstances, and after a short time marched them south by Dalwhinie, accompanied by 1800 Highlanders. On the 27th July 1689 the famous battle of Killiecrankie was fought, when victory for King James was dearly purchased by the death of Dundee.

It does not fall within our province to describe the battle of Killiecrankie, or, as it is always called by the Highlanders, the battle of Rinroy. We may say, however, that the Inverness-shire chiefs greatly distinguished themselves, and many traditions of their prowess have been handed down, and are still repeated within the bounds of our county.

Lochiel was supposed by the Highlanders to possess the gift of second-sight, and before the battle he is reported to have said, "That side will win which first sheds blood." The Laird of Glenmoriston—Ian-a-chragain, as he was called—who heard the words spoken, repeated them to a famous deer-stalker from his glen, and pointed out to him an officer mounted on a white steed who had galloped forward from the lines of the enemy to survey the ground. The hunter crept forward, took deliberate aim, and the officer fell to the ground. There was no longer any doubt among the Highlanders as to how the battle was likely to go.

The chief of the Camerons himself, who wore shoes—probably, as it has been suggested, the only pair possessed by the clan—not being able to keep up with his men as they rushed onward, sat down by the way, cut off his shoes,

and then bounded forward, charging barefoot at the head of his men. One of his sons was a captain in the Scots Fusiliers, serving in the army of King William. As Mackay saw the Highlanders approaching he turned to young Cameron and said, "There's your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with them?" "It matters little," was the reply, "what I would like; but I advise you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer you before night than you would like." One of the Grants of Glenurquhart having been knocked down by a ball which came against his target, rose again with the remark, "Och! sure the Boddachs [old boys] are in earnest," and rushed on with the rest. Another man from the same part of Inverness-shire specially distinguished himself by passing his sword through from the left shoulder to the right loin of a Hessian officer.

Glengarry was prominent in the fray. He wielded a ponderous two-handed sword, with which it is said he killed two men at every step he took. Sixteen gentlemen of his clan were slain, and among them his son Donald Gorm. It is reported that this youth killed, before he himself fell, eighteen of the enemy with his own sword, and all within such a space "as it would have required a lippy of lint-seed to sow." Many such tales as these are still related of the prowess of Inverness-shire men at Killiecrankie.

The importance, however, of a victory, by whatever acts of individual bravery it may be distinguished, can only be estimated by its results, and the battle of Killiecrankie, instead of advancing the cause of King James, in reality gave it its death-blow. The loss of Dundee was irreparable. There was no one on his own side fit to take his place. He understood the Highlanders, and they understood him. He adapted himself to their manners and prejudices, and still more to their

peculiar mode of warfare. It is said he used to walk on foot with the common men, sometimes with those of one clan and sometimes with those of another. He amused them with his humour. He showed his familiarity with their genealogies. He was acquainted with their traditions and the songs of their bards. King James himself rightly estimated his loss when he wrote that it gave him a fresh occasion of adoring Providence and contemplating the instability of human affairs when one single shot from a routed and flying enemy decided to all appearance the fate of more than one kingdom.

General Cannon, who took the command on the death of Dundee, was entirely unfitted for the position to which he was called. He mismanaged everything. His Highland followers melted away. Lochiel returned home, and Cannon soon followed him to Lochaber, where he remained for the winter. At a council of war held at Keppoch many of the chiefs proposed to submit to King William. Lochiel stood alone in opposing them. "I am an old man," he said, "yet I am determined to spend the remainder of my life after my old manner, among mountains and caves, rather than give up my conscience and honour by submission, let the terms be ever so inviting, until I have my master's permission to do so. No argument or view of interest or of safety shall prevail with me to change this resolution, whatever may be the event." The result of Lochiel's determination was another effort for the royal cause under General Buchan, whom King James sent over from Ireland. Unfortunately Buchan was as incompetent as his predecessor, and his attempt ended in failure. On 30th April 1690 he encamped with a body of 1200 men on the Haughs of Cromdale, on the banks of the Spey. The spot was singularly ill-chosen, being quite open to attack. Sir Thomas Livingstone, an able and experienced

officer, came down from Inverness to Strathspey in search of Buchan, and on arriving in that district received information from the captain of Castle Grant of the position Buchan had taken up. The Highlanders were reposing in fancied security near Lethendy, and Livingstone could see plainly from the hill above Castle Grant the fires of their camp. They were, as General Mackay says in his Memoirs, "as if they had been led hither by the hand as an ox to the slaughter."

Livingstone having taken half an hour to refresh himself and his men after their fatiguing journey, marched them down under cover of night through the Glen of Auchinarrow to the river Spey. At a ford below Delachaple he found a detachment of 100 Highlanders guarding the passage. Leaving a party of dragoons and a few soldiers to keep them engaged, he went on with the main body of his men to another ford a mile farther down the river. This he crossed at the head of three troops of dragoons and a troop of horse, a body of his own Highlanders being in the van. When he reached the opposite bank of the Spey he found the camp of the enemy in confusion. The slumbering Highlanders started from their sleep and fled for refuge to the neighbouring hills, fighting their way across the plain. Buchan ran away bareheaded and without his coat, and Cannon escaped in his shirt. Happily for the fugitives a thick mist came down on the mountains and hid them from their pursuers, who soon gave up the chase. The Jacobites were thoroughly defeated, and the victory of their opponents has been commemorated by the beautiful Scottish ballad of "The Haughs of Cromdale," one of the few poetic efforts associated with the victories of the Whigs.

The ballad is peculiar in this, that it mixes up with the description of the battle recollections of a battle of Montrose,

and places upon the Haughs of Cromdale clans that were never there, but who had previously distinguished themselves under the famous general. There is no doubt, however, of the applicability of these verses to the defeat of Buchan :—

"We were in bed, sir, every man,
When the English host upon us cam';
A bloody battle then began
Upon the Haughs of Cromdale.

The English horse they were sae rude,
They bath'd their hoofs in Hieland blude,
But our brave clans they boldly stood
Upon the Haughs of Cromdale.

But alas, we could nae langer stay,
For ower the hills we cam' away;
And sair do we lament the day
That e'er we cam' to Cromdale."

After the battle of Cromdale any hopes of success cherished by the Highlanders rapidly vanished, and they were entirely extinguished by the defeat of King James at the battle of the Boyne. Livingstone and his dragoons at Inverness made constant excursions in the neighbourhood against those still in the field, and the chiefs who had taken up arms under Dundee being utterly dispirited retreated to their fastnesses, where they lay inactive and unable to strike a blow. Buchan with a few of his officers took refuge with Glengarry; Cannon with others retired to the Western Islands.

General Mackay now determined to execute a design which he had long entertained—namely, the erection of a fort near Inverlochy, a place that commanded the passage along the chain of lakes which now form the Caledonian Canal. He sent there some ships from Greenock laden with provisions and implements, and at the head of 3000 men he marched first into Badenoch and then down Glen Spean. He met with no resistance, and though he passed the castle of

Keppoch, the dispirited Highlanders did not venture to obstruct his progress. He reached Inverlochy on the 3rd July.

The fort he erected was on the site of that which had been occupied by the troops of Cromwell. Mackay was not satisfied with the situation, as it was overlooked by a neighbouring hill, but he could find no more eligible site. The work was carried through with great rapidity. In eleven days a wall of 20 feet was raised, with a deep fosse or ditch at its base. This was palisaded round with a *chemin couvert* and glacis, and armed with some demi-culverins from a ship of war. The whole structure was of triangular form; and in honour of the king the general named it Fort William. Having placed in it a garrison of 1000 men under Colonel Hill, he returned south unmolested, staying a few days at Ruthven in Badenoch to repair and garrison the old castle, which had been dismantled by Dundee.

The Government of King William now resolved to lay out a sum of money, said to have been £20,000, in conciliating the Jacobite chieftains. The negotiation was intrusted to the Earl of Breadalbane, who is generally allowed to have been an unprincipled man, and certainly his conduct in regard to his dealings with the chiefs lays him open to suspicion. The money disappeared and the chiefs got none of it. They had various meetings with the Earl at Achallader in Glenorchy, but no satisfactory arrangement could be come to. On one point they were determined. They would not make submission to King William until they received permission from King James. This permission the exiled king reluctantly granted, so that the chiefs were free to do what they pleased. They were not long in making up their mind. On the 29th August 1691 Government issued a proclamation promising an indemnity to every rebel who should swear the

oath of allegiance in the presence of a civil magistrate before the 1st January 1692, and threatening with the penalties of fire and sword those who held out after that day. The Inverness-shire chiefs who had taken part in the late rising hastened to take the oath. Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry were duly sworn. Lochiel was the last of the band to submit. He only received notice of King James's permission within thirty hours of the period allowed by the Act of Indemnity. On the very day on which the indemnity expired he reached Inverary and took the oath before the sheriff there; thus making a narrow escape from sharing the fate of Glencoe.

The massacre of Glencoe has left an indelible stain upon the reign of King William. Papers have come to light of late years which clearly prove that it was intended to have dealt with certain of the Inverness-shire chiefs and their people in the same fashion as Glencoe. Mr Secretary Stair was in great hopes that Glengarry and Keppoch would refuse to take the oath, and would afford the Government an excuse for the extermination of their people. "Both Glengarry and Keppoch," he writes, "are Papists, and that's the only Papist clan in the Highlands. Who knows but by God's providence they are permitted to fall into this delusion that they may be extirpate, which will vindicate their majestys' justice and reduce the Highlands without further severity to the rest." Of Glengarry the secretary was specially anxious to make an example, as his castle, lying midway between Fort William and Inverness, would make an excellent fortification to keep the country in order. On 3rd of November Stair writes: "I wrote to you formerly that if the rest were willing to concur, as the crows do, to pull down Glengarry's nest this winter, so as the king be not hindered to draw four regiments from Scotland, in that case the destroying him and his clan, and

garrisoning his house as a middle between Inverlochy and Inverness, will be full as acceptable as if he had come in. This answers all ends, and satisfies those who complain of the king's too great gentleness. . . . Because I breathe nothing but destruction to Glengarry, Tarbet thinks Keppoch will be a more proper example of severity; but he hath not a house so proper for a garrison, and he hath not been so forward to ruin himself and all the rest. But I confess both's best to be ruined."

Happily those projects of vengeance were baffled, but these letters show how nearly the tragedy of Glencoe was repeated in the valley of the Spean and by the banks of the Garry. The Inverness-shire glens were now once more peaceful, and were disturbed only by the cattle-liftings and raids which went on at all times. There was much, however, to indicate that the peace was not likely to be durable. The chiefs had taken the oath to King William, but they had done so under compulsion. Mr Secretary Stair showed considerable prescience when he wrote, "Their doing so after they got King James's allowance is worse than their obstinacy, for those who lay down arms at his command will take them up again by his warrant." The warrant was not long of coming, and the men who took the oath in 1692 were quite ready to break it without scruple in 1715.

The gallant Lochiel, who had been the mainspring of the rising under Dundee, retired into private life at its close. He made over the greater part of his estates to his son, reserving the liferent. He was alive when the clans came out again, but was infirm and stricken in years. A portraiture of this greatest of chiefs has come down to us from one who saw him in 1716, and we may give it here: "Sir Ewen's eyes retained their former vivacity, and his sight was so good in his ninetieth year that he could discern the minutest

object and read the smallest print; nor did he so much as want a tooth, which seemed as white and close as one could have imagined they were in the twentieth year of his age. In this state he was when I had the good fortune to see him, and so great was his strength at that time that he wrung some blood from the point of my fingers with a grasp of his hand. He was of the largest size, his bones big, his countenance fresh and smooth, and he had a certain air of greatness about him which struck the beholders with awe and respect. He enjoyed perfect health from the cradle to the grave, and not a drop of his blood was ever drawn except on one occasion when a knife had accidentally pierced his foot."

Sir Ewen died in 1718. His gift of second-sight is said to have remained with him to the last, and when in 1715 the Chevalier St George landed at Peterhead, he is reported to have called aloud from his bed that his king had arrived and that his own son was with him, and ordered his clan together that they might drink his majesty's health.

The limits of this work have not allowed us to do full justice to the character and exploits of Lochiel, but in the old annals of Inverness-shire he certainly stands out as the most noble as well as the most picturesque figure, and the best specimen of a Highland chief, which the county has produced.

CHAPTER IX.

INVERNESS-SHIRE AGAIN DISTURBED—DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE—PROCLAMATION OF KING GEORGE AT INVERNESS—THE CHIEFS PROMISE TO SUPPORT THE KING, BUT TAKE PART IN THE RISING OF THE EARL OF MAR—"OLD BORLUM"—FAILURE OF THE RISING IN 1715—PUNISHMENT OF THE CHIEFS WHO TOOK PART—GENERAL WADE RECEIVES SUBMISSIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT—HUMBLE LETTERS ADDRESSED TO HIM—CLEMENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT—MEASURES ADOPTED BY WADE—BUILDING OF BARRACKS—DISARMING OF THE CLANS—EMBODIMENT OF COMPANIES OF LOYAL HIGHLANDERS—ERECTION OF FORT AUGUSTUS—CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY—FEATS OF ENGINEERING—WEAKNESS OF GENERAL WADE'S POLICY—ESTABLISHMENT OF "WATCHES"—MACDONALD OF BARISDALE—INVERNESS-SHIRE QUIET, BUT READY FOR INSURRECTION.

DURING the last years of the reign of Queen Anne it became evident that some new movement was on foot among the Inverness-shire Jacobites. There were secret meetings among the chiefs, and gatherings of their retainers in complete warlike array which had no ostensible or legitimate aim. At huntings and funerals of outstanding men in the county there were armed demonstrations at which many clans mustered. The Tory Ministry of Queen Anne were believed to be scheming to bring in the Stewarts in succession to her Majesty. The queen herself was well known to cherish feelings of the warmest sympathy towards the exiled family. Large sums of money were distributed by the Government among the Highland clans, who were to be ready, when the proper moment arrived, to come out in full strength in sup-

port of the cause to which they had shown themselves in past years so deeply attached.

As an evidence of how firmly they were assured of the coming triumph of their aspirations, the priests of the Roman Catholic Church, who had hitherto received no toleration, began in the North to exercise publicly the functions of their office. They came out from their hiding-places, assumed the dress of their profession, opened schools, and said mass among the people without let or hindrance. They defied alike the fulminations of the presbytery and the persecution of the civil magistrate. "Swarms of Papists," a document of the time tells us, "came daily from France into Britain, whereof many were believed to be missionaries for propagating that which they call the Catholic faith. It appears, from the particular informations taken up and brought in to the Commission of the General Assembly by the several presbyteries of Scotland, that in some shires in the North and Highlands there were then about forty Popish priests, Jesuits and the like, in Popish orders, who were all well known, appeared openly, and were so bold as to take up their residence in these places and publicly to go about all the parts of their function." A goodly number of these Highland clergymen made their presence felt in Inverness-shire, to the great dissatisfaction of the Kirk, which implored the Government to prohibit them. In the list which the Kirk submits to the authorities there is mention of a Mr Peter Macdonald about Glengarry, a Mr Gordon about Moidart, six or seven priests in the presbytery of Skye, and some about Lochaber, and many more, who were travelling through the country, suspected to be priests and missionaries from Rome. "In the bounds of Lochaber, Glengarie, Moydart, and Arisaig, Popery daily increased to a lamentable degree, so that the priests residing in these bounds said mass publicly almost

every Lord's day to swarms of their deluded proselytes. In the parish of Kilmorrock, in the shire of Inverness, the priests who resided there had within two years or thereby perverted an hundred families to Popery: so that the Papists were the far greater part of that people." The Government turned a deaf ear to the supplications of the Kirk. The priests were suffered to work on unmolested, and the Presbyterians felt assured that there existed a secret design to tamper with the Protestant succession and place a Stewart on the throne.

Their fears were not at that time realised. Before the projects of the Jacobites were ripe, Queen Anne died suddenly, and the Elector of Hanover was duly proclaimed sovereign of the realm. It was a bitter disappointment to most of the Inverness-shire chiefs. They knew that in the high quarters where their cause had of late been secretly encouraged they must now be prepared to encounter utter hostility. They knew also that the British Court could no longer tolerate or wink at their treasonable schemes. They felt perhaps most acutely that no further secret money could come from the treasury to their impoverished glens. They were obliged, however, to submit with the best grace they could to see the throne occupied by a "wee German lairdie" rather than by a prince who inherited the blood and birthright of a long line of Scottish kings. What took place at Inverness when "King George" was proclaimed may be taken as an indication of the general feeling throughout the county. When the sheriff, Sir Robert Munro, proceeded to make the proclamation, he was openly opposed and derided by the magistrates of the burgh. They encouraged the mob to break the windows of the few Whigs who ventured to illuminate their houses. When the Hanoverian Laird of Castlehill complained of the assault upon his house they put him into

prison, and they openly in the market-place called down imprecations on the king.

The chiefs whom we have so often seen in arms for the Stewarts sympathised, doubtless, with the magistrates of the burgh. But they acted in a more politic, if not more commendable, fashion. Instead of calling down imprecations on the king, they signed a letter addressed to the Earl of Mar, through whom they had been in the habit of receiving sums of money from the Government of Queen Anne, expressing their great delight at the accession of King George, and their willingness to give all their support to his throne. Cameron of Lochiel, Macdonnell of Keppoch, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comer, and Macpherson of Cluny, attached their names to this precious document. "It did exceedingly comfort them," they set forth, "that after so good and great a queen as Queen Anne, they were to be governed by his Sacred Majesty King George, a prince so brightly adorned with all royal virtues." They pleased themselves with this agreeable persuasion, that his Majesty's royal and kindly influence would reach them, who were the most remote of all his subjects in these islands. They declared to Lord Mar that as they were always ready to fulfil his directions in following Queen Anne, so they would now be equally forward to concur with him in faithfully serving King George. They concluded their letter by entreating his lordship to advise them how they may best offer their duty to his Majesty upon his coming over to Britain, and be most useful to his royal Government.

Nothing could have been more deceitful than this famous letter, with its expressions of attachment to a sovereign whom those who signed it heartily detested. It is supposed by some that Mar obtained it from them in order to forward his own interests with the new king. It is

conjectured by others that it was written in order to put the Government off their guard, that they might carry on their plots with less prospect of being interfered with. Under any supposition it was a discreditable and hypocritical production, and met with the fate it deserved. King George paid no attention either to their letter or to Mar when he presented it, and that nobleman, after keeping up for a time a show of loyalty at Whitehall, left the Court secretly and in disguise for the Highlands, to raise the standard of rebellion with the aid of those very chiefs who a few weeks previous had been so profuse in professing their allegiance to "the Hanoverian," and so earnest in desiring to know how they might be most useful to his Government.

The new rising of the clans began at Braemar. Many Jacobites of importance had gathered there on pretence of holding one of those great hunting-meetings which were common in the Highlands. Glengarry was there to represent the Inverness-shire clans. Whether any deer were slain we do not know, but there was much treason talked, and the upshot of the proceedings was the raising of the standard of the Chevalier as King James VIII. on the 3rd September 1715, and the march of an army southward under the Earl of Mar.

The Inverness-shire clans who had taken part in the rising under Dundee cast in their fortunes with the new enterprise, and joined the headquarters of the Earl of Mar at Perth. Glengarry brought with him 500 men, Keppoch 300, Clanranald 500, Grant of Glenmoriston 100, and John Cameron of Lochiel nearly 1000. Clanranald, the chief of Moidart, who when a youth had taken up arms with Dundee, was a soldier of renown. At the close of Dundee's insurrection, and after the submission of the chiefs to King

William, he had gone abroad, and had seen much service in the French army. His military experience and his knowledge of Mar's incapacity as a general led him to take a gloomy view of the result of the new undertaking. When he left his ancient stronghold of Castle Tirrim he gave secret instructions to one of his followers who remained at home to set the place on fire immediately on his departure. "I shall never," he said, "come back again, and it is better that our old family seat should be given to the flames than forced to give shelter to those who are about to triumph over our ruin." With this sad presentiment he turned his face southward. By the time he reached Glenfinnan the castle was in flames, and became the gaunt and melancholy ruin with which those who have visited Moidart are familiar, and which forms so striking and weird a feature in the beautiful landscape.

In addition to the Inverness-shire clans we have named, there were others that now took the same side, though on the last occasion they had been inactive. Chisholm of Strathglass, Cluny Macpherson, and the Laird of Mackintosh, each brought a contingent into the field. That of the last named amounted to 1000 men. On the side of the Government were Lord Lovat and the Laird of Grant; but the greater portion of the Fraser clan went with Mar.

The Mackintoshes, who generally on these occasions showed an inclination to stay at home, were induced to take arms by the persuasion of one of their kinsmen, William Mackintosh, younger of Borlum, Inverness-shire. He was a most conspicuous figure in the new enterprise. "Old Borlum," as he was generally called, had been a soldier of fortune, and had attained distinction in the French service. He was employed for some years as an agent between the chiefs and the exiled royal family, and now took the

position of brigadier in the army of Mar. He was described in a proclamation by the Government as "a tall raw-boned man, fair-complexioned, beetle-browed, grey-eyed, and speaking broad Scotch," and is generally supposed to have been a somewhat rough-handed and unscrupulous soldier. But he did his duty well; and had the command of the army been intrusted to him instead of the incompetent general by whom it was directed, the issue of the campaign might have been different.

We are not called upon to describe this campaign, except in so far as it affected Inverness-shire. It began in that county. On the 15th September the Laird of Mackintosh convened his men at Farr as if he intended to review them, but on the evening of that day he marched to Inverness, where he came at sunrise with banners displayed. From the Jacobite town he met with no resistance. He made himself master of all the arms and ammunition he could find, and of some money belonging to the Government. He then formally proclaimed King James, and placed a garrison in the castle.

From Inverness Mackintosh proceeded to the house of Culloden, and demanded all the arms and ammunition that were in it. Mrs Forbes, the wife of the laird, who was from home, made a gallant resistance. She refused the demand made upon her, and put her house in a state of defence. Some of her friends interfered on her behalf, and Mackintosh went off with his brigade to join Mar at Perth. This brigade was probably the best equipped body of men in the rebel army, and distinguished itself on many occasions.

Glengarry and the Laird of Glenmoriston, with 500 men, went westward into Argyleshire, in hopes of seizing Inverary. Their effort was unsuccessful, and they also went south to join the main army.

At the battle of Sheriffmuir victory was claimed by both

parties. The engagement was long remembered in Inverness-shire, for it was marked by the death of young Clanranald. He died fighting bravely at the head of his clan. The fall of their chief almost paralysed his followers, who wavered for a moment as if about to retreat, when Glengarry rushed up to them, waving his bonnet in the air and crying, "Revenge! revenge! to-day, and mourning to-morrow!" Then placing himself in the position occupied by the fallen chief, he led them on with such fury that the opposing columns were compelled to fly

The day on which the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought was marked also by the defeat of the army which, under Mackintosh of Borlum, had gone south into England, and by the retaking of the castle of Inverness. Simon Fraser, afterwards better known as Lord Lovat, had appeared in his own district, and found that while the main body of his clan had followed their legal head, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, to the army of Mar, no fewer than 300 men, capable of bearing arms, remained at home. With that cunning by which he was always distinguished, he felt that by supporting King George he might become the recognised chief of the clan. He mustered the 300 available men, and sent a message to those of the clan in the South to return at once to their native glen, threatening them with all pains and penalties should they refuse at once to do so. The command of him whom they regarded as their true chief was at once obeyed. They deserted the camp of Mar and came home. With the whole strength of the Fraser clan, and assisted by the Forbeses, the Roses of Kilravock, and part of the Clan Grant, Lovat proceeded to besiege Inverness. Ere, however, his plans for the siege were completed, the terrified garrison took to flight and crossed the Moray Firth to the opposite shore.

The rising of "the Fifteen," as it is always called in the North, speedily came to an end, notwithstanding the appearance of the Chevalier himself on the scene. It was from the first to the last an ill-managed enterprise. The exclamation of one of the chieftains at Sheriffmuir tells not only of the incompetency of their leader, but of what might have been if a different man had held the command. "Oh!" he cried, "for an hour of Dundee!" There was certainly entirely wanting anything of the spirit, the ability, and the chivalry which characterised the campaign of that born leader of men. "The Fifteen" was throughout a mean and sordid affair. Beginning in hypocrisy, impotent in its conceptions, and ending in utter failure, its character is only partially redeemed by the beautiful poetry in which it is commemorated, for with "the '45" it has its place in Jacobite song.

Many of those who took part in the rising were severely dealt with. Those who were made prisoners in England were tried there. Some were executed, others sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and many were shipped off as slaves to the American plantations. The Inverness-shire chiefs came off better than might have been expected. Glengarry was pardoned, on the ground that he left the rebel forces at an early period of the insurrection. Mackintosh, after a short imprisonment, was liberated on the intercession of his wife, "who made it plain that he was trepanned into rebellion by the craft of the brigadier." John Cameron of Lochiel fled to France, whence he never came back. He had made but a poor figure as a soldier, and the clan which had been led by Sir Ewen his father, and had fought under Montrose and Dundee, regarded him with contempt. Grant of Glenmoriston and Chisholm were declared traitors, and their estates were forfeited to the Crown. Keppoch took himself into hiding, and probably was the only one who reaped any benefit from

the rising. While it was in progress he went across to Glenurquhart, and returned home with a rich booty. "Col of the Cows" maintained his character to the last.

The Government derived but little benefit from the forfeited estates. The commissioners who were appointed to collect the rents of such estates as those of The Chisholm and Grant of Glenmoriston were able to show but little for their trouble. The properties they found so burdened with debts and settlements of various kinds that they were able to extract only "fractional proportions" of their value. Occasionally they found that the tenants paid regularly their rents to the old laird, while they had nothing for King George. In certain instances rent was paid both to the king and the chief.

On one occasion, under a military escort, two Ross-shire Whigs came to Invermoriston, and afterwards to Strathglass, with power from Government to gather in the rents of these estates. They held courts and gave judgment against defaulters, but they added very little to their treasury. On their way from Strathglass to Kintail, as they passed through beautiful Glen Affric, they were set upon by 300 men, headed by Donald Murchison, factor for Seaforth, and aided by the son of the chief of Glenmoriston and his followers. The emissaries of the Government were forced to beat a retreat, leaving their commission in Donald's hands. One of them and his son were wounded, the latter so severely that he died of his injuries. The royal factorage of the forfeited estates proved a failure. They were finally put up for sale, and through the good services of friends purchased and restored to their former owners.

When General Wade took command of the royal forces in Scotland, he had power given him to receive the submission of persons attainted of high treason, and several of them came to him for this purpose. "They laid down their swords on

the ground," the general reports to King George, "expressed their sorrow and concern for having made use of them in opposition to your Majesty, and promised a peaceful and dutiful obedience for the remainder of their lives. They afterwards sent me their letters of submission, copies of which I transmitted to your Majesty's principal Secretary of State. I made use of the proper arguments to convince them of their past folly and rashness, and gave them hopes of obtaining pardon from your Majesty's gracious and merciful disposition."

Very humble and full of contrition were the letters which the chiefs sent in to the general. "I presume," wrote The Chisholm, "to throw myself under your protection, fully confident that so much goodness cannot decline representing my unhappy case to the best of kings,—I meant rebellion, which I now detest; and, sir, I hope that my repentance will be judged the more solid that I am now in a mature age; whereas I had not attained to the years of manhood when unnaturally I allowed myself to be led to bear arms against his Majesty King George." "As none of those who were unhappily engaged in that unaccountable rebellion," pled the Laird of Glenmoriston, "was more innocently seduced by others to go into it than myself, so do I sincerely assure your Excellency that no man is more sorry for his foolish error than I am, and if his Majesty will be so good as to give me his gracious pardon, I shall while I live behave myself as a dutiful subject to King George and his royal family. I do, therefore, most humbly throw myself at his Majesty's feet, imploring his mercy, and humbly entreat of your Excellency (who seem resolved to do good to all that will serve the king faithfully) to obtain my pardon of his Majesty; and I do sincerely promise that I shall pass the remainder of my days in peace and fidelity towards his Majesty and the

Government." These were abject professions to come from the bold "Ian a Chragain" (John of the Rock), whose life had been passed in fighting for the Stewarts. He had distinguished himself at Killiecrankie, and had long refused to submit to King William. He had done great deeds at Sheriffmuir. But his house had been burnt, and he had lived for some time in a cave in his own glen. He was now an old man, and trial had somewhat tamed his spirit. It is creditable to Wade that through his intercession the chiefs who submitted themselves to the king received a free pardon, and the Laird of Glenmoriston passed the evening of his days in peace.

"Old Borlum," who was one of the outstanding men in the rising, had surrendered himself to the English at Preston, and was conducted to London in a kind of triumphal procession with other prisoners, pinioned and bound as if they were criminals of the vilest kind. Borlum, however, found means of evading his trial. With fifteen of his fellow-prisoners he broke out of Newgate, knocking down and disarming the warders. Seven of those who escaped were retaken, but the brigadier was more fortunate. He made his way out of the country to France. He was soon back in the Highlands, where he found a refuge among the Jacobite clans. He took part in the engagement at Glenshiel, when some Spanish troops who attempted an invasion under Seaforth were defeated. After wandering some time about Inverness-shire he was captured, and confined in the castle of Edinburgh. In this prison he spent the rest of his life, beguiling his time by writing a treatise on agriculture entitled, 'An Essay on Ways and Means for Inclosing, Fallowing, Planting, &c., Scotland.' After a captivity of nearly a quarter of a century the old warrior died in prison at the age of eighty, true to the last to his Jacobite principles.

The Government of King George, upon the whole, showed great clemency to those who had been engaged on the Jacobite side, and their conduct towards the Highlanders contrasts favourably with the measures adopted by the authorities after '45. "The Fifteen" was followed by no atrocities similar to those perpetrated by the Government after Culloden, and the rule of General Wade was mild compared with that of the Duke of Cumberland. One thing, however, the Government were determined to do, and that was to put it out of the power of the Highlanders to give them trouble again. The measures they adopted were suggested by General Wade, who was advised by one who knew Inverness-shire well, and who was perhaps the most distinguished man it has produced, Forbes of Culloden.

Barracks were built at Kilchumin, Ruthven, and Glenelg, and in other parts of the North, and garrisoned by regular troops. An Act was passed by Parliament in 1716 for disarming the Highlanders, who were commanded to deliver up all the arms in their possession, for which they were to receive payment from the collectors of taxes. These measures, however, produced no effect. The regular troops, ignorant of the country and its inhabitants, were found useless in the wild and inaccessible places where they were planted, while the Highlanders delivered up no arms except such as were unfit for service. They obtained, to their great joy, large prices for old broadswords and rusty firelocks. They found, indeed, the arrangement so profitable that they imported from Holland great quantities of broken and useless arms, for which they demanded and obtained exorbitant sums. Wade states that the king paid nearly £13,000 for broken and useless arms that were hardly worth the expense of carriage.

In 1725 General Wade reported to the Government that it

was necessary that more effectual measures should be taken, or he could not be responsible for what might happen. His recommendations were certainly extremely wise. He advised the Government that companies of such Highlanders as were loyal to the king should be established under proper regulations, commanded by officers speaking the language of the country, subject to martial law, and under the orders and inspection of the governors of Fort William, Inverness, and the officer commanding the king's forces in those parts. These companies were to be employed in disarming the Highlanders, preventing depredations, bringing criminals to justice, and hindering rebels and attainted persons from inhabiting that part of the country.

By September 1725 the companies recommended by the general were embodied. They formed a body of armed police similar to what is now the Royal Constabulary of Ireland. Lord Lovat's company was posted to guard all the passes in the mountains from the Isle of Skye eastwards as far as Inverness; the company of Colonel Grant occupied the several passes from Inverness southward to Dunkeld; Sir Duncan Campbell's company those from Dunkeld westward as far as the country of Lorn. Three companies commanded by lieutenants were posted, the first at Fort William, the second at Kilchumin, and the third at Ruthven in Badenoch.

The instructions given to the officers commanding these companies were very definite, and calculated to be effectual in carrying out the purpose for which they were embodied. "The passes of Strathlony, Glenniffen, Guisachan, Glenstrathfarrar, the braes of Urquhart, Stratherrick, and Strathnairn," were to be specially guarded. Information was to be gathered of all robberies and depredations. Cattle and other stolen property were to be recovered and returned to their proper owners, and the criminals to be seized in order to their

being prosecuted. Information was also to be obtained of the names, haunts, and retreats of all robbers and outlaws, and of any arms or warlike weapons that might be concealed by persons belonging to the clans who were summoned to deliver up their arms. Priests were to be specially looked after by these new guardians of the peace. They were to endeavour to detect all such persons who may have been sent from foreign parts, or others who were employed to infect the minds of the people with the pernicious principles of Popery and disaffection, or to seduce his Majesty's subjects from their allegiance; and when they found any such dangerous persons, they were to bring them before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in order to their being prosecuted as the law directs. These and other instructions given to the Highland companies show how determined General Wade was to bridle and restrain the restless clans.

With the aid of the new police, the general now proceeded to disarm the people in a more effective way than had hitherto been done. In every parish proclamation was made to the clans by the general in his Majesty's name to the following effect: "I do hereby strictly require and command you and every one of you in —— to bring or send to —— all your broadswords, targets, poynards, whingars, or durks, side pistol or pistols, guns, or any warlike weapons, and then and there to deliver up to me or the officer commanding all and singular your arms and warlike weapons, for the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors." This imperative command was in the main obeyed. The general reports regarding the chiefs of Inverness-shire, that "the arms of the several clans of the Macdonalds of Glengary, Macleods of Glenelg, Chisholms of Strathglass, and Grants of Glenmoriston were surrendered to me at the barrack of Killjhuimen the fifteenth of September; and those of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, Moidart, Arisaig,

and Glenco, as also the Camerons and Stewarts of Appin, were delivered to the governor of Fort William. The M'Intoshes were summoned, and brought in their arms to Inverness, and the followers of the Duke of Gordon, with the clan of Macphersons, to the barrack of Ruthven." The general adds that "the number of arms collected this year in the Highlands amounted to 2685. At the time they were brought in there was a mixture of good and bad, but the damage they received in the carriage, and growing rusty by being exposed to rain, they were of little more worth than the value of the iron." In the opinion of Wade the disarming of the people was complete, and "instead of durks, swords, guns, and pistols, they now travel to their churches, markets, and fairs with only a staff in their hands." Probably he took a more hopeful view of his operation than he was entitled to. Certainly he had not swept Inverness-shire so bare of weapons as he imagined. Twenty years afterwards dirks, broadswords, and guns were plentiful enough among those whom he represents as reduced to the use of their staffs.

The general constructed a fort at Kilchumin, close to Loch Ness, which he named Fort Augustus. It had accommodation for four companies of soldiers, and a line of communication with the old barracks, which were able to accommodate six companies. He also repaired the old castle of Inverness, erecting it into a citadel, with a governor's house, magazine, and chapel, and barracks to accommodate 800 troops. This citadel he named Fort George.

Upon Loch Ness he placed a vessel of about thirty tons, which was named the Highland Galley. She carried six or eight "patteroes," and was employed to transport men, provisions, and baggage from Inverness to Fort Augustus. Cromwell's soldiers, as we have seen, sailed a vessel on Loch Ness, but she was built at Inverness and transported overland. That

of Wade was built on the banks of the lake. "When she made her first trip she was mightily adorned with colours, and fired her guns several times, which was a strange sight to the Highlanders, who had never seen the like before."

But more than any other measure which General Wade adopted for the pacification of the Highlands, the making of roads through the country was the most successful. These will always be connected with his name. Some of them are in use to this day, and others can be easily traced. These highways were regarded as among the greatest engineering works of the time. They are commemorated in the well-known couplet, said to have been composed by General Cauldfield, an Irish soldier in command of Fort George :—

> "Had you seen these roads before they were made,
> You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade!"

Before the General's time there was no road in Inverness-shire. There were merely rough tracks through the mountains, which could be traversed only with difficulty by men on horseback. They were well known, and are still used as drove-roads along which cattle are driven to the southern markets. It is wonderful how Montrose, Monk, Dundee, and Mackay were able to find their way through the mountains, and to transport from place to place great numbers of men, both foot and cavalry, with baggage and camp equipage. Artillery they were unable to employ in their campaigns. By the construction of the new roads this difficulty was overcome.

General Wade's purpose was to penetrate the fastnesses of the Highlands by the construction of two great lines of communication. The main and direct line extended from the fortress of Stirling by Crieff to Dalnacardoch, crossing the Tay at Aberfeldy by a bridge of five arches. A branch line took a more easterly direction, extending from Perth by Dunkeld to

Dalnacardoch. The united line then crossed the mountain summit to Dalwhinnie, along the track now followed by the Highland Railway. At Dalwhinnie the road branched off in two directions. One branch went down the valley of the Spey, and by way of Kingussie and Carrbridge to Inverness. The other turned off to the left and reached Fort Augustus by Garviemore and over the steep sides of Corryarrick.

The second main line of road was on the west coast. Commencing on the south at Loch Lomond, it passed on by Dalmally, Tyndrum, and through Glencoe and Ballachulish to Fort William. From Fort William a road was made crossing the Spean at High Bridge, keeping along the southern shore of Loch Lochy and Loch Oich to Fort Augustus, and thence along the Stratherrick side of Loch Ness to Inverness.

These roads were begun in 1726, and their construction was carried on for eleven years, in which time two hundred and fifty miles were made. Five hundred soldiers from the Highland companies and other regiments took part in the work. The privates were allowed 6d. a-day above their pay, the corporals 8d., and the sergeants 1s. Officers were allowed 2s. 6d. a-day for extraordinary expense and maintenance.

The standard breadth of the roads was 16 feet, but in some places they were wider. Being constructed for military purposes, no attention was paid to the matter of gradient. They ran on in straight lines up hill and down dale. When any eminence was met with, the road went up one side and down the other. If the hill was too steep to be dealt with in this way, the road was carried up by a series of zigzags to the summit, and by a similar arrangement to the base on the other side.

The difficulties which the engineers who constructed these highways had to overcome must have been very great. The

work was frequently interrupted for months together by the severity of the weather. Spongy moors had to be made firm, precipices to be blasted, great boulders to be removed, rushing torrents to be bridged, and trenches made to receive and carry off the rains and melting snows. In a letter written by Mr Burt at the time of their construction, a very vivid description is given of the obstacles that had to be surmounted by the workmen. The writer tells us that when the road along Loch Ness was made, "the miners hung by ropes from the precipice over the water (like Shakespeare's gatherers of samphire from Dover cliffs) to bore the stone in order to blow away a necessary part from the face of it, and the rest likewise was chiefly done by gunpowder; but where any part was fit to be left as it was, being flat and smooth, it was brought to a roughness proper for a stay to the feet, and in this part, and all the rest of the road where the precipices were like to give horror or uneasiness to such as might pass over them in carriages, though at a good distance from them, they are secured on the lake-side by walls either left in the working or built up with stone to a height proportioned to the occasion."

Along the edge of Loch Oich, the writer says, "the rocks project over the lake, and the path was so rugged and narrow that the Highlanders were obliged for their safety to hold by the rocks and shrubs as they passed, with the prospect of death beneath them. In many places the rocks were so steep and uneven that the passenger was obliged to creep on his hands and on his knees." To make a roadway in such a place was no easy task, and the writer takes great pride in the work carried out in the face of such difficulties. "The roads on these moors," he says, "are now as smooth as Constitution Hill, and I have galloped on some of them for miles together in great tranquillity, which was heightened by reflec-

tion on my former fatigue, when for a great part of the way I had been obliged to quit my horse, it being too dangerous or impracticable to ride, and even hazardous to pass on foot."

He tells an amusing story of the wonder with which the natives of Inverness-shire regarded the feats of the engineers: "The first design of removing a vast fallen piece of rock was entertained by the country people with great derision, of which I saw one instance myself. A very old wrinkled Highland woman upon such an occasion, standing over against me when the soldiers were fixing their engines, seemed to sneer at it, and said something to an officer of one of the Highland companies. I imagined she was making a jest of the undertaking, and asked the officer what she said. 'I will tell you her words,' said he. '"What are the fools a-doing? That stone will lie there for ever, for all of them"'; but when she saw that vast bulk begin to rise, though by slow degrees, she set up a hideous Irish yell, took to her heels, ran up the side of a hill just by like a young girl, and never looked behind her while she was within our sight. I make no doubt she thought it was magic and the workmen warlocks."

According to this writer, the chiefs of Inverness-shire and their followers regarded the making of the roads with considerable dissatisfaction. Probably what he says is much exaggerated, but it may be taken as a whole to exhibit the general opinion of the people of the county at the time in regard to those improvements:—

"Those chiefs and other gentlemen complain that thereby an easy passage is opened into their country for strangers, who in time, by their suggestions of liberty, will destroy or weaken that attachment of their vassals which it is so necessary for them to support and preserve. That their fastnesses being laid open, they are deprived of that security from invasion which they formerly enjoyed.

"That the bridges in particular will render the ordinary people effeminate and less fit to pass the waters in other places where there are none.

"The middling order say the roads are to them an inconvenience instead of being useful, as they have turned them out of their old ways; for their horses being never shod, the gravel would soon whet away their hoofs, so as to render them unserviceable; whereas the rocks and moor-stones, though together they make a rough way, yet considered separately, they are generally pretty smooth on the surface where they tread, and the heath is always easy to the feet. . . .

"The lowest class, who many of them at some times cannot compass a pair of shoes for themselves, allege that the gravel is intolerable for their naked feet; and the complaint has extended to their thin brogues. It is true they do sometimes for these reasons go without the road, and ride or walk in very incommodious ways. But why do the black cattle do the same thing? Certainly for the ease of their feet."

General Wade had now carried out his programme for the subjugation and opening up of the Highlands, and especially of our county. He had disarmed the people, built forts, and made roads. He had established in the very heart of the unruly clans bodies of disciplined soldiers, speaking the language and wearing the dress of the country, and trained to mountain warfare. He had put down depredation and robbery. There had only been, he states in his final report, but one single instance where cattle had been stolen without being recovered and returned to their proper owners. The general was a strong man, and had done wonderful things. Another rising seemed to be out of the question. Dissatisfaction there was, indeed, on the part of the people and their leaders. But they could only grumble and submit.

The weakness of the general's policy—though for that he

may not have been responsible—was that it was only a policy of repression. Nothing was done for the enlightenment of the inhabitants, nothing to ameliorate the hard conditions of their lives, nothing to establish bonds of affection and gratitude between them and the Government. They were treated with contempt as a conquered people, and kept down by the strong hand. When that hand was removed they were ready to return to their old courses.

In the year 1740 the Highland companies which Wade had embodied and planted in detachments throughout the county were disbanded, and the garrisons were occupied by small parties of soldiers drawn from the regular army. No reason was given for this step. It certainly was the most foolish possible that the Government could have taken. Cattle-lifting and robbery began whenever the military police were withdrawn, and the last state of Inverness-shire was worse than the first.

In Badenoch and along Speyside farms were regularly harried by freebooters from Lochaber and Argyle. So great was the evil that at the request of the tacksmen of the country Ewen Macpherson of Cluny established a "watch" or band of men for their protection and to guard the passes. These "watches" were common over the county. In general they levied blackmail, receiving sums of money from people for giving them protection, while they robbed and stole from those who did not pay this tax. There is no reason whatever for supposing Cluny to have been a blackmailer, for he is said to have been "much out of pocket by his generous undertaking." Others who commanded "watches" were not so particular.

Macdonald of Barasdale, in the west of Inverness-shire, "a gentleman of polished behaviour, fine address, and fine person," and a cadet of the family of Glengarry, was a close imitator of the famous Rob Roy. He is said to have carried

out the art of plunder to the highest pitch of perfection. "Besides exerting all the common practices, he imposed that article of commerce they called blackmail to a degree beyond what was ever known by his predecessors." He forced an extensive neighbourhood to pay him a very considerable sum yearly for their protection, and raised an income of £500 a-year by this tax. "He behaved with genuine humour in restoring on proper consideration the stolen cattle to his friends. He observed a strict fidelity towards his own gang, and yet was indefatigable in bringing to justice any rogues that interfered with his own. He considered himself in a very high light, as a benefactor to the public and preserver of general tranquillity."

Such was the lawless and disordered state to which the county was reduced after the disbandment of the Highland companies. Matters went back very much to what they were before "the Fifteen." Emissaries from the Court of the Stewarts came across the water to visit the chiefs and spy the land. Boxes of arms were secretly conveyed into the country by the ships which brought wine and other commodities from the Continent. The clans became as well armed as they were ever before. The Government had relaxed their vigilance, and they paid the penalty. The eve of 1745 found Inverness-shire ripe for insurrection, and the chiefs as ready as they had ever been to engage in any desperate venture that came their way.

CHAPTER X.

SOCIAL STATE OF INVERNESS-SHIRE BEFORE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—SOURCES OF INFORMATION—REPORTS OF LOVAT AND OF GENERAL WADE—BURT'S LETTERS—THE TOWN OF INVERNESS—ITS BUILDINGS AND CONDITION—DESCRIPTIONS OF MACKEY AND BURT—FORT WILLIAM—THE CHIEFS, THE TACKSMEN, AND THE COMMON PEOPLE—THEIR MODE OF LIFE—HOUSES, CUSTOMS, AMUSEMENTS, AND POSITION GENERALLY—CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE PERIOD ILLUSTRATED BY LIFE OF LORD LOVAT—THE LEADING MAN IN THE COUNTY.

We may pause at this stage of our narrative to take a slight survey of the state of Inverness-shire socially and otherwise before the great event which so completely changed the condition of its inhabitants. We have reached the dividing line between the old and the new. On the one side is the clan system, with all its influences for good or evil; on the other we have the beginning of that state of things which exists to-day. The difference between the Inverness-shire of 1745 and that of 1897 is very marked. Except that the physical features remain the same, there is hardly any resemblance between them. The character of the people, manners, modes of living, education, personal freedom, are all changed. Not more marked is the contrast between the old and crumbling ruin of Castle Urquhart on Loch Ness and the noble mansion in its neighbourhood, or between the railway that passes through the wilds of Badenoch and those mountain-tracks which the passenger sees as he is

borne swiftly along, on which clansmen drove their raided cattle, and Montrose and Dundee led their Highland followers.

We are not without considerable material to enable us to form some idea at least of how men lived in Inverness-shire in the olden time, and up to the eve of the collapse of the feudal system. Well-authenticated reports from competent persons as to the state of the Highlands generally, and Inverness-shire in particular, have come down to us. Such are those of Lord Lovat, General Wade, and others. There are incidents recorded in the clan histories, and inserted in the almost continuous record of battle and robbery, which shed considerable light on social conditions. And there are also the narratives of such travellers as at that early period visited Inverness-shire. They were not numerous, and their references to what went on at the time were sparse. One of them, however, Mr Burt (or Birt), has in his 'Letters from the North'[1] given his impressions with considerable fulness. In these Letters he makes such mistakes as an Englishman transported suddenly from London to Inverness would naturally be led into, and perhaps also he shows traces of a desire to astonish his correspondent by telling him things calculated to shock and amaze him. But on the whole there is no reason to doubt the general truthfulness of his descriptions, or to deter us from believing them, especially when established by evidence from other sources. Burt wrote his Letters about 1725-26, though they were not published till long afterwards. He was employed by General Wade in some civil capacity, either as a surveyor or accountant. He resided chiefly in the town of Inverness,

[1] Letters from a gentleman in the North of Scotland to his friend in London, containing an account of the Highlands, with the customs and manners of the Highlanders.

but he appears to have travelled from time to time in outlying parts of the county.

Guided by the sources of information which we have referred to, and such others as are available, we begin our sketch of Inverness-shire in the olden time by putting on record anything we can glean about its capital, the burgh of Inverness.[1]

Inverness at the period of which we are writing was a town of between 2000 and 3000 inhabitants. The number of houses in the burgh was probably between 400 and 500. In the centre of the town was the cross, which stood on the Exchange. Here converged four streets—East Street to the east, Bridge Street to the west, Castle Street to the south, and Kirk Street to the north. East Street extended from the cross to the Eastgate, while Bridge Street was its continuation westwards to the river. Castle Street, which then as now ran along the escarpment on the east side of the Castlehill, did not run quite so far south as it now does; while Kirk Street practically ended at the parish church. At the chapel-yard were the butts, where the citizens congregated with their arms in times of danger, or for inspection and exercise. Still farther to the north was the pier and what remained of the disused and partially dismantled fort of Oliver Cromwell. At the foot of Bridge Street the river Ness was spanned by a handsome stone bridge. On the west side of the river was a scattered hamlet of humble dwellings, which formed part of the burgh though they could hardly be said to be in it.

Of public buildings there were very few. The principal was the Castle, which stood on the site of the present building. It had been put in good repair and had been strongly fortified by General Wade, and commanded the town and the bridge

[1] I am much indebted to a description by Mr K. M'Donald, the present town-clerk of the burgh.

over the Ness, the only bridge leading from the southern to the northern side of the Great Glen. Next in importance was the parish church, which stood on the present site. In its session-house the council met once a-year to elect magistrates—a ceremony which was, according to what was described as the ancient and laudable custom of the burgh, preceded by "prayer and supplication to God for a blessing on the work." A carpet was solemnly carried to the session-house on this important day in each year, that the city fathers might have a draped floor while performing the important duty of electing their provost, bailies, treasurer, and dean of guild for the ensuing year. When the ceremony was over, the carpet was as solemnly carried back to its ordinary resting-place, wherever that might be.

Near the cross, at the top of Bridge Street and Kirk Street, was the tolbooth, comprising the court-house and gaol. At the ground-level under the tolbooth stair were two shops. The tolbooth had a steeple with bells and a clock. The steeple was taken down and rebuilt in 1691, part at least of the cost being met out of money collected to buy off Coll Macdonald of Keppoch when he threatened the town. The kind of building the tolbooth was may be gathered from the fact that it had no chimney until the steeple was rebuilt.

At the bridge end up to 1709 was the Laigh Council House, where the ordinary meetings of the council were held, and where the town clerk resided, or at all events had his offices. In that year the town purchased for 2700 merks a house called Lord Lovat's, and on the site so acquired a new town-house was built at a cost of 10,000 merks. The council then as now numbered twenty-one. Once in each year five of them retired, and the remaining sixteen proceeded to elect the council for the following year—usually electing themselves and the bulk

of the retiring five as well. On rare occasion after a national crisis the whole council was dismissed by the Crown, or ceased to exist by neglecting to re-elect itself on the proper day. Then a new council had to be elected by a poll of the burgesses.

For the size of the town its trade was considerable. The greater part of the ground between Church Street and Academy Street was covered with malt-kilns and barns. A large and important business was done in malting. The privilege of engaging in this business was confined to guild brethren. The malt was sold to the people of the surrounding districts and paid for in hides, in the tanning and export of which another large section of the trade of the town consisted. In addition to the various branches of the building trades, and those necessary for supplying the everyday wants of the people, there were burgesses engaged in the trades of armourer and glover, which have long since ceased to be carried on in the town. Many of the merchants took part in transactions of considerable magnitude, and were men of substance. The well-known names of Cuthbert, Duff, Inglis, Robertson, and Forbes, familiar in local history, were those of Inverness merchants who acquired estates in the neighbourhood of the town, and some of whose representatives are still Inverness-shire proprietors.

At the period of "the '45" the town was considerably impoverished. The fiscal policy of the Government had inflicted serious injury on its trade. Its main industry, "malting," had declined, and other trades suffered from the consequent depression. Its import and export trade seems, on the other hand, to have kept up; for in 1738 a new quay, called the Citadel Quay, was built, which could at high tides receive vessels of 150 tons. The expense of erecting this quay was £2790, defrayed by a heavy excise on ale and

beer used in the town, the collection of which excited great dissatisfaction among the inhabitants.

In 1692 the royal burghs of Scotland were visited by instructions of "the Convention of Royal Burghs." The visitors were ordered to give "ane exact accompt" of the common good of each burgh, and how it was expended. That of Inverness amounted to £1645, 10s. 8d. Scots, and was made up from "the peck and toll money of the bridge, the weighhouse and salt measure, the flesh stocks and shambles, the anchorage and shore dues, the few-duties yearly, and what is paid to the town by the weivers." On the other hand, the disbursements of the town amounted to £3030, 15s. 8d. Scots, expended on salaries to the ministers, to the master of the grammar-school, the drummer's salary, the provost and four bailies' salaries, the executioner's salary, rent of a cellar for a meal-market, &c., the balance between the charge and discharge being raised by cess on the inhabitants of the burgh.

Mr John Mackey, whose travels through Scotland were published in 1723, and who visited the burgh probably about 1717, gives a pleasing account of Inverness. He speaks of it as "a pretty town situated at the mouth of the river Ness, which runs from a lake of that name full twenty-three miles long. There are two very good streets in this town, and the people are more polite than in most towns in Scotland; they speak as good English here as at London and with an English accent, and ever since Oliver Cromwell was here they are in their manners and dress entirely English. Here are coffee-houses and taverns as in England. Here are the ruins of an old castle, and indeed the place deserves to be well fortified, for it is one of the most considerable passes between the low country and the Highlands."

Mr Burt, who wrote after the visit of this traveller, is not

so complaisant in his remarks. He has nothing to say of the beauty of the situation of Inverness, and indeed is anything but flattering in his description of its streets and buildings. He tells how greatly Mr Mackey was held in esteem by the inhabitants for calling it the "pretty town of Inverness," and how often he had heard the words quoted by them with pleasure, but he himself is apparently determined to give no satisfaction of the same kind. We must, however, allow him to tell his own tale.

"Inverness," he tells us, "is one of the royal boroughs of Scotland, and jointly with Nairn, Forres, and Chanonry, sends a member to Parliament. The town has a military governor, and the corporation a provost and four bailies, a kind of magistrate little differing from our mayors and aldermen. Besides whom there is a dean of guild, who presides in matters of trade, and other borough offices, as in the rest of the corporate towns of the country. It is not only the head borough or county town of the shire of Inverness, which is of large extent, but generally esteemed to be the capital of the Highlands; but the natives do not call themselves Highlanders, not so much on account of their low situation as because they speak English. Yet though they speak English, there are scarce any who do not understand the Irish tongue; and it is necessary they should do so to carry on their dealings with the neighbouring country-people, for within less than a mile of the town there are few who speak any English at all."

"The bridge," he says, "is about 80 yards over, and a piece of good workmanship, consisting of seven arches, built of stone, and maintained by the toll of a *bodle*, or the sixth part of a penny, for each foot-passenger with goods, a penny for a loaded horse, &c."

He does not appear to have a great opinion of the criminal

administration of the burgh. "From the tolbooth or county gaol," he tells us, "the greatest part of the murderers and other notorious villains that have been committed since I have been here have made their escape, and I think this has manifestly proceeded from the furtherance or connivance of the keepers, or rather their keepers. When this evil has been complained of, the excuse was, the prison was a weak old building, and the town is not in a condition to keep it in repair; but, for my own part, I cannot help concluding from many circumstances that the greatest part of the escapes have been the consequence either of clan interest or of clan terror. As, for example, if one of the magistrates were a Cameron, the criminal Cameron must not suffer if the clan be desirous he should be saved."

It is not probable that any of the magistrates of Inverness would belong to the clan of Lochiel, but doubtless the peace-loving citizens had their own reasons for not offending any of the clans by which they were surrounded. Their town at this period was almost undefended, and it might be better for the magistrates to allow any captive Highlandman to effect his escape than to incur the wrath of some offended chief and his following.

The town hall he represents as "a plain building of rubble, and there is one room in it where the magistrates meet upon the town business, which would be tolerably handsome, but the walls are rough, not whitewashed or so much as plastered, and no furniture in it but a table, some bad chairs, and altogether immoderately dirty."

The merchants and other men of business met at the cross for the transaction of their affairs. "They stand in the middle of the dirty street, and are frequently interrupted in their negotiations by horses and carts, which often separate them from one another in the midst of their bargains." "Near the

extreme part of the town toward the north are two churches, one for the English and the other for the Irish tongue, both out of repair and much as clean as the other churches I have seen."

Dirt is the continual complaint of this Englishman. It meets him everywhere—in the houses, churches, streets. The last he allows to be well paved, but when he asked the magistrates one day when the dirt was almost above his shoes why they suffered the town to be so excessively dirty and did not employ the people to clean the streets, the answer was, "It will not be long before we have a shower."

The houses appear to have been built end on to the streets, with a staircase outside which led to each floor. The lowest stage of the building had a door towards the street which served for a shop or a warehouse. The suburbs of the town were made up of "most miserably low dirty hovels, faced and covered with turf, with a bottomless tub or basket in the roof for a chimney."

Of the shops, or, as they were called, warehouses, our visitor thought very little. "There is indeed," he says, "a shop up a pair of stairs which is kept by three or four merchants in partnership, and that is pretty well stored with various sorts of small goods and wares mostly from London. This shop is called by way of eminence *the* warehouse here (for the purpose). A hat which with you would cost thirteen or fourteen shillings, goes by the established name of a *guinea hat*, and other things are much in the same proportion." To call such a place a warehouse, or its proprietor a merchant, evidently gives our narrator considerable amusement. "On this side the Tweed many things are aggrandised in imitation of their ancient allies (as they call them) the French. A peddling shopkeeper that sells a pennyworth of thread is a *merchant*, the person who is sent for that thread has received a *commission*, and bringing it to the sender is making a *report*.

A bill to let you know there is a single room to be let is called a *Placard;* the doors are Ports; an enclosed field of two acres is a *Park*, and the wife of a laird of fifteen pounds a-year is a lady and treated with—Your Ladyship."

His description of the passers-by on a street of the town is graphic enough, though probably overdrawn. "In one part the poor women, maid-servants, and children, in the coldest weather, in the dirt or in the snow, either walking or standing to talk with one another, without stockings or shoes. In another place you see a man dragging along a half-starved horse, little bigger that an ass, in a cart about the size of a wheelbarrow. One part of his plaid is wrapt round his body and the rest is thrown over his shoulder, and every now and then he turns himself about to adjust his mantle when blown off by the wind or fallen by his stooping, or to thump the poor little horse with a great stick. The load in his cart, if compact, might be carried under his arm; but he must not bear any burden himself, though his wife has perhaps at the same time a greater load on her loyns than he has in his cart. I say on her loyns, for the women carry fish and other heavy burdens in the same manner as the Scots pedlars carry their packs in England. The poor men are seldom barefoot in the town, but wear brogues, a sort of pumps without heels, which keep them little more from the wet and the dirt than if they had none, but they serve to defend their feet from the gravel and stones."

The better class of the citizens, he says, were dressed in a more comfortable fashion: "The gentlemen, magistrates, merchants, and shopkeepers are dressed after the *English* manner, and make a good appearance enough according to their several ranks. Their women of fashion go seldom abroad, but when they appear they are generally well dressed in the English mode."

Inverness was the only market-town in the county. "There are four or five fairs in the year, when the Highlanders bring their commodities to market. But, good God! you could not conceive there was such misery in the island. One has under his arm a piece of coarse plaiding; these are considerable dealers. But the merchandise of the greatest part of them is of a most contemptible value, such as these—viz., two or three cheeses, of about three or four poundweight apiece; a kid, sold for sixpence or eightpence at the most; a small quantity of butter in something that looks like a bladder, and is sometimes set down in the dirt upon the street; three or four goatskins; a piece of wood for an axle-tree to one of the little carts, &c. With the produce of what each of them sells they generally buy something—viz., a horn or wooden spoon or two, a knife, a wooden platter, and suchlike necessaries for their huts, and carry home with them little or no money. You may see one eating a large onion without salt or bread, another gnawing a carrot, &c. These are rarities not to be had in their own parts of the country."

Dirt, laziness, and poverty meet our visitor in every direction he turns. Notwithstanding, however, his beggarly estimate of what he saw, there is no reason for believing Inverness was less deficient in the comforts of life than other Scottish, and even perhaps English, country towns of that period. There were, we know, men of good substance and education among its inhabitants, and there was a society into which it is evident Mr Burt was not allowed to enter. He had no military rank and no social position as a gentleman. He tells us himself that he was regarded as a spy. Perhaps, indeed, his exclusion from the hospitality of the well-to-do citizens has something to do with the contempt which he so freely expresses. But his descriptions are amusing, and the contrast between the Inverness he saw and the beautiful town of the present day cannot

but be gratifying. One thing he does allow to be worthy of praise. The Englishman was a man who evidently loved good living, and the materials for that were plentiful enough. "Salmon and trout just taken out of the river, and both very good of their kind. Partridge, grouse, hare, duck, mallard, woodcocks, snipes, &c., each in its proper season. . . . Wholesome and agreeable drink, I mean French claret, which is to be met with almost everywhere in public-houses of any note. French brandy very good, about three or four shillings a gallon. In quantities from hovering ships on the coast it has been bought for twentypence. Lemons are seldom wanting here, so that punch for those that like it is very reasonable; but few care to drink it, as thinking claret a much better liquor. The little Highland mutton when fat is delicious, and certainly the greatest luxury, and the small beef when fresh is very sweet and succulent. Mutton and beef are about a penny the pound. Salmon, which was at the same price, is by a late regulation of the magistrates raised to twopence a pound, which is thought by many to be an exorbitant price. A fowl which they call a hen may be bought for twopence or twopence-halfpenny. Pork is not common with us, but what we have is good." It is evident our writer found Inverness a good place to stay in, and the abundance of creature comforts which he describes, and their moderate cost, might well detract to some extent from the sweeping criticisms in which he so freely indulges.

There was only one other town in the county besides Inverness at this period. This was what is now the flourishing and picturesque town of Fort William. "It was erected," Burt tells us, "into a barony in favour of the governor of the fort for the time being, and into a borough bearing the name of Queen Mary. It was originally designed as a sutlery to the garrison in so barren a country, where little can be had for

the support of the troops. The houses were neither to be built with stone or brick, and are to this day composed of timber, boards, and turf. This was ordained, to the end they might the more suddenly be burnt or otherwise destroyed by order of the governor to prevent any lodgement of an enemy that might annoy the fort in case of rebellion or invasion."

The inhabitants of the county outwith the two towns of Inverness and Fort William or Maryburgh were divided into three classes—the chiefs, the tacksmen, and the common people. The chiefs were the great men of Inverness-shire. They were all men of culture and education. They had all been trained at universities either at home or abroad. They could all speak English, Gaelic, and French with equal fluency. Their character and mode of living present us with a strange combination of culture and barbarity. A man like Sir Ewen Cameron, who could take his place in the Court of the king with grace, could yet head a pack of marauders to the South and return at the tail of a drove of lifted cattle. Keppoch, who had been trained at the university of St Andrews, was chiefly celebrated for his skill in tracking stolen cows. Chiefs possessed of a great degree of personal refinement and courtesy would without scruple indulge at will in deeds of lawlessness and ferocity. They seem to us to have been by turns cultured and courtly gentlemen, and wild savages bent on rapine and bloodshed. As their power depended on the number of their followers, it was their constant object to swell the ranks of their retainers and to keep alive among them the use of arms. When an English guest asked Macdonald of Keppoch the amount of his income, his laconic reply was, "I can raise 500 men." The importance and rank of each chief depended on the number of armed followers he could lead into battle.

The fighting strength of the Inverness-shire clans has been variously estimated. Probably the account given by General Wade in his report to the king may be taken as the most accurate. Lord Lovat could command 800 men, the Laird of Grant 800, Forbes of Culloden 200, Glengarry 800, Clanranald 800, Lochiel 800, Keppoch 220, Mackintosh with the Farquharsons 800, Chisholm of Strathglass 150, the Macphersons 220.

The chiefs lived in considerable state. Each had a numerous household. A select bodyguard defended his person, and his visits were paid with much pomp and ceremony. He was accompanied by his henchman, his bard, his spokesman, his sword-bearer, the man who carried him over fords, the leader of his horse, his baggage-man, his piper and piper's attendant. Mr Burt gives an amusing account of his meeting one of these Inverness-shire magnates in one of his journeys. "On my way," he says, "I met a Highland chieftain with fourteen attendants. When we came, as the sailor says, almost broadside and broadside, he eyed me as if he would look my hat off; but as he was at home and I a stranger in the country, I thought he might have made the first overture of civility, and therefore I took little notice of him and his ragged followers. On his part he seemed to show a kind of disdain at my being so slenderly attended, with a mixture of anger that I showed him no respect before his vassals; but this might be my surmise, yet it looked very like it."

The dwellings of the chiefs had little to boast of in the way of grandeur or convenience. Some of them still resided in their square towers or castles four or five storeys high, of which we have a specimen in the old castle of Glengarry. In such a rude retreat the Lord Lovat of the period of which we are writing is said to have entertained 400 people. Most of the Inverness-shire chiefs, however, had removed from their ancient

fastnesses to houses built of stone and lime.' These were, according to Mr Burt's account, "not large, except some few, yet pretty commodious."

In their homes the chiefs exercised unbounded hospitality. The provisions of life were abundant. Of butcher-meat there was ample store. His hills afforded the chief every variety of game, and his rivers abundance of fish. In an account of the housekeeping of Lord Lovat in 1590 we are told that the weekly expense of provisions in his household was seven bolls of meal, seven of malt, and one of flour. Each year seventy beeves were consumed, besides venison, fish, poultry, kid, lamb, veal, and all sorts of feathered game in profusion. The same abundance of good things existed in all the households of the Inverness-shire chiefs. Claret was both plentiful and good. It was imported from France. The consumption by Clanranald's house was twelve hogsheads a-year. In that of Culloden the libations were of the most copious description. The custom of the house was to remove the top of each successive cask of claret and place it in the corner of the hall to be emptied in pailfuls. On the occasion of a marriage or a funeral the profusion was almost unbounded. The funeral of a chief was specially an event which called together people from far and near — all were made welcome, and all were sumptuously entertained. When The Mackintosh died in 1704 the funeral feasts and entertainments were kept up for a whole month. When The Chisholm died in 1817, his body lay in state for several days in an inn in Inverness, where wines and refreshments were laid out for all visitors. A banquet was held in a granary close to Beauly Priory, where he was buried. Those of "gentle kindred" occupied the upper room, while the commons caroused in the lower storey. Claret, it is said, "ran like ditch-water," and the old women of the village brought pails to carry off the superfluous whisky, and are said

to have kept public-houses for six months afterwards on the relics of the feast. At the burial of Mrs Forbes of Culloden, her two sons and their friends drank so hard that when the company arrived at the churchyard they found they had forgotten to bring the coffin.

The government of the clan by the chief was despotic, though tempered by the patriarchal relations between him and his people. Most probably all of the Inverness-shire chiefs had hereditary powers of jurisdiction. They could try and punish offenders against the law. Courts were regularly held and presided over by a person called a bailie, whose jurisdiction was absolute. He could fine, imprison, banish, and sentence to death. The places of execution in each district of Inverness-shire can still be pointed out. The tenantry of the district were obliged to attend the court of the locality, which was conducted with much pomp and formality.

The chief, though generally remitting the administration of justice to his bailie, often exercised his power to punish without the intervention of that official. When Mr Burt complained of incivility which he had received from some members of a clan, the chief at once said that if he would give him their names he would send him their heads. A Catholic priest having mentioned to Glengarry that he had occasion to rebuke and punish a well-known thief, that chief said the punishment was not sufficient. He ordered the offender to be cast into the dungeon of his castle and starved to death, a sentence which would have been carried out but for the intercession of the clergyman. Clanranald sentenced a woman who had stolen some money in his house to be tied by the hair to the seaweed on the rocks till the tide came in and drowned her. When ships about to sail for the West Indies came to Inverness, the neighbouring chiefs sent offenders from their various districts to be transported as slaves. No power but the strong hand

could keep the people in order, and that power was freely exercised by their superiors.

When not engaged in looking after his estates and their management, the chief had other occupations. The chase was his favourite amusement. Red deer were plentiful in the hills, and other wild animals also were keenly sought for. Wolves had been at one time numerous, but were now extinct. The last seen in Scotland is said to have been killed in Lochaber by Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel in 1680, but there is a tradition that it was slain in the parish of Inverness not far from the house of Kinmylies. There is also another tradition that it was killed by a woman in Strathglass. Wild cats, foxes, and badgers still abounded. The deer were not stalked as they are now, but were driven into a limited space, where they were killed by the chief and his friends with their broadswords. Sir Ewen Cameron entertained some gentlemen, whom he had made prisoners, with a hunting after this fashion at the head of Loch Arkaig. He was met, his biographer tells us, at the head of the loch by some hundreds of men whom he had ordered to be convened for the purpose. "These people, stretching themselves in a line along the hills, soon enclosed great numbers of deer, which, having driven to a place appointed, they guarded them so closely within the circle which they had formed round them that the gentlemen had the pleasure of killing them with their broadswords, which was a diversion new and uncommon to them."

But dearer to the chief than the pleasure of the chase was the raid made on some far-off country in search of spoil. To take a prey from the Lowlands was regarded as an innocent and healthful amusement. At the period of which we are writing the chiefs seldom ventured personally to lead a foray, for the restraints of the Government were very stringent. But most of them connived at their sons and the men of their clan

engaging in the laudable pursuits of their ancestors, and shared without scruple in the proceeds of any successful venture. The Inverness-shire clans "most addicted to rapine and plunder," General Wade informs us, were the Camerons and the Macdonalds of Keppoch. They "go out," he tells us, "in parties from ten to thirty men, traverse large tracks of mountains till they arrive at the lowlands where they design to commit these depredations, which they choose to do in places distant from the glens they inhabit. They drive the stolen cattle in the night-time, and in the day remain on the tops of the mountains or in the woods with which the Highlands abound, and take the first occasion to sell them at the fairs or markets that are held annually in many parts of the country. Those who are robbed of their cattle follow them on the track, and often recover them from the robbers by compounding for a certain sum of money; but if the pursuers are in numbers superior to the thieves, and happen to seize any of them, they are seldom or never prosecuted. The encouragement and protection given by some of the chiefs of clans is reciprocally rewarded by allowing them a share in the plunder, which is sometimes one-half or two-thirds of what is stolen."

After the chiefs the class of people deemed most important in the county were the tacksmen. They were generally relations of the chief, and held, Mr Burt tells us, "pretty large farms, perhaps twenty or thirty pounds a-year, and they again generally parcel them out to under-tenants in small proportions." The tacksmen were usually at this time men of some education. They were beginning to build for themselves stone houses, but many of them lived in turf huts not much better than those inhabited by the common people.

The state of the people generally, in comparison with those of southern Scotland, was of the most miserable description. Their number greatly exceeded the means of subsistence

afforded by the lands they occupied. The author of an able pamphlet entitled 'An Enquiry into the Causes that facilitate the Use and Progress of Rebellions in Scotland' calculates that there was not at this period employment for more than one-half the number of people in the Highlands: of the remainder he says, "Many are supported by the bounty of their acquaintances and relations, others get their living by levying blackmail, and the rest gain their subsistence by stealing or robbery and committing depredations." This account may be exaggerated, but there can be no doubt of the wretched condition of the people compared with that of their more southern neighbours, though doubtless it had its alleviations. Their wants were few, from their infancy they were inured to hardship, and they were in the main treated kindly by their landlords. Eviction for non-payment of rent was unknown. Though we may pity their state, they themselves, enjoying their freedom, did not envy those dwelling beyond their glens and mountains, and would have been sorry to change places with them.

Their houses were of a very humble description. They were built of round stones without any cement, thatched with sods and sometimes heather. Generally, though not always, they were divided by a wicker partition into two apartments, in the larger of which the family lived. In the middle of this room was the fire, made of peat, over which, suspended by an iron hook, was the pot for cooking. There was seldom a chimney, and the smoke found its way out by the roof and door. The other end of the house was reserved for the cattle and poultry. A Highland town, Burt informs us, was composed of a "few huts for dwellings, with barns and stables; and both the latter are of a more diminutive size than the former; all irregularly placed some one way, some another; at any distance they look like heaps of dirt."

The family grew a little corn sufficient to yield them meal, which was their chief article of food; but they were often reduced to severe privations, and it was no uncommon thing for them in the winter season to be driven to support life by bleeding their cattle, mixing the blood with a little oatmeal, and frying the whole into a sort of cake. Their great dependence for a livelihood was not so much on their tillage as on their cattle. Great herds of black cattle roamed in the mountains. Each township had its own herd who looked after them. They had a few sheep of a small breed. Droves of horses belonging to the tacksmen and tenants were everywhere to be met with among the hills. They were hardy animals of small size, and were often allowed to run wild among the mountains till they were eight or ten years old, when they were hunted down and captured with difficulty. The people disposed of their stock to drovers, who collected their herds and drove them to markets and fairs in the Lowlands of Scotland and north of England.

Mr Burt seems to think that the people led a dull and melancholy existence: "They have no diversions to amuse them, but sit brooding over the fire till their legs and thighs are scorched to an extraordinary degree; and many have sore eyes, and some are quite blind. This long continuance in the smoke makes them almost as black as chimney-sweepers, and when the huts are not water-tight, which is often the case, the rain that comes through the roof and mixes with the sootiness of the inside, where all the sticks look like charcoal, falls in drops like ink." This seems cheerless enough, but we know that the Englishman was not correct in depicting the life of the people as dull. On the contrary, it was full of cheerfulness. When in the summer months they removed to their distant shielings, or in winter crowded round the blazing hearth, they passed their idle hours joining

in the dance and listening to the song. They recited the legendary tales that came down from a far-off past. They sang the songs of their bards. They rehearsed the brave deeds of their ancestors, and they danced long and late to the music of the pipes. The Highlander of that time was far livelier, and his life was in some respects, notwithstanding its privations, brighter and more festive, than that of the Highlander of the present day.

The liquor of the tacksmen and people was ale, as that of the chiefs was claret. But whisky was beginning to be drunk, and stills were at work in many districts, tending to the demoralisation of the people. "The buddiell or aqua vitæ houses," says a report of the time—"that is, houses where they distil and retail aquavity—are the bane and ruin of the country. These houses are everywhere, and when the price of barley is low, all of them malt and distil in great quantities." According to Mr Burt, the Highland gentlemen were immoderate drinkers of whisky, even three or four quarts at a sitting. In general the people that could pay for it drank it without moderation. In 1744 the town council of Inverness passed strong resolutions against smuggling, and against the use of tea and brandy, articles which they said had only begun to be used in this country, and threatened to destroy the health and morals of the people. The members bound themselves to discontinue the use of these extravagant and pernicious commodities.

The common dress of the people of Inverness-shire, and of the Highlands generally, has been fully described by Mr Burt. It is what he saw daily on the streets of Inverness and wherever he travelled about. "The dress consists of a bonnet made of thrum without a brim, a short coat, a waistcoat longer by five or six inches, short stockings, and brogues, or pumps without heels. Few besides gentlemen

wear the *trowse*—that is, the breeches and stockings all of one piece and drawn on together; over this habit they wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breadths wide, and the whole garb is made of chequered tartan and plaiding: this with the sword and pistol is called full dress, and to a well-proportioned man with any tolerable air it makes an agreeable figure. The common habit of the Highlander is far from being acceptable to the eye. With them a small part of the plaid, which is not so large as the former, is set in folds and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half-way down the thigh, and the rest is brought over the shoulder and then fastened before below the neck. The stocking rises no higher than the thick of the calf, and from the middle of the thigh to the middle of the leg is a naked space. This dress is called the quelt." Our Englishman makes remarks on this apparel which are particularly disparaging. But it is evident that no dress could have been better suited to the life the Highlanders had to lead. When they were obliged to lie out in the hills, in their hunting-parties, or in tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid served them both for bed and covering. The freedom of their limbs also enabled them to undertake long journeys and to climb the mountains much better than if they were clothed in modern apparel.

The common people of Inverness-shire were at this time almost entirely uneducated. There was a grammar-school at Inverness, but the Acts of Parliament ordaining that there should be a school in every parish had remained a dead letter. In 1709 the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands was incorporated, and a few schools were planted here and there — one at Abertarff in 1711, and one at Glenmoriston in 1726. The progress of enlightenment is slow. It was specially so in this case, where

only English was taught. It was long before any impression was made on the dark state of the county. Below the rank of tacksman there was probably no one in Inverness-shire who could sign his name or read a printed line.

We know but little of the religious character of the people. Ministers were in every parish, and kirk-sessions were active in maintaining discipline. The records of these bodies show how zealous they were in summoning offenders against morals, fining them for their shortcomings, and occasionally handing them over to the civil magistrates to be imprisoned or set in the pillory. There were only Irish Bibles used in the Highlands, and even these the people could not read. They were dependent for religious instruction on their preachers, who were few, and, it is to be feared, not of a high order.

But if religion lay light on the shoulders of the Inverness-shire man of the period, he was a firm believer in those things which are now termed superstitions. There were many in Inverness-shire at this time who were supposed to possess the mysterious gift of second-sight. Such were to be found in every parish. Witchcraft was also another article of Celtic faith. In 1690 the magistrates of Inverness applied to the Privy Council for a commission to try witches, and when Mr Burt at the table of an Inverness-shire chief ventured to argue with a minister against the probability of witchcraft being true, he was set down at once as an atheist. As late as 1704 two men were in durance at Inverness, "alleged guilty of the horrid crimes of mischievous charms by witchcraft and malefice, sorcery or necromancy." A commission, consisting of Forbes of Culloden, Rose of Kilravock, and some others, was ordered to take them on trial, and they were afterwards executed under care of the magistrates of Inverness. Fairies were still seen by the belated hunter, and every family of importance in the county had its special ghost.

Perhaps this sketch of Inverness-shire immediately before 1745 may give our readers some idea of the general state of society in the county ere everything became changed and old things passed for ever away.

We will conclude this chapter by giving a short account of one who was at this time the most prominent man in Inverness-shire. His life illustrates in many particulars the customs and manners of the period. Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, was born about 1667. He was educated at the University of Aberdeen, where he took his degree in 1683. He was an accomplished classical scholar, and intended to take up the study of civil law after leaving college. Circumstances, however, led him to change his determination, and he accepted a commission in a regiment raised in the service of William and Mary. His chief, Lord Lovat, having to go to London to be presented at Court, Simon accompanied him, and so ingratiated himself in his favour that Lovat promised to leave him all his estates in case he should die without male issue. He did die soon after, leaving his estates to Simon's father, who assumed the title of Lord Lovat, Simon himself taking that of Master of Lovat. This, however, did not pass undisputed. The late lord had left a daughter, who was heiress by his marriage-contract, and who assumed the title of Baroness Lovat. Simon, to make his position secure, arranged to elope with this young lady, and a clansman, Fraser of Fenechiel, conducted the lady forth one winter night in such haste that she is said to have walked barefoot. The elopement, however, was frustrated, and Lord Saltoun, who represented a branch of the clan, ventured on her behalf into Inverness-shire to arrange matters with the people and induce them to submit to her as their head. Simon gathered together a few armed followers, and in the woods of Bunchrew captured Saltoun and his followers. He took them

first to the tower of Fanellan, where, when they looked out in the morning, they beheld a huge gallows erected. They were afterwards taken to Ellanaigus, where they were confined in a "creel-house" and treated with great indignity. They were afterwards liberated, Simon having in hand projects of a still more outrageous character. As he was unable to get possession of the heiress, he determined to marry her mother, the dowager Lady Lovat. He seized Castle Downie, where the lady resided; and then followed this outrage, which is thus fully described in legal proceedings afterwards taken:—

"He and his said accomplices make the lady close prisoner in her chamber under his armed guard, and there come upon her with Mr Robert Munro, minister of Abertarff, and three or four ruffians, in the night-time, about two or three in the morning, and having dragged out her maids, Agnes M'Bryar and —— Fraser, he proposes to the lady that she should marry him, and when she fell lamenting and crying, the great pipe was blown up to drown her cries, and the wicked villains ordered the minister to proceed. And though she protested with tears and cries, and also afforded all promises of anything else, and declared she would sacrifice her life sooner than consent to their proposal, nevertheless the said minister proceeds and declares them married persons, and Hugh Fraser of Kilmonavic and Hutcheon Oig, both of them thieves and murderers, are appointed for their waiting-maids. And though she often swarved [fainted], and again cried most piteously, yet no relenting. But the bagpipe is blown up as formerly, and the aforesaid ruffians rent off her clothes, cutting her stays with their dirks, and so thrust her into her bed."

For this offence Simon was outlawed, and "letters of intercommuning" were issued against him. By the aid of the

Stratherrick men he held his own and defied his enemies. Some of the latter he captured, and administered to them the following oath on their dirks: "They renounced their claims in Jesus Christ and their hopes of heaven, and devoted themselves to the devil and all the torments of hell, if ever they ventured into the territories of Lord Lovat or occasioned him directly or indirectly the smallest mischief"!

After a time Simon found the country too hot to hold him, and fled to France, where he was well received at the exiled Court of St Germains, whence in 1703 he returned to Scotland on a Jacobite mission. While in France he adopted the Roman Catholic faith. In the Highlands he had interviews with Lochiel and several of the chiefs, who confided to him their plans of a general rising. These he betrayed to the Duke of Queensberry, hoping by his treachery to gain favour with the Government. He then hastened back to France to act the part of spy among the Jacobites. His duplicity was discovered, he was seized and sent to the Bastille, only obtaining his liberty in 1708 by entering the Jesuit College of St Omer. He is believed to have become a priest and acquired considerable popularity as a preacher, and is reported to have said that if he had remained in orders he would at least have been an archbishop, if he did not fill the chair of St Peter.

Meantime the heiress of Lovat had married Mackenzie of Fraserdale, had obtained possession of the estates in Inverness-shire, and assumed the title of the Baroness Lovat. To many of the Frasers this was a disappointment, and they resolved to send one of their number, a Major Fraser, to France to find Simon, whom they regarded as their natural chief. The mission of the major was successful. He and Simon escaped to England, and after various strange adventures returned to Inverness-shire.

The time of his return was critical. The husband of the

baroness was away with Mar during the rising of 1719, and had the greater portion of the Clan Fraser with him. Simon resolved to take the side of the Hanoverians. As we have seen, he had been enabled to render the Government signal service. At his command the men of the clan who had followed Mackenzie at once returned home, and with these and the clansmen who had not gone out he captured Inverness and broke the neck of the rebellion in the North. Success now attended his steps. He obtained the forfeited estates of Lovat from the Government, had honours conferred upon him, and finally received by a decree of the Court of Session the title of Lord Lovat. He was made Sheriff of Inverness, and became the great man of the county.

At Castle Dounie or Beaufort he kept a sort of rude court. "His table," says Sir Walter Scott, "was filled with Frasers, whom he called his cousins, and took care that the fare with which they were regaled was adapted, not to their supposed quality, but to the actual importance of his guests." At the head of a long table were the neighbouring chiefs or distinguished strangers, and here claret and French cookery graced the board. Lower down were the duihnewassels, who enjoyed beef and mutton, with a glass of some humbler wine. The commoners of the clan occupied the next range, feeding on sheep-heads, and drinking whisky or ale. Clustering on the castle green in sunshine, or cowering in the outhouses in foul weather, were congregated the ruffians of the clan, to gnaw the bones and devour the offal. The provisions brought in for each day were all consumed by nightfall, and a stranger arriving in the evening could find nothing with which to break his fast. Lovat exercised his power over his vassals with the utmost severity, and a visitor to the castle tells us he saw sometimes three or four, sometimes half-a-dozen, hung up by the heels for hours on the few trees round the mansion.

Lovat's first marriage he regarded as a youthful frolic, and afterwards married twice while his first unfortunate wife was still alive. The character and previous conduct of the man do not seem to have in any way diminished his popularity. "You know," wrote the Duke of Queensberry, "Lord Lovat is one for whom I have with good reason the greatest esteem and respect." The king himself became godfather to one of his children, and Lord President Forbes, a man held in highest esteem, constantly corresponded with him on the most friendly and affectionate footing.

About 1736 this extraordinary man began to support the Government with less ardour. John Roy Stewart, a celebrated Jacobite, it is said with his connivance as sheriff, broke out of gaol at Inverness and went to live for six weeks at Lovat's house, and "was charged from him with a message to the Pretender." From 1737 Lovat was at the head of an association of the Highland chiefs for the restoration of the exiled family. Outwardly, however, he professed himself to be a firm supporter of the Government. When spoken to on the subject by Lord Islay he was loud in his professions of loyalty. "He said my house was a Jacobite house," says Lovat himself, "that the discourse of those in my house was of Jacobitism, and that I conversed with nobody but Jacobites. He told me that the First Minister had intelligence from abroad of my correspondence with the Pretender. I answered his lordship with a little warmth that those stories were damned calumnies and lies, and that I did not for many years write a letter to a person beyond sea, which indeed is true."

The Government were not deceived by these unblushing falsehoods. They treated him with suspicion and coldness, and deprived him of his sheriffship of Inverness. His wrath at losing this appointment was unbounded. At Castle Dounie he openly entertained those known to be disaffected.

His intrigues with the Jacobite chiefs were unremitting, while he wrote the Lord Advocate that "no hardship or ill-usage that I meet with can alter or diminish my zeal and attachment for his Majesty's person and Government." He wrote to a friend to persuade Glengarry to take the oaths. "I know," he said, "he has no regard for them, so he should not stand to take a cartload of them, as I would do to serve my friends;" and denouncing the Government for the treatment he had received from them, he said, "If Kouli Khan had landed in Scotland, that would have justified him to have joined him with his clan, and he would have done it."

Such was the leading man in Inverness-shire on the eve of the '45. This rapid sketch of his strange career sheds more light on the condition of the county at that time than any amount of description can do.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COUNTY PREPARING FOR A RISING — EMISSARIES FROM FRANCE AT WORK—PRINCE CHARLES STEWART LANDS IN MOIDART—THE DIE CAST—HEROISM OF YOUNG MACDONALD OF KINLOCH MOIDART—DESCRIPTION OF THE PRINCE BY ONE WHO WAS PRESENT—LOCHIEL PREVAILED TO JOIN THE ENTERPRISE — THE FIRST BLOODSHED IN THE NEW RISING —THE STANDARD RAISED IN GLENFINNAN — GENERAL COPE MARCHES NORTHWARD—MAKES FOR INVERNESS—PRINCE CHARLES CROSSES CORRYARRICK AND CAMPS AT DALWHINNIE — THE CLANSMEN WHO WERE WITH HIM — THE CUNNING POLICY OF LOVAT — THE HIGHLAND ARMY MOVES TO THE SOUTH — THEIR RETURN TO INVERNESS-SHIRE — THE "AFFAIR OF MOY" — LOUDON ABANDONS INVERNESS — THE HIGHLAND ARMY DESTROYS FORT GEORGE—THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND ARRIVES AT NAIRN—PRINCE CHARLES CAMPS ON CULLODEN MOOR—FAILURE OF THE PROJECTED ATTACK ON THE HANOVERIAN CAMP—THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN—THE MACDONALDS STAND ON THEIR DIGNITY AND REFUSE TO FIGHT—THE LAST CHARGE—BRAVERY OF THE HIGHLANDERS—JOHN MOR M'GILLVRAY—ESCAPE OF LOCHIEL—THE SAVAGE TREATMENT OF THE WOUNDED AND PRISONERS—THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND MOVES TO INVERNESS—FAILURE OF THE HIGHLANDERS TO RETRIEVE THEIR POSITION—THE MEETINGS AT RUTHVEN AND MUIRLAGAN—INVERNESS-SHIRE ABANDONED TO THE ENEMY—"MOURNING, LAMENTATION, AND WOE."

DURING the years that succeeded the rising of the Earl of Mar in 1715, communications were frequently passing between the Inverness-shire chiefs and the exiled family at the Court of St Germains. Emissaries from France were continually finding their way into the Highlands and consulting with the leaders of the Jacobite clans. These were still loyal in their attachment to the cause for which they had suffered so much, but they expressed themselves as unable to do anything further to support it without foreign assistance. Their followers were

to some extent disarmed. Forts had been erected and supplied with soldiers to keep them in check. Roads had been made throughout their country along which troops and artillery could be swiftly conveyed from the South. They were closely watched by the Government. To make any attempt to overthrow the present order of things, they all felt would be hopeless. One thing alone could render such an attempt successful. If a foreign army landed on the coast well supplied with the munitions of war, and led by a leader like Montrose or Dundee, something might be done. The Inverness-shire Jacobites — Lovat now among them — waited patiently for such an opportunity, but they waited with little hope of it ever arising. It was therefore with feelings of the utmost consternation that they heard of the arrival of Prince Charles Edward Stewart in Scotland without money, arms, or men. Their feelings, which were to them as a religion, prompted them to cast in their lot with him, but their judgment told them that in doing so they were entering on an enterprise almost certain to end in ruin to them all. History affords no truer instance of the claims of what was supposed to be duty triumphing over those of self-interest and self-preservation than was exhibited in the '45.

On the 25th July 1745 Charles Stewart landed in Inverness-shire, on the southern shore of Loch-na-Nuagh, a rocky bay between Moidart and Arisaig. He had come thither in a French ship of war named the Doutelle, after touching at one of the Outer Hebrides. The ship had anchored opposite the present house of Roshven. On the arrival of the vessel Charles had sent for young Clanranald, who came on board accompanied by his kinsman Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart and some other gentlemen of his clan. They found a large tent had been erected for their reception, plentifully supplied with wine, spirits, and other refreshments. While the rest of

the party were partaking of these, Clanranald and Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart were engaged in earnest conversation with Charles, who conjured them to help him in this his hour of utmost need. They expressed to him frankly the feelings entertained by their Jacobite brethren of the hopelessness of his engaging in a formidable contest without an army at his back, and begged of him to give up the enterprise and to return to France. To all their expostulations Charles turned a deaf ear: he had resolved to go on, and nothing would turn him back. As the party walked backwards and forwards along the deck in excited argument, a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, Ronald by name, stood near enough to hear their conversation. To him the hesitation of Clanranald and Kinloch Moidart was unworthy of their clan and their name. That the son of their lawful king should appeal to them in vain for aid seemed to him treason and disloyalty. Charles in passing the youth guessed with quick instinct what were his thoughts, and, turning suddenly to him, with extended hand cried, "You at least will not forsake me." "I will follow you to death," was the eager reply, "were there no other to draw a sword in your cause." This expression of attachment moved Charles to tears, and the Macdonalds, carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, declared they would oppose him no longer. The die was cast. Nothing now remained but to see the affair out to the end.

An enthusiastic Highlander who was present at this striking scene describes Prince Charles as "a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt not very clean, and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round ring out of the buckle; a plain hat with a canvas string, having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons. He had black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes. At the first appearance of this pleasing youth," says

the narrator, "I felt my heart swell to my throat." Charles was disguised as an English clergyman. During his enterprise he generally wore the Highland dress. He was accompanied by a retinue of seven persons, afterwards called "the Seven Men of Moidart." With this slender following he took up his abode in the house of Borradale, where he remained some days, sending messengers to such chiefs as he believed to be his friends.

Lochiel at once obeyed his summons, but he came determined to persuade him to return to France. "If such is your purpose, Donald," his brother, Cameron of Fassiefern, had said to him, "write to the Prince your opinion, but do not trust yourself to the fascination of his presence. I know you better than you know yourself, and you will be unable to refuse compliance." It was good advice, but it was not taken, and the result showed the truthfulness of the prophecy. "I have come hither," said Charles in his reply to Lochiel's arguments, "with my mind made up to reclaim my rights or to perish. Be the issue what it may, I am determined to display my standard, and to take the field with such as may join it. Lochiel, whom my father esteemed the best friend of our family, may remain at home and learn his Prince's fate from the newspapers." The better judgment of the chief gave way before this appeal. "Not so," he replied. "If you are resolved on this rash undertaking, I will go with you, and so shall every one over whom I have influence." He then left Borradale to summon his clan and those of his neighbours most likely to join him.

The first blood in the new rising was shed in Inverness-shire. On the 16th August the governor of Fort Augustus, hearing rumours of some new movement among the people of his neighbourhood, thought it prudent to reinforce the garrison of Fort William by sending there a detachment under

the command of a Captain Scott. This officer and his head men reached High Bridge, which crosses the Spean, and still stands a picturesque ruin, when they were set upon by a party of Keppoch's men, and two of their number were taken prisoners. Scott deemed it best to retreat by the way he had come. All along the side of Loch Lochy he was fired upon by his pursuers from the heights above, and when he reached the narrow strip of land between that lake and Loch Oich he saw the Macdonnells of Glengarry coming down upon him from the rocks above Kilfinnan. With an enemy in front and behind, he was compelled to surrender. Lochiel, who came up with a party of Camerons, took the detachment to Achnacarry as prisoners, and Captain Scott was sent on parole to Fort Augustus to obtain the aid of a surgeon to attend on the wounded.

On the 11th August Prince Charles left Borradale and crossed by boat to the Moidart shore. On landing at Glenuig he was met by a crowd of natives, some of whom danced a reel in the exuberance of their joy. This reel is still known by the name of "The Eight Men of Moidart.' Crossing Glenuig on foot to Caolas, he took boat again and came to Kinloch Moidart, where he remained a few days. The beautiful avenue between the house of Kinloch Moidart and the shore bears still the name of "The Prince's Walk."

It had been arranged that the clans should assemble at Glenfinnan, at the north end of Loch Shiel, on the 19th August. On the 18th Charles left Kinloch Moidart for Dalelea, and sailed by boat from there to Glenaladale, where he spent the night. Next morning by the same conveyance he reached Glenfinnan.

The position of Glenfinnan as it opens on Loch Shiel is strikingly picturesque. Four glens converge on a piece of level ground, one side of which is washed by the waters of

the lake. The sides of the hills are covered with pine and birch. It is a lonely spot, silent and deserted. When Charles arrived here at mid-day only a few Macdonalds occupied the ground. He had expected to find the valley alive with men, and his heart sank within him. For two hours he remained in the utmost anxiety listening for the sounds of the pibroch and the tramp of armed men. Then his fears were set at rest. Lochiel and his men, marching in two lines, with some of the prisoners they had taken between them, crossed the crest of a neighbouring hill and took their stand on the level ground.

On the arrival of the Camerons Charles commanded the standard to be unfurled. The Marquis of Tullibardine, tottering with age, supported by an attendant on each side, performed this duty, and the banner, which was of red silk with a white spot in the centre, floated on the mountain breeze. Then the enthusiasm of the Highlanders burst forth. "Such loud huzzas and schimming of bonnets up into the air, appearing like a cloud, was not heard of for a long time." When the enthusiasm had abated, Tullibardine read aloud the manifesto of James and his commission of regency to Prince Charles, who then stepped forward and addressed his followers. His address was short, but calculated to stir greatly the hearts of those who heard it. He had preferred, he told them, to land in Scotland rather than in England or in Ireland, knowing that he would find there a population of brave men who would be as willing to live or die with him as he was resolved to conquer or perish. Among those present as an unwilling spectator was a Captain Sweetenham, who had been taken prisoner by the Keppochs while travelling from Badenoch to Fort William. "Go," said Charles to him at the close of his address, "to your general, say what you have seen, and add that I am coming to give him battle."

On the 19th August—the same day that the standard of Charles was unfurled at Glenfinnan—General Cope and his army left Edinburgh for the North. On the 26th they reached Dalwhinnie, where they camped for the night. Here the general on the morning of the 27th held a council of war. His original intention had been to go from Dalwhinnie by Corryarrick to Fort Augustus, and meet the insurgents in that neighbourhood, on the other side of the mountains; but it was reported to him that if he attempted such a thing he would be cut to pieces, as the Highlanders were waiting him at Snugborough, one of the most dangerous passes on the Corryarrick road, where all the advantage was on their side, and to meet them there would be his certain destruction. After deliberation the council of war decided they should make for Inverness. At a place which is still called "Cope's Turn" the royal army altered its route and made its way towards Ruthven, leaving the pass to the low country open to their foes. Any course more fatuous than was thus taken by the English general can hardly be imagined. Cope reached Inverness on the 29th August, when, finding his tactics had been completely frustrated, he assembled his men and marched them to Aberdeen, where they were shipped for the South.

On the 22nd August Prince Charles left Glenfinnan and encamped at Kinlochiel. On the 23rd he lodged at Fassiefern; from thence, by a detour to keep out of sight of Fort William, he came to Moy, the place, it will be recollected, where Dundee stayed for some time. On the 26th he crossed the river Lochy and reached Aberchalder, within three miles of Fort Augustus, where his army halted for the night, he himself going to the house of Invergarry in the neighbourhood. Here it was he received a message from Lord Lovat by a kinsman, Fraser of Gortuleg. Fraser asked Charles to excuse the absence of his chief on account of his age. Lovat wished a patent of a

dukedom that had been promised him, and an order empowering him to seize the Lord President Forbes, dead or alive. The patent had been left behind with some baggage, but an order to seize the person of the President was given, and with this Gortuleg returned to his chief, who was at this very time assuring the Government of his unshaken loyalty, and ridiculing to his friend and correspondent the President, whom he wished to seize, the silly hopes of the insurgents.

On the 27th August, the day on which Cope changed his route, Charles arrived at the foot of Corryarrick. He fully expected to meet the English general at the summit of this mountain. Pulling on a new pair of brogues, he said with glee, "Before I throw these off I shall meet with Mr Cope." It was fully believed that the two armies would come into collision at mid-day. To the astonishment of Charles and his men, as they climbed cautiously the southern slope of Corryarrick, they were unmolested. They were still more amazed when from deserters they learnt of the resolve Cope had taken. The Highlanders threw their bonnets up into the air in their joy, drank healths to the Prince, and wished to follow the English general and compel him to fight. A council of war was called, and it was resolved not to take this course, but to make a descent upon the Lowlands, which were open to them and unprotected. Two days after the Highland army had crossed Corryarrick they encamped at Dalwhinnie, on the same ground that Cope had previously occupied. There a party which had made an unsuccessful attempt on Ruthven brought into camp as a prisoner Cluny Macpherson. Cluny was an officer in the Hanoverian army, though at heart a Jacobite. He soon became one of the Prince's most enthusiastic followers, and left his army on the march south, to bring in the Macphersons to his aid.

On the 30th August the Highland army left Dalwhinnie on

their march south. There we are not called in our narrative to accompany them. The Camerons, Clanranalds, the Glengarry men, the Keppochs, and the Grants of Glenmoriston were with them. The Macphersons, 600 strong, joined them after the battle of Prestonpans. On the Prince's return from England the Mackintoshes also joined his standard at Stirling. The Mackintosh himself was an officer in the Royal army, and though at one time on the point of joining Prince Charles, he finally resolved to hold aloof. His heroic wife, however, was a true Jacobite: she embodied her husband's clan, and placing them under the command of M'Gillvray of Dumnaglass, who had seen service abroad, sent them off to the war.

The part played by Lord Lovat was quite in keeping with his character. In the beginning of September he wrote to Lochiel: "I fear you have been ower rash in going ere affairs were ripe. You are in a dangerous state. The Elector's general Cope is in your rear, hanging at your tail, with 3000 men, such as have not been seen here since Dundee's affair, and we have no force to meet him. If ye Macphersons would tak' the field, I would bring out my lads to help yer wark, and 'twixt ye twa we might cause Cope to keep his Christmas here." At the same time he writes the Lord Advocate asking for 1000 stand of arms, for if he had arms and other accoutrements he could bring 1200 good men into the king's service. The battle of Prestonpans, fought on the 21st September, was the turning-point in the policy of the old villain. Bumpers were drunk at Castle Downie to the confusion of the house of Hanover. The fiery cross was sent out to summon the Frasers. Seven hundred men were drilled on the green of the castle, with white cockades and sprigs of yew in their bonnets. The clan went joyfully south under the command of the Master of Lovat. "I send my

eldest son," he wrote the secretary of the Prince, "the hope of my family and the darling of my life, a youth about nineteen years old, who was just going abroad to finish his studies and education after having learned with applause what is taught in our Scots universities, and was graduate Master of Arts. But instead of sending him abroad to complete his education, I have sent him to venture the last drop of his blood in the glorious Prince's service." To the Lord President he told a different tale. He solemnly protested that since his son was determined on "that mad foolish project, he always flew in his face like a wild cat when he spoke to him against any of his distracted opinions." When his son had gone off with the clan, he mourns over his infatuation. "The consequences of his doing so are terrible beyond expression, though I declare I could not have done more to save my own life and the lives of the clan, as well as the estate of Lovat, than I have done by smooth and rough usage to detain him at home." With Lovat lying had reached the dignity of a fine art.

In the early days of February 1746 Prince Charles was back in Inverness-shire with a division of his army. He entered the county by Dalwhinnie. The other part of his forces, under Lord George Murray, took their route to the North by Aberdeen and Peterhead. On the 16th February the Prince reached Moy Castle, the seat of The Mackintosh, capturing the castle of Ruthven on his way. The chief's lady received him with great hospitality and entertained him munificently. Here he made a narrow escape from being captured. Lord Loudon with 1700 troops lay at Inverness, some twelve miles distant from Moy, and hearing that Charles was residing there, accompanied by only a slender retinue, he determined to surprise him. With 1500 men he set out in the night from Inverness for Moy. His design, however, was frustrated. Lady

Mackintosh received timely intimation of his visit from a girl whose father kept a public-house at Inverness, and who in waiting upon his customers had heard hints of the midnight raid. The lady acted at once on the information she received. She sent some of her men, headed by a blacksmith, to wait in the woods through which the road from Inverness passed. On the approach of Loudon and his men the vassals of The Mackintosh fired upon them, and by imitating the war-cries of the Camerons, the Macdonalds, and other clans, led them to believe that the strength of the whole Highland army was present. Fearing an ambuscade, Loudon and his troops beat a hasty retreat, and never halted till they reached the gates of Inverness.

Their panic lasted after their arrival there. Believing that the whole Highland army was encamped at Moy, and that they could not defend the town against them, Loudon and his army left Inverness by Kessock Ferry, and the day after their departure, the 17th February, Charles and his followers entered the town. Here they remained till the middle of April, the Prince being hospitably entertained by the Dowager Lady Mackintosh in her house in Church Street—the only house, it is said, in Inverness which had a room without a bed in it.

After a siege of two days Fort George, the citadel of Inverness, fell into the hands of the Highlanders, and was blown up. On the 5th March Fort Augustus was also taken by a party of 300 men sent from Inverness under Brigadier Stapleton. This party, with the assistance of the Macdonnells and the Camerons, afterwards endeavoured to reduce Fort William; but the garrison made a stout defence, and the assailants, unable to prevent the arrival of supplies and reinforcements by sea, were eventually forced to raise the siege.

While the Highland army was lying at Inverness, and enjoying such comforts as the town could supply, the Hanoverian general, the Duke of Cumberland, was marching northwards by Aberdeen and the Spey. On the 12th April he crossed that river. On the 14th he reached Nairn, where he was only sixteen miles from his enemy. It was evident that a pitched battle was inevitable.

Charles left Inverness on the day that his opponent reached Nairn, and took up his abode at Culloden House, the residence of Lord President Forbes. During his stay in the town he had manifested outwardly every confidence in his success, and had kept up a bold and cheerful front to those around him. In the morning he hunted in the neighbourhood, and in the evening attended concerts and balls. Inverness had never seen more gaiety than during his residence there, and when he left, with pipes playing and banners flying, the inhabitants with loud huzzas wished him good luck and a speedy and glorious return.

On the 15th April Charles drew his army up on Culloden Muir to await the approach of the enemy, but none appeared. The Duke of Cumberland rested his troops on that day, which was his birthday, an event celebrated with considerable rejoicing by his men. It was proposed by the Prince and Lord George Murray to take advantage of this festivity by making a night-attack on the Hanoverian camp at Nairn. Injunctions were issued to recall stragglers who had gone to Inverness; but before the muster could be completed it was eight o'clock in the evening, and two o'clock in the morning was the hour appointed for the attack. The Highlanders, however, set out in two columns, each at some distance from the other. Keeping clear of the public road, they toiled on through boggy ground, the difficulty of traversing which was so great that many of the men fell down exhausted with

fatigue. When the hour arrived at which the attack was to have taken place the first column had only reached the house of Kilravock, four miles from the Duke of Cumberland's camp. Dawn of day was near, a halt was called, and finally it was decided to retrace their steps, and the party arrived at Culloden Muir utterly broken down and dispirited.

This abortive night march was a bad preparation for a general action, but indeed all the circumstances were against the Highlanders. Many of their adherents under Cluny, Lord Cromarty, and the Master of Lovat had not yet joined. Those encamped had been for a considerable time without food except of the coarsest description. On the morning of the memorable 16th of April Charles could find no better refreshment than a morsel of bread and a glass of whisky. Some of the foraging parties at length returned with a supply of provisions, but before they could be cooked the enemy were seen in the distance advancing across the plain. The whole force marshalled together amounted to about 5000 men, famished and fatigued. The force they were to encounter was one of nearly double their number, in good physical condition, and well supported by horse and artillery. It needed no seer to foretell the issue of a combat so unequal.

The story of the battle of Culloden has been often graphically told, and we have little to relate which has not been better related elsewhere, yet the continuity of our narrative demands some notice of the fight. The Highlanders were drawn up in two lines. On the right was the first line, commanded by Lord George Murray, which consisted of the Athole men, the Camerons, the Stewarts, the Frasers, the Mackintoshes, the Farquharsons, and some other clans. On the left was the second line, commanded by Lord John Drummond, composed of the Macdonalds of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry. The right was to some extent

protected by some park walls, and the left by a piece of boggy ground. Four pieces of artillery were placed at the extremity of each line, and the same number in the centre. On the right of the first line and on the left of the second line was a troop of horse. There was also a reserve of a regiment of foot-guards and some horsemen.

The Hanoverian army was arranged in three lines. There was a body of cavalry on each wing, and two pieces of artillery between every two regiments in the front line. Such Highlanders as supported the Hanoverians were told off to guard the baggage.

There was considerable dissension in the Highland army. The Macdonalds had always claimed the privilege of being on the right of the army. Their being placed on the left gave them deep offence. "We of the clan Macdonald," wrote one of their officers, "thought it ominous we had not this day the right hand in battle as formerly at Gladsmuir and Falkirk, and which our clan maintain we had enjoyed in all our battles and struggles since the battle of Bannockburn." It was a fine instance of Highland pride, but the cherishing of it at such a time was deeply disastrous.

The battle commenced with a cannonade from the Highlanders, which was entirely ineffective, and was sharply returned from the other side. Gaps began to appear in the Highland lines. A well-aimed shot ploughed the ground at the feet of Charles and covered him with dust, killing an attendant who was leading a spare horse close by him. For nearly half an hour the English artillery kept playing upon the ranks of their enemy. The Highlanders stood this badly, and clamoured to be allowed to make an onslaught. A message was sent to Charles begging permission to attack, but before the answer came the Mackintoshes rushed wildly on against the English centre, followed by the whole of the

Highland right line. For a time they swept all before them in their impetuous rush. The ranks of the enemy were broken, and it seemed as if the successful tactics of Killiecrankie were to be repeated. The Highlanders had, however, only broken one line to find themselves confronted with another. A bristling wall of bayonets opposed them, and when they neared this dense living wall they received volley after volley, so murderous at close quarters that they are said to have been found afterwards in layers 3 and 4 feet deep. In vain they hurled themselves against their foes. Lochiel, severely wounded, was carried by two clansmen to the rear. Almost every man in the front rank was killed. Those who survived were driven in confusion from the field, which was covered by heaps of slain. The terrific rush of the right wing had spent itself in vain.

There remained to retrieve this disaster the left wing, and had those who composed it acted with the courage of their comrades the issue of the day might perhaps have been changed. But the Macdonalds stood sullen and motionless, cutting the heather with their broadswords. They would rather suffer a defeat than forgive the insult they thought had been put upon them. Glengarry's regiment was commanded by the Duke of Perth, a brave and fearless man. In vain he cried "Claymore." In vain he called to the men to convert the left wing into the right. In vain he said he would call himself Macdonald for the rest of his life. The angry clansmen refused to move. Nor was one of their own born chiefs more successful. Keppoch with a few followers rushed forward, but his own clan remained where they were. He fell pierced by musket-balls, exclaiming, "My God! have the children of my tribe forsaken me?" but they showed no disposition to avenge his death. As the enemy came nearer they turned their backs and marched out of the field in good

order without striking a blow. Their conduct displayed Celtic pride in its most infatuated form.

There remained now only the reserve line of the Prince's army. It had been reinforced by the remains of the right line, and showed some disposition to make a stand, but Charles felt that nothing they could do could retrieve the disasters of the day. It was hopeless. The Highlanders began to disappear from the field. A portion of the reserve line made their retreat in good order, with colours flying and pipes playing; others sought their own safety as best they might. The battle was over, and the hopes of the Stewarts were over with it.

The fight had been a brave one, though it only lasted about forty minutes. Many stories of personal prowess have come down to us. There are still tales told in every Inverness-shire glen of hand-to-hand fights between single Highlanders and the foes by whom they were finally overpowered. A major of the Mackintoshes, John Mor M'Gillvray, was seen a gunshot past the enemy's cannon surrounded by the English soldiers; he killed a dozen men with his broadsword while some of the halberts were run through his body. Another member of the same clan killed seven of the English with the tram of a peat-cart before he was overpowered and killed. A Highlander of prodigious strength, Golice Macbane, too badly wounded to fly with his comrades, placed his back to a turf wall and defied for a long time his enemies. Though assailed by a large force of dragoons, he held his own against them with claymore and target. "Save that brave fellow," cried some English officers, as they saw the unequal combat; but the dragoons, maddened by the injuries he had inflicted upon them, succeeded in cutting him down, though not till thirteen of their number lay dead around him. If personal bravery

could have changed the issue of the fight, it certainly was not wanting.

Marvellous stories also are still told of how men escaped with their lives from the dreadful carnage. Lochiel, severely wounded in both ankles, was carried from the field by two brave henchmen. He was borne on men's shoulders across the river Nairn to a place of safety. Others, after lying the whole night on the plain, crawled away to some friendly shelter. Single Highlanders making for the glens fought their way with their broadswords and got free, some of them carrying on their backs the property they had taken from their slain enemies. Those who were wounded on the field received no quarter. The English soldiers went among them stabbing them with their bayonets and cutting them down with their swords. They splashed and dabbled each other with blood for their amusement. One of their own side speaks of them as resembling "an army of butchers." The road from Culloden to Inverness was strewn thick with the dead. On the day after the battle search was made in the neighbouring woods for any fugitives who had sought refuge there, and all that could be found were murdered without mercy. A number of them were discovered in a miserable cabin, which was surrounded and set on fire Thirty-two blackened corpses were found among the ruins.

Any prisoners who were spared—and among them were some men of rank — were treated with appalling cruelty. Some were thrown into the prison of Inverness, and those whom its narrow limits could not contain were confined in the church. No attention was paid to the wounded. Many of them were stripped of their clothing; all of them were almost starved for want of food. They were then put on board transports to be conveyed to London. Their sufferings on board these vessels were indescribable. In

one vessel 150 prisoners were confined in the hold; of these only 49 were alive at the end of the voyage.

It was a dreadful business altogether. No more degrading idea can be obtained of the character of the Duke of Cumberland and his officers than that which comes from the perusal of the narratives of what followed the battle written by his own side. The name of the victor will always be covered with infamy, and the man himself remembered by the title of "The Butcher," which he well earned by his barbarity.

When the battle was over he went to Inverness, where he occupied the same lodging in Church Street that Charles had lived in before. "I've had two kings' bairns," afterwards said Lady Mackintosh, to whom the house belonged, "and to tell you the truth, I wish I may never have another."

After Culloden the Highlanders never rallied again to any purpose. Had they done so, though they might not have retrieved the disaster they had suffered at Culloden, they might have been able to make terms with their enemies and saved themselves and their property from the destruction that threatened them. They could have retreated, as in the days of Montrose and Dundee, to the fastnesses of their mountains, where no regular troops could follow them, and by maintaining a guerilla warfare have forced the invaders to admit them to honourable capitulation. Their leaders seemed to have entertained this idea, but unfortunately it was not carried out. Two days after the great battle a considerable party of the Jacobites found their way to Ruthven in Badenoch, a place associated with much Inverness-shire history. Among them were the Duke of Athole, Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, Lord Ogilvie, and other chiefs of clans, with about 4000 or 5000 Highlanders. They were keen for renewing

hostilities, and were far from considering their chances desperate. Lord George sent a messenger to inform the Prince of their gathering. The Highlanders, he said, were full of ardour and eager to be led against the enemy. The Grants and other clans which had hitherto remained neutral were disposed to declare themselves on their side. The clans who had received leave of absence would assemble in the course of a few days, and instead of 5000 or 6000 men—the number who had fought in their ranks at Culloden—8000 or 9000 men might be counted upon. Every one present earnestly entreated Charles to come and put himself once more at the head of an army of enthusiastic followers. Two days passed and the answer from Charles came. It was short, but to the point—"Let every man seek his own safety in the best way he can." Charles, who began his enterprise with seven men, abandoned it when he might have been the leader of as many thousands. One who was present at Ruthven, a Chevalier De Johnstone, who had fought as a soldier of fortune in the Jacobite campaign, tells us how bitter was the disappointment to the brave men who were again ready to peril their fortunes for the cause of the man who now refused to lead them. "The answer of the Prince," he says, "was heart-breaking to the brave men who had sacrificed themselves for him. However critical our situation, the Prince ought not to have despaired. On occasions when everything is to be feared, we ought to lay aside fear; when we are surrounded with dangers, no danger ought to alarm us. With the best plans we may fail in our enterprise, but the firmness we display in misfortune is the noblest ornament of virtue. This is the manner in which a Prince ought to have conducted himself who, with an unexampled rashness, landed in Scotland with seven men."

The visitors to the old keep of Ruthven, near the bright little town of Kingussie, or the traveller who sees its grey walls

as he is borne by railway rapidly through Badenoch, may well recall the touching scene that ensued when these chivalrous men there took leave of one another: "Our separation at Ruthven," says De Johnstone, "was truly affecting. We bade one another an eternal adieu. No one could tell whether the scaffold would not be his fate. The Highlanders gave vent to their grief in wild howlings and lamentations; the tears flowed down their cheeks when they thought that their country was now at the discretion of the Duke of Cumberland, and on the point of being plundered, whilst they and their children would be reduced to slavery and plunged without resource in a state of remediless distress." Few scenes in the story of Inverness-shire are more full of pathos.

One more attempt was made by the Highlanders to save themselves from impending destruction. On the 8th of May several of the Inverness-shire chiefs and other gentlemen met together at Muirlaggan, a spot about two miles from the western end of Loch Arkaig. Lochiel, young Clanranald, Barrisdale, John Roy Stewart, Cameron of Dungallon, Lord Lovat, and others, were present. After protracted consultation they resolved on united action. Lochiel, Clanranald, Glengarry, Keppoch, Barrisdale, and others, with their men, were to rendezvous on the 15th May at Achnacarry, the place of tryst being kept secret. The Frasers, the Mackintoshes, and the Macphersons were to meet the same day at some convenient place in Badenoch. Other clans were to meet in the Braes of Mar. They were all to take up arms, and none were to lay them down or make a separate peace without the general consent of the whole.

The plan was well organised, and had it been carried out much trouble to the Highlands, and especially to Inverness-shire, might have been saved. Money was not wanting for the projected enterprise—£30,000 of gold in six casks had

arrived from France for the use of the Jacobite clans, and with that sum much might have been done. But though money was plentiful, men were wanting. The clansmen could not be roused. Clanranald's men would not leave their own country. Glengarry's people had been to a great extent disarmed. The Government troops had already begun to scour the country. The Frasers could not be mustered. When Lochiel with 300 men came to the place of rendezvous he found few there to meet him, and he himself and the few who did meet him were nearly taken prisoners by a detachment of the enemy. Nothing could now be done except to leave the county and people to their fate. Their fate was indeed a cruel one. For many months together Invernessshire was ravaged and desolated from one end to the other. Its annals at this period are like the scroll of the ancient prophet, "written within and without with mourning, lamentation, and woe."

CHAPTER XII.

CHARLES EDWARD STEWART AFTER CULLODEN—ARRIVES AT GORTULEG—MEETS WITH LOVAT—REACHES INVERGARRY—STARTS FOR THE WEST—AT GLEN PEAN, MEOBLE, AND LOCH MORAR—CROSSES THE MOUNTAINS TO GLENBOISDALE—RESOLVES TO PROCEED TO THE ISLANDS—SETS SAIL FROM BORRADALE WITH DONALD MACLEOD — RETURNS AFTER MANY ADVENTURES AND ESCAPES TO THE MAINLAND—AT LITTLE MALLACK—REACHES BORRADALE FOR THE THIRD TIME—PASSES THROUGH A CORDON OF SOLDIERS—STAYS WITH THE SEVEN OUTLAWS OF GLENMORISTON—MOVES AGAIN WESTWARD—WELCOMED BY FRIENDS IN LOCHARKAIG—MAKES FOR BADENOCH—JOINS LOCHIEL AT MELLANUIR—IN A SHIELING ON BEN ALDER—THE CAGE AND ITS INMATES—HEARS OF THE ARRIVAL OF TWO FRENCH VESSELS IN LOCH-NA-NUAGH—TRAVELS TO BORRADALE AND EMBARKS FOR FRANCE—ATROCITIES PERPETRATED ON THE INHABITANTS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE BY THE HANOVERIANS—SICKENING DETAILS—REBEL-HUNTING—RACES AT FORT AUGUSTUS—FATE OF THE INVERNESS-SHIRE CHIEFS — ESCAPE OF CLUNY AND YOUNG CLANRANALD—COLONEL MACDONALD OF BARRISDALE—THE APPREHENSION OF LOVAT—TAKEN TO LONDON—HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION—DR CAMERON THE LAST VICTIM OF THE '45—ACTS OF PARLIAMENT PASSED AFTER THE INSURRECTION—THE ACT OF CLEMENCY—THE ACT FOR DISARMING THE HIGHLANDERS AND ABOLISHING THEIR DRESS—THE ACT ABOLISHING HERITABLE JURISDICTIONS — ITS IMPORTANT RESULTS — THE ROMANCE OF THE COUNTY ENDS—A NEW ORDER OF THINGS BEGINS.

THE wanderings of Charles Edward Stewart after Culloden form a romantic episode in the history of Inverness-shire, and must to some extent be narrated in these pages to make that history complete, though we can only give an outline of the story. It is a story of which our county may be proud, for it illustrates as nothing else could do the high feeling of honour and loyalty which lived in the hearts of the humblest of its people, who gave shelter and hospitality to

the unfortunate fugitive at the risk of their lives. They scorned to betray him when to do so would have brought them fortune beyond their wildest dreams. The £30,000 which the Government set upon his head was within the reach of hundreds of men ground down to the dust by poverty and suffering, yet every one of them disdained to take it. History records no such perfect instance of loyalty to a person, and of splendid fidelity to a fallen cause.

Charles, from the eminence on which he stood on the field of Culloden, saw with dismay the ruin of his army and the failure of his ambitions. Two of his friends, Sheridan and Sullivan, who were near him, believing that all was lost, seized his horse by the bridle and forced him from the field. Riding by the Water of Nairn, he and his friends came to Tordaroch, which they found deserted; thence they came to Aberarder, where also they got no access. They then passed by Faraline to Gortuleg or Gorthlick, where they halted. At this place the Prince met for the first time Lord Lovat. Regarding the interview which took place between them the accounts given are conflicting. According to one account the chief embraced Charles with great cordiality; according to another, he overwhelmed him with reproaches. In the intervals of his paroxysms of rage he rushed about the house exclaiming, "Chop oft my head! chop off my head!" Whichever story is the true one, the interview between the two was but brief. Charles, after changing his dress and taking a glass or two of wine, left the house at ten o'clock at night for Fort Augustus. Here a ball was extracted from his horse, and he continued his journey to Invergarry House, where he arrived at two o'clock in the morning. The chief was absent, and the place deserted and destitute of furniture. Charles threw himself, overcome by fatigue, on the floor, and slept till far on in the next day. On his awaking, his faithful servant Ned Burke provided for him a

breakfast, having caught two salmon in the river Garry with a net which he had found. This repast finished, Charles prepared to start for the west, and took leave of all his companions, with the exception of Sullivan, O'Neil, and Burke. Dressed in the clothes of Burke, he pressed on till he arrived at Glen Pean, at the head of Loch Arkaig, where he stayed all night at the house of Donald Cameron. He arrived here about nine in the evening, and was so fatigued that he fell asleep while Burke was undoing his spatterdashes. Next morning he and his friends went still farther west to Meoble, not far from Loch Morar, where he passed the night and was kindly entertained. The hardships of his journey now commenced. He had to abandon his horse and travel on foot. Leaving Meoble, the party reached Oban, at the head of Loch Morar, where they stayed the night in a shieling near a wood. Next day, Sunday, 20th April, they crossed the mountains to Glenboisdale in Arisaig, not far from the spot where nine months previously he had landed to begin the enterprise which had ended in such miserable failure. At Glenboisdale several fugitives joined the party, and long and anxious were the consultations as to what course the Prince should pursue. Government vessels were cruising among the Western Isles, while detachments of infantry were guarding all the fords and passes on the mainland. The situation was full of peril. After much deliberation it was decided that Charles should proceed to the Islands on the chance of finding a vessel which might convey him to France. There happened to be in the neighbourhood of Kinloch Moidart an old Highlander, Donald Macleod, who was well acquainted with the navigation of the Hebrides. He was sent for to meet the Prince at Borradale. The account of the interview taken down from Donald by the faithful chronicler of the Jacobites, Bishop Forbes, is extremely interesting, and strikingly Celtic. When the Highlander came

to Borradale the first man he met was the Prince walking moodily by himself in a wood.

"Are you Donald Macleod of Quatergill in Skye?" he asked.

"Yes," said Donald, "I am the same man, may it please your Majesty, at your service. What is your pleasure wi' me?"

"Then," said the Prince, "you see, Donald, I am in distress. I therefore throw myself into your bosom and let you do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man and fit to be trusted."

"When Donald was giving me this part of the narrative," says the bishop, "he grat sare, the tears came running down his cheeks, and he said, 'Wha the deil could help greeting when speaking on sic a sad subject?'"

On the evening of the 24th April, under the guidance of this faithful Highlander and skilful pilot, Charles set out from Borradale, on Loch-na-Nuagh, to seek for safety in the Islands. Of his numerous adventures among the Hebrides, the perils he encountered, his hairbreadth escapes, and above all, of the faithful friends, especially the heroic Flora Macdonald, who succoured him, it does not fall within our province to tell. Early on the morning of the 5th July he landed again on the mainland of Inverness-shire at a place called Little Mallack, on the south side of Loch Nevis, and from this point we once more take up his story.

The change from the Islands to the mainland did not seem to offer greater safety to the fugitive Prince. The whole district was in the hands of the king's soldiers, and was well watched in every part. For three days and three nights Charles and his companions, among whom was the Laird of Mackinnon in Skye, and a John Mackinnon of the same

clan, durst not stir from the place where they landed, but lay concealed among the heather under the open sky. On the fourth day they rowed along the shore of Loch Nevis, hoping to find some cave where they could obtain shelter from the inclement weather. As they passed round a point they ran against a boat moored to a rock, and saw standing on the shore a party of men, the red crosses on whose bonnets told them that they belonged to the militia. They were ordered to pull ashore for examination. This they did not do. "Pull for your lives," said Mackinnon to the boatmen, and away they sped down the loch. They were pursued by the soldiers, and for some time the pursuit was keen; but at length they distanced their followers, and coming to a place where the woods came down to the shore, they shot their boat into a little bay. Charles landed, and from a hill saw the militiamen returning from the pursuit. The fugitives again embarked after a few hours' rest, and reached a small island, where they took refuge.

Old Clanranald happening to be in the country, John Mackinnon was sent to him requesting his assistance. This the chief declined to give: he had suffered much in the cause, and would not run any further risk. Mackinnon left him in a passion and returned to Charles, who received the news of his failure resignedly. "Well, Mackinnon, there is no help for it, we must do the best we can for ourselves."

From Little Mallack, to which they returned, they travelled to the house of Macdonald of Morar, at the head of the loch of that name, and reached it at an early hour in the morning. It had been burned by the military, but they found the owner and his family in a bothy which had been erected close by. Mrs Macdonald, who was the sister of Lochiel, gave the party

a kindly reception, and at the sight of the poor prince she was so affected that she burst into tears. Her husband also appeared no less hearty in his welcome. He would, he said, go and see young Clanranald and enlist his services. When he returned his manner was changed. His enthusiasm had departed. He had not, he said, been able to find the young chief, and had evidently been dissuaded from giving any further assistance. To a touching appeal made to him by Charles he remained unmoved, and the poor fugitive feeling himself deserted and in the toils of the enemy, exclaimed, "O God Almighty! look down upon my circumstances and pity me, for I am in a most melancholy situation."

His circumstances were indeed melancholy enough. Escape seemed hopeless, but his friends the Mackinnons stood true to him and would not allow him to despair. "I never," cried the old chief, "will leave your Royal Highness in the day of danger, but will, under God, do all I can for you, and go with you wherever you order me." "With the help of God," said John, "I will go through the wide world with your Royal Highness." Accompanied by these brave men Charles reached Borradale for the third time. The house that had welcomed him at his first landing had been burnt down, and Angus Macdonald, the proprietor, was living in a small hut. He at once gave the Prince his promise to protect him, and he remained hidden with him three days in a wood. He now bade an affectionate farewell to his Skye friends, who returned home.

Borradale was not long a place of safety. Intelligence reached Charles that he had been traced from Skye, and his pursuers were even now on his scent. A Government ship had entered Loch-na-Nuagh. Again the hunted man had to shift

his quarters. He resolved to move more into the interior of the country, but it was difficult for him to do so. A cordon of soldiers had been drawn from the head of Loch Shiel to Loch Hourn. The sentinels along this line were posted so close to one another that in the daytime no one could pass without being seen by them. At night fires were lighted, and the soldiers passed and repassed from fire to fire. After wandering some days in the neighbourhood of Arisaig, where he met with friends, Charles by good fortune fell in with Donald Cameron of Glen Pean, a man who was well acquainted with all the passes and paths of the district. Guided by him he was able to slip through the line of watchers, and after many narrow escapes, and suffering incredible hardships, among the mountains that border Loch Arkaig, he found himself on the night of July 28 in the Braes of Glenmoriston, when his only shelter was "a small cave, the limits of which were so narrow and the narrow floor so rugged as almost to rob him even of the luxury of sleep."

In this region were seven men who had served in the Jacobite army, and were now living the life of outlaws amid the wild passes that lie above Glenmoriston. Their houses had been burnt, and they had been themselves proscribed. They were animated by intense hatred to the Duke of Cumberland and his men, and they harassed the royal troops on every possible occasion, constantly attacking them as they went on their errands, and cutting off many of them by volleys suddenly fired from behind the rocks. They were the constant terror of the troops at Fort Augustus whenever they went beyond the limits of their garrison.

With these brave outlaws Charles enjoyed a welcome repose of nearly three weeks, during which they watched over his safety and supplied his wants. They took solemnly an

oath "that their backs should be to God and their faces to the devil, that all the curses the Scriptures did pronounce might come upon themselves and all their posterity if they did not stand firm to the Prince in the greatest dangers, and if they should discover to any person—man, woman, or child—that the Prince was in their keeping, till once his person should be out of danger." So faithfully did they keep this oath that they never spoke of Charles having been with them till a twelvemonth after he had left Scotland. With them the fugitive enjoyed comforts to which he had been long a stranger. His food was plentiful though coarse, and he could sleep in peace, well guarded by faithful friends. His entertainers did everything they could to cheer him. They foraged for him. Distressed at his mean apparel, they shot down some servants carrying baggage for the officers at the barracks, that he might be better clothed. They ventured to the fort to buy bread for him, and on one occasion brought him with joy a pennyworth of gingerbread, which to them seemed the greatest dainty that he could possibly enjoy.

Accompanied by these good friends, the Prince wandered for some time among the mountains of Glenmoriston and Strathglass. He was in Glen Cannich and at Fasnakyle on the 19th August. Hearing that Glenmoriston and Glengarry were clear of soldiers, he moved again towards the west. With his friends he passed from Glenmoriston into Glen Loyne, and coming to the river Garry somewhere near Inchlagan, forded it breast-high, and made his way through the opposite mountains to Achnasaul, near the east end of Loch Arkaig. In this neighbourhood he met with friendly people, who conducted him to a wood at the foot of Loch Arkaig, where he and his party passed a night. The Glenmoriston men now parted from him and returned to their own country. One of them, however, remained for a few days, to be the bearer

of twenty-four guineas to his companions as an acknowledgment of their fidelity.

Among friends on the bank of Loch Arkaig, where he was more than once in imminent peril, Charles remained from the 20th August until near the end of the month, when he received a message from Lochiel and Cluny, who were in hiding in Badenoch, requesting him to join them. He seems to have made his way thither by the valley of the Spean, and on the 30th August reached Mellanuir, near Ben Alder, where Lochiel was living with four other persons. Lochiel gave him an enthusiastic welcome, and Charles, as he partook of the cheer afforded him and ate minced collops out of a sauce-pan, exclaimed, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince."

Cluny joined the party at this place, and the day after his arrival they shifted their quarters to a Highland shieling on Ben Alder called Uiskchiha, which is said to have been "superlatively bad and smoky." Thence after two or three days they removed to "a romantic and comical habitation called the Cage," on the shoulders of Ben Alder, and not far from the western end of Loch Ericht.

This last refuge of the Prince is in one of the wildest parts of Inverness-shire. A graphic description of it is given by one of those who shared its shelter: "The habitation called the Cage was within a thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down in order to level a floor for the habitation, and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to equal height with the other, and these trees in the way of joists or planks were entirely well levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes made of heath and birch-twigs all to the top of the cage, it being of a round or rather of an oval shape, and the whole thatched and covered with logs. This

whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which inclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from each other, next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a bosom chimney, and here was the fire placed. The smoke had its vent out there, all along a very stony part of the rock, which and the smoke were so much of a colour that no one could have distinguished the one from the other. The Cage was only large enough to contain six or seven persons, four of which number were frequently employed in playing cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking."

The place where this singular habitation stood can still be identified. It is about 200 yards above a rough burn which runs into Loch Ericht. The "Cage" itself has disappeared, but the huge stones which formed the chimney still remain, and go by the name of "Prince Charlie's Cave." A wilder and more solitary spot can scarcely be found in Scotland. To the left the visitor looks down on the blue waters of Loch Ericht and the yellow strands that bound its western extremity; beyond stretches the wild moor of Rannoch, with Ben Doran and the hills of the Black Mount forest in the distance. To the right are those of the forest of Corour; above, steep and strewn with great white boulders, is the shoulder of Ben Alder. No sound is heard but that of the wind as it rushes through the corries, or the murmur of a hundred little streams as they force their way through their rocky channels. Few places are more lonely and desolate.

Here it was that Charles received the joyful news that two French vessels sent to take him away had anchored in Loch-na-Nuagh. He instantly began to make preparations for his departure, and when messengers from Cluny arrived to guide

him to the vessels, they found him ready to begin his journey at a moment's warning. On the 13th September he left the Cage, travelling by night by Glen Roy, Achnacarry, and the head of Loch Arkaig. On the 19th September he reached Borradale for the last time, and next day embarked on board the French man-of-war L'Heureuse, accompanied by Lochiel, Sullivan, Sheridan, and about a hundred others. Thus ended his Highland adventures, which complete the episode of "the Forty-Five." The whole tale reads like a chapter in the romances of chivalry, and will ever reflect honour upon the Highlanders, and especially on those of our northern county. As we think of their fidelity and disinterestedness we recall the words of Shakespeare—

> "'Tis wonderful
> That an invis'ble instinct should frame them
> To loyalty unlearned, honour untaught,
> Civility not seen from others; valour
> That wildly grows in them, but yields a crop
> As if it had been sowed."

While Charles was wandering among the islands and mountains of Inverness-shire, the inhabitants of that county were suffering the most fearful hardships. Atrocities so dreadful were perpetrated among them by the royal troops, that if they were not fully vouched for by good authority they could not be believed. The Duke of Cumberland, to use his own words, regarded the Highlands "as a nest of rebels," and that nest he determined to crush beneath his heavy heel. After Culloden he transferred his headquarters to Fort Augustus, and from his camp there sent out parties of soldiers to scour the neighbouring country and to inflict upon the inhabitants the utmost extremities of war. No mercy was shown in carrying out his orders. The patriotic President Forbes, who ventured to expostulate with him on the enormities perpe-

trated by his soldiers, and made mention of the "laws of the country," received for reply, "The laws of the country! My lord, I'll make a brigade give laws, by God!" And he afterwards referred to the President as "that old woman who spoke to me of humanity"!

Certainly no feeling of humanity was shown by those who carried out his orders. Within a compass of fifty miles round Fort Augustus all was soon ruin and desolation. The houses of Lochiel, Glengarry, Keppoch, Kinloch Moidart, and Cluny were burnt. The houses of the peasantry shared the same fate. Cattle were driven away, townships given to the flames, women outraged, whole families turned out of their homes to perish by starvation and exposure. Such men as were captured were shot without trial. The details are sickening, and are almost unparalleled in the annals of civilised warfare. Pestilence followed close on these atrocities, and decimated those whom the conquerors had spared.

The men of Glenmoriston and Urquhart were told that if they delivered up their arms at Inverness their lives would be spared. Relying on this promise, made to them by no less a person than the chief of Grant, they marched to Inverness and laid down their arms. They were immediately made prisoners, sent by sea to London, and those who survived the treatment to which they were subjected were transported to the plantations. No faith was kept with the "rebels." "Rebel-hunting" was the term adopted by the royal officers to designate their bloody work, and it was engaged in as a pleasant amusement.

Various attempts have been made to free the Duke of Cumberland from the charge of inhumanity. He was discharging, it has been said, a painful duty, and he did so with as much lenience as he could venture to show. The following order issued by him at Fort Augustus is suf-

ficient to prove the severity with which he carried out his measures :—

"FORT AUGUSTUS, *July 8th.*

"There is no meal to be sold to any persons but soldiers ; their wives are not allowed to buy it. If any soldier, soldier's wife, or any person belonging to the army, is known to sell or give any meal to any Highlander or any person of the country, they shall first be whipped severely for disobeying this order, and then put on meal-and-water in the Provost for a fortnight."

The inhumanity displayed by this order is too apparent.

Sometimes as many as 2000 cattle reached Fort Augustus in one drove. They had been plundered from the wretched inhabitants, and were afterwards sold to drovers from the South, the proceeds being divided among the soldiers. The fort was surrounded by crowds of wretched beggars, mostly women, begging for the offal, or even to be allowed to lick the blood of the cattle slain for the use of the army.

The people seem to have offered no resistance, or to have in any way revenged the infamous treatment they received. No sword was drawn or gun fired. Their spirit was broken. One instance, and only one, of retaliation has come down to us. A Glengarry man on returning home found his house had been burnt, his wife violated, and his property destroyed. Maddened by his wrongs, he vowed vengeance on the officer who had committed the outrage, and who, he was told, was mounted on a white horse. Some weeks afterwards, by the side of Loch Arkaig, he saw an officer who answered the description, and, lurking in the recesses of a wood, he shot him dead. He found afterwards that he had killed the wrong man, and is said to have destroyed his gun and renounced the vow of vengeance he had taken.

Inverness-shire more than any other part of Scotland suffered from the vengeance of the Hanoverians, and in many of its glens stories are still told of the misery inflicted upon

the people. At last the time of fearful trial came to a close. By the end of June there were no more houses left to burn or property to devastate. The reign of cruelty and murder came to an end. The fire went out for want of fuel. The Duke of Cumberland thus pleasantly records his impression of what had been done during his visit: "I am sorry to leave this country in the condition it is in; for all the good that we have done has been a little blood-letting, which has only weakened the madness but not cured it, and I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and of our family."

There was clearly no compunction for the miseries they had inflicted upon the unfortunate people experienced either by the duke or his officers. Their barbarities had been entirely congenial employment. When the work of outrage and butchery was finished they turned to other amusements. His Royal Highness instituted horse and foot races at Fort Augustus, and did not think it beneath him to make the peasant women of the neighbourhood, or, as some say, the followers of the camp, strip in front of the army and ride races in perfect nudity. General Hawley—"Hanging Hawley," as he was called—who had been foremost in every cruelty, took a leading part in these disgusting amusements. Nothing could possibly be more degrading to humanity than the story of what took place in Inverness-shire after Culloden. It is a shameful page in British history.

Some of the Inverness-shire chiefs who had been engaged in the insurrection made good their escape. Lochiel accompanied Prince Charles to France. Cluny remained hidden among the mountains of Badenoch for nine years, during which he met with many strange adventures. He lurked in caves, vaults, and huts, supplied with all necessaries, and even comforts, by his own clansmen, who paid their rents

both to the Government and to their chief. One of the most secure of his hiding-places, and which still is to be seen, was a vault under the house of Dalchully, three miles from his own castle. It is about 8 feet square and 7 feet deep, wainscoted with deal planks, and entered by a trap-door in the floor above. In 1755 Cluny effected his escape to the Continent, and died at Dunkirk in 1764. Young Clanranald managed to get on board a vessel on the east coast of Scotland, sailed in her to London, and without challenge crossed from there to Paris. Other Inverness-shire chiefs were not so fortunate. Glengarry was apprehended, taken to London, and committed to the Tower, where he suffered a long imprisonment. Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart was executed at Carlisle.

One prominent Inverness-shire man, Coll Macdonald of Barrisdale, who had taken considerable part in the Jacobite campaign, demands special mention. His fidelity to the cause after Culloden was suspected by his companions. When Prince Charles sailed for France, he was seized and carried with him, with a view to his being tried in that country as an informer. Some steps seem to have been taken to that end, but they do not appear to have been seriously followed up. Barrisdale and his son were confined to prison, from which they effected their escape to Scotland. The son was seized and condemned to death, though afterwards pardoned, and old Coll passed the rest of his days in confinement. The State Papers show that there is no doubt of Barrisdale being a traitor to his friends. While the poverty-stricken people of his district scorned to betray Prince Charles, he wrote to the Duke of Cumberland promising to discover the whereabouts of the Prince provided his Royal Highness would intercede for him. The duke agreed to the bargain, which happily Barrisdale was unable to

fulfil. Among the whole of the Highlanders he stands alone as a traitor.

The fate of Lord Lovat, whose strange history we have noticed more than once in this narrative, is well known. With the cunning which was his great characteristic, he had prepared for himself, in case of the fortune of war going against the Jacobites, a place of refuge on an island on Lochamhulin, among the mountains of Glen Strathfarrar. Thither he was carried in a litter after his parting with the Prince on the day of the battle. From a hill-top on his way to this distant retreat he is said to have seen his castle burned by Cumberland's soldiers, illuminating the darkness with flames. After a time he shifted his quarters from his lair in Glen Strathfarrar to another similar hiding-place on an island on the lake of Morar, in Arisaig. Here he was apprehended by a party from a vessel of war, commanded by a Captain Fergusson, which had been sent to search the west coast. It is said that he was discovered in a hollow tree, in which he was able to stand upright. He had entered by an orifice below, through which the sailors were astonished to see what appeared two human legs muffled in flannel.

The old lord, now past eighty, was carried in a litter to Fort William, and thence by easy stages, by Edinburgh and Berwick, to London. There he was tried by the House of Lords and condemned to be executed. On the 9th April 1747 he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Almost the last words he spoke was the well-worn quotation from Horace—

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

He could scarcely have chosen one more inappropriate to his own career. As Sir Walter Scott has remarked, Lovat was a strong example of the truth of the observation that it is easier to die than to live well.

Many of humbler rank than this great Inverness-shire chief, and from the same county, shared his fate. In the lists of those put upon their trial at Southwark, Carlisle, and York we come on many names with the words "shire of Inverness, gentleman," attached to them. Few of that rank escaped the last penalty of the law. Crowds of others were transported.

The last man of note who suffered for his share in the rising belonged to our county. This was Dr Archibald Cameron, the grandson of Sir Ewen Dubh, and brother of the "gentle Lochiel" of the '45. He was a distinguished physician as well as a brave soldier, and had been during the campaign as assiduous in the cause of wounded prisoners as of those belonging to his own side. He had escaped with Charles and his brother to France. In 1753, believing that the severities with which his people were prosecuted were over, he ventured back to Scotland. He was apprehended at the house of Gordon of Glenbucket, an old Jacobite, taken to London, and tried under an old attainder, and condemned to be executed. In the words of Sir Walter Scott, his execution, so long after hostilities were over, "threw much reproach upon the Government, and even upon the personal character of George II. as sullen, relentless, and unforgiving." He died like a good and brave man, and a monument to him—the last victim of the '45—may still be seen in the Savoy Chapel, London, where he was buried.

After the bloody work of "stamping out the rebellion" was accomplished, laws were passed by Parliament with a view to the "settlement of the Highlands." The first Act, passed in 1747, was one of mercy. It granted a pardon to all who had been engaged in the insurrection, with the exception of eighty persons who were exempted. Among the eighty were Glengarry, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comer, Fraser of Foyers, Fraser of Gortuleg, and some other Inverness-shire

men. Those persons also were excepted who had formerly been named in what was called the Act of Attainder. Among these were Dr Archibald Cameron, Cameron of Dungallon, young Clanranald, Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, Archibald Macdonald, son of Barrisdale, and Ewen Macpherson of Cluny. After the passing of the Act of Indemnity many of those who had been detained in prison were liberated, and returned home. Among them were some from our county who had been apprehended for taking part in the escape of Charles.

Another Act was passed "for the more effectually disarming the Highlands in Scotland, and for the more effectually restoring the peace of the Highlands, and for restraining the use of the Highland dress." The attempt to disarm the Highlanders after the rising of 1715 had not been, as we have seen, very effectual; but the Act now passed was most thoroughly carried out. The severest penalties were imposed on those who failed to deliver up their weapons by a certain date. A second offence was punished by transportation for seven years.

The enactment against wearing the national dress seems to us utterly ridiculous, as all sumptuary laws are; but it was, for a time at least, very strictly enforced. Any person, man or boy, who "should on any pretence whatever wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland clothes—namely, the plaid, philibeg, trews, shoulder-belts, or any part of the Highland garb—or should use for greatcoats, or for upper coats, tartans or party-coloured plaid or stuff, should be imprisoned without bail for six months; and on being convicted for a second offence, should be liable to be transported to any of his Majesty's plantations abroad for seven years."

The oath which was administered to the people by those to whom the enforcement of this wanton exercise of power was committed has come down to us: "I, A. B., do swear,

and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession, any sword, gun, or pistol, or arm whatsoever; and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property. May I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations. May I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without burial in a strange land far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred. May all this come across me if I break my oath."

The devices by which the people sought to retain, without breaking the law, something resembling their former dress are still remembered throughout Inverness-shire. Some wore pieces of blue, green, or thin red cloth tied round the waist and reaching down to their knees; others carried the breeches they were ordered to wear over their shoulders, the law not having particularised on what part of the body they were to be worn. Many sewed up their kilts in the middle, transforming them into a kind of wide trousers. This was a favourite device, and those employing it were solemnly held by courts of justice to have given obedience to the law of the land. We may here mention that in 1782 this ridiculous Act, so far as it related to the Highland garb, was repealed.

Another Act was passed in 1747, which affected the county much more deeply than the taking away of guns and dirks or the abolition of kilts and sporrans. It changed the conditions of life, broke up the feudal system, and destroyed for ever the spirit of clanship. The polity which came in with the Norman settlement in Inverness-shire, and which with its Celtic adjuncts had lasted so many hundred years, was by a single stroke swept away. Heritable jurisdictions were abolished. The Highland chiefs were deprived of their judicial powers, and their retainers could only be tried by the regularly authorised judges of the Crown. "All heritable jurisdictions of

justiciary, all regalities and heritable bailieries and constabularies, were dissolved, and the powers formerly vested in them were ordained to be exercised by such of the king's courts as these powers would have belonged to if the jurisdictions had never been granted." The jurisdictions exercised by the Highland proprietors were bought up and invested in sheriffs appointed by the Crown. The right of ward-holding, by which landlords commanded the military services of their tenants, was also done away with.

The effect of this Act upon the Highlanders was very far-reaching. The despotism of the chiefs, which there is reason to believe was often arbitrarily exercised, at once ceased. Their vassals were as free as themselves. No Keppoch, Clanranald, or Lochiel could demand their assistance, or adjudge them in case of contumacy to be executed with scant form of law. They were no longer thirled to their native glens, they could go where they pleased without asking the permission of their superior. The chief himself became henceforth no more than an ordinary landed proprietor, though doubtless still honoured on account of the name he bore and the race to which he belonged.

From the passing of this Act the history of Inverness-shire takes a new departure. Its romance, indeed, may in some sense be said to have ended with Culloden and "Bonnie Prince Charlie." But modern Inverness-shire contains those elements of civilisation and prosperity which were conspicuously absent from the Inverness-shire of the '45, and which largely compensate for the loss of the romance of feudalism, whether in peace or war. What seemed at the time to be the utter destruction of the social conditions of life in the county proved its regeneration. Before the graves on Culloden heath became green a new and better order of things began to be evolved.

CHAPTER XIII.

TRAVELLERS IN INVERNESS-SHIRE AFTER THE '45—VISIT OF GENERAL JAMES WOLFE IN 1751—HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN AND PEOPLE—GOES TO CULLODEN AND FORT GEORGE—ATTENDS AN ASSEMBLY—CULLODEN COMMEMORATED AT INVERNESS—REPORTS OF HANOVERIAN OFFICERS QUARTERED IN THE COUNTY—A CAPTURED PRIEST—ENDEAVOURS OF THE PEOPLE TO EVADE THE ACT PREVENTING THE HIGHLAND DRESS —VISIT OF BISHOP POCOCKE IN 1760—HIS INTEREST IN ANTIQUITIES—DESCRIBES FORT WILLIAM—REACHES FORT AUGUSTUS BY LOCH LOCHY —COMES TO INVERNESS AND CULLODEN—HIS DESCRIPTION OF BEAULY PRIORY AND OF THE AIRD—VISIT OF PENNANT IN 1769—HIS DISPARAGEMENT OF PRINCE CHARLES—HIS PRAISE OF INVERNESS—RESTORATION OF THE LOVAT ESTATES—ADMINISTRATION OF FORFEITED PROPERTY IN THE COUNTY—A FAIR AT INVERNESS—LOCH NESS AFFECTED BY AN EARTHQUAKE—LOCHABER DESCRIBED—BREAK UP OF THE CLAN SYSTEM—VISIT OF DR SAMUEL JOHNSON AND BOSWELL IN 1773—AT FORT GEORGE—SPENDS A SUNDAY IN INVERNESS—THE EPISCOPAL CHAPEL—RIDES BY GLENMORISTON TO GLENELG—HIS VIEWS ON EMIGRATION AND DISAPPEARANCE OF THE TACKSMEN—GENERAL CHARACTER OF HIS OBSERVATIONS—VISIT OF COLONEL THORNTON IN 1784—SETTLES DOWN AS A SPORTSMAN IN BADENOCH—HIS INTEREST IN THE PEOPLE AND SCENERY—RESTORATION OF CLUNY MACPHERSON TO HIS ESTATES—A BADENOCH FEAST—DYING OUT OF JACOBITE FEELING—"GEORGE III., AND LONG MAY HE REIGN!" DRANK EVERYWHERE—WHAT MAY BE LEARNED FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THESE TRAVELLERS —THEY SHOW AN EXTRAORDINARY CHANGE TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

WE may at this stage break the continuity of our narrative by noticing the impressions of travellers who visited Inverness-shire between 1745 and the beginning of the present century. They were not numerous. Inverness was then regarded as a very far-distant part of Great Britain. To reach it involved a long and expensive journey. No public con-

veyances existed, and the adventurous tourist had to make his way either on foot or horseback, or by hired vehicle. The travellers who did so were not many, or at least not many have given us in print the benefit of their observations. Still, what we do have from their narratives is interesting. It was a transition time in Inverness-shire, as in the Highlands generally; and the glimpses of things given us by these passers-by help to supply the want of more detailed record. Apart also from this, it is always instructive to see ourselves as others see us.

General James Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, whose tragic death in the hour of victory will be long remembered, was in Inverness in 1751. In his letters he gives us his impressions of the place and of the people. They are not very favourable—indeed we could not expect they would be. Wolfe was a young officer quartered in an enemy's country, and engaged in the unpleasant task of keeping in order its inhabitants. He had fought at Culloden five years previously, and was imbued with all the bitterness of feeling entertained by the victors towards those whom they regarded as "rebels." But he was a man who even at that time showed somewhat of that noble and honourable character which afterwards distinguished him as a soldier. It is said that when riding over the field of Culloden after the battle with the Duke of Cumberland, a Highlander, severely wounded, sat up and smiled defiance at his companion. "Wolfe," said the duke, "shoot me that Highland scoundrel who thus dares to look on us with such contempt and insolence!" "My commission," replied the manly officer, "is at your Royal Highness's disposal, but I can never consent to become an executioner."

Wolfe's letters from Inverness are by no means so detailed as those of Burt, but they are even more full of contempt for

the people of the place. "A little while," he says, "serves to discover the villanous nature of the inhabitants, and brutality of the people in its neighbourhood." It was natural, perhaps, that he should feel thus towards those he regarded as enemies, but he is quite as severe in his opinion of the Highland Hanoverians: "Those who pretend the greatest attachment to the Government seem to distinguish themselves for greater rudeness and incivility than the open and professed Jacobites."

On his journey to Inverness he had a look at the new fort which the Government were then engaged in constructing, and which we know to-day as Fort George. "I turned aside to look at the new fort of Ardersier or Fort George, and find a vast quantity of earth thrown up for ramparts, and the counterscarp and glacier finished. But I believe there's still work for six or seven years to do. When it is finished one may venture to say, without saying much, that it will be the most considerable fortress and best situated in Great Britain."

Our traveller made an excursion to renew his acquaintance with the field of Culloden, which he tells his correspondent he surveyed with "great exactness." He seemed to feel—and he frankly says so—that the glory of the victors was not a little tarnished. "The actors," he says, "shine in the world too high and bright to be eclipsed; but it is plain they don't borrow much of their glory from their performance on that occasion, however they may have distinguished themselves in later events." But he excuses the massacre of the wounded after the battle: "You would not have left these ruffians the only possible means of conquest, nor suffer multitudes to go off unhurt with the power to destroy." Altogether he appears to consider Culloden, from a military point of view, as a very poor affair.

He groans profoundly over the hardships of his situation at Inverness, though regarding them heroically as part of the training of a military life. "The winds," he says, "sometimes drive the snows with such violence that the roads are utterly impassable, and again when it thaws the rivers swell so prodigiously that there is no less danger and difficulty on that side. I can have no measure of diversion out of my room, unless to shoot woodcocks at the risk of rheumatism. It would be unmanly and very unbecoming a soldier to complain of little evils such as bad food, bad lodging, bad fire." Dreary as his situation was, he was not altogether without compensations. Inverness was not without gaiety, and the gloom which fell upon it after Culloden had partly cleared away. There was in the town a ball once a-fortnight, and of this entertainment our writer gives an amusing account: "We have an assembly of female rebels every fortnight, entirely composed of Macdonalds, Frasers, and M'Intoshes. I had the honour to dance with the daughter of a chieftain who was killed at Culloden, the Laird of Kippock. They are perfectly wild as the hills that breed them, but they lay aside their principles for the sake of sound and movement. They make no converts, which I chiefly attribute to a strong dialect of the Erse that destroys the natural softness of their notes."

While Wolfe was in Inverness the magistrates of the town invited his commanding officer, Lord Bury, and his regiment to an entertainment on the birthday of the Duke of Cumberland. It was a friendly offer, and showed a desire for amicable relations. Lord Bury suggested that they should postpone the celebrations till the day following, the anniversary of Culloden. Nothing could have been in worse taste than the suggestion. The officials, after consulting their friends, expressed politely their regret that his request could not be complied with; and no wonder, for there were few in Inver-

ness to whom the anniversary was not sad. Lord Bury replied that he was sorry, but that he had mentioned the matter to his soldiers, and that he could not answer for their conduct under the disappointment, which he feared would provoke them to some outrage in the town. The veiled threat produced the desired effect, and under compulsion the "battle of Culloden" was celebrated in Inverness. It was truly a bad balm for a closing wound.

From the reports of officers stationed in different parts of Inverness-shire during Wolfe's sojourn in the Highland capital we get some glimpses of the state of the country. Troops seem to have been placed in the most remote and out-of-the-way places. Captain Alexander Trapaud was stationed at Laggan Achadrom, on the neck of land between Loch Lochy and Loch Oich. He describes the "hardships of married soldiers" with young children, owing "to the scarcity of meal and fuel." He also gives the price of provisions: "Sheep, when to be had, three or four shillings; goat, the same; lamb, sixteen to eighteen pence; butter, fourpence a pound; eggs, three-halfpence a dozen."

Roman Catholic priests after '45 had a very hard time. They were treated as rebels and their offices proscribed. Many in Inverness-shire underwent great hardships. Trapaud in one of his reports tells that "the sergeant stationed at Knockfin apprehended on Sunday the 15th instant one John Farquharson, a Popish priest, dressed in all his sacerdotal vestments, as he was preaching to about three hundred persons in a great barn at the bridge of Cannich in Strathglass. He was brought to me, and I sent him with a party and the witnesses, together with his vestments and all the altar furniture, to the Sheriff of Inverness-shire, who committed him to gaol. The next day he was bailed out. The sergeant ran a great hazard of his life in taking the above priest, as he was disguised, by a small

sword and two soldiers with their bayonets, the people making an attempt to rescue the priest."

We have seen how the Highland dress was proscribed. An officer reports to his commander that "he took a fellow wearing a blanket in the form of a philibeg." He took him to the sheriff-substitute, who refused to commit him because the blanket was not tartan. On the officer's return he met a man similarly clothed; so, as he found it needless to take him before a magistrate, he took the blanket philibeg and cut it to pieces. This deed of valour is, however, excelled by the exploit of Captain John Beckwith, stationed at the head of Loch Arkaig, who gravely informs his superior, "On the 24th last month one of my men brought me a man to all appearance in a philibeg; but on close examination I found it to be a woman's petticoat (which answers every end of that part of the Highland dress). I sent him to the sheriff-substitute, who dismissed him."

These are some gleanings from the Life of General Wolfe, which, slight as they are, cast a side-light on the state of the country at the time. After a residence of nine months at Inverness, during which he went to kirk every Sunday, and studied mathematics under a local celebrity, Mr Barber, he took his departure. If he said hard things of the Highlanders when among them, he had good cause afterwards to think better of them. They fought bravely under his command. He led many of them to victory, and they bitterly avenged his death.

A visitor who passed through our county in 1760—nine years after Wolfe—was a very different kind of man from that distinguished soldier. Bishop Pococke was an ecclesiastic of the Church of Ireland who had acquired fame by his travels in Egypt and Palestine. He was interested mainly in antiquities. What he calls "druidical circles" or ruined churches were

carefully noted by him and described, but he has little to say of the social condition of the people. He entered our county by Fort William, which he tells us had been built to bridle the Highlanders. "It is a weak fortress," he says, "but they have put high palisadoes along the passes, which would prevent any sudden assault." The village which had grown up beside the garrison he describe as a "very poor town." After a short description of Inverlochy, which he tells us "was formerly a place of trade and was destroyed by the Danes and Norwegians," he pursued his journey by the military road to High Bridge over the river Spean, "which here falls beautifully down the rocks." In passing he saw the ruins of Achnacarry, the site of Lochiel's house, "which was destroyed after the rebellion was suppressed." The road along Loch Lochy he describes as "very pleasant, being adorned with wood above and below." He also expresses his admiration for the "beautiful narrow lake called Loch Oich, with two or three small islands in it covered with clumps of trees." He notices in passing the castle of Glengarry, a corner of which was blown up by the Duke of Cumberland, and "a new house built near it."

At Fort Augustus, "a very handsome, regular building, consisting of four bastions, which had been repaired at a cost of £10,000," our traveller was entertained by Mr Trapaud, the governor, and next day set out with that gentleman in the boat or galley belonging to the fort for Inverness. In passing Glenmoriston he noticed the laird's house, which had been burnt but had been rebuilt, and a very fine linen manufactory built out of the forfeited estates. "They teach forty girls for three months to spin, and then they take in forty more. They buy flax and employ six looms. They buy also yarn from the country-people, who raise a large quantity of it. It consists of the principal building and an office, for the

manufactures on each side." This factory had been erected by the Trustees for Manufactories and Fisheries in 1756, when it was thought necessary by Government to do something to give employment to the Highlanders and to prevent them leaving the country. It does not appear to have been a success, and was closed in 1791.

From Glenmoriston the Bishop came to Foyers, and is full of admiration of the fall; thence, passing Castle Urquhart, of which he gives a drawing, he came to the end of Loch Ness, where he was met by the Governor's postchaise, and drove to the town, passing "a druid temple." Of Inverness he speaks kindly. It is "on a flat below the high grounds, and all that flat ground is very rich. It is a pretty good town of two streets. They have a trade in imports, and an export of salted salmon caught in the river Beauliew, and also near the town in the river Ness. They had an export of malt to Holland, but it is at an end and all the malt-houses are in ruins. The salt salmon of Scotland is sent in great quantities to London, and a new trade is lately opened of exporting it to the East Indies."

After describing some of the buildings of the town, our traveller has next to tell of Fort George, where he went in company with General Poole. Though begun eleven years before, it was not quite finished. The houses of the governor and depute governor were still to be built, and also "sluices to let in the sea-water and make it an island"; but the bishop admires all that he saw, and expresses the opinion that though "a thousand men may defend it for some time, it would take two thousand for a long siege."

From Fort George he came to Culloden, which he leisurely surveyed, and describes, with somewhat of the air of a military expert, the plan of the battle and its execution. He saw "for half a mile the graves where the slain fell. They

were all instantly stripped by the women, who went loaded with spoils to Inverness, and the bodies were soon naked over the field." Probably this is as new to the reader as it was to the bishop. His reverence was a strong Hanoverian, and closes his description with the words, "Thus ended this day of such consequence to the British dominions, and crowned the duke with immortal laurels." This last assertion is somewhat strong even for a Whig bishop.

After crossing the Moray Firth to Ross-shire, and taking a tour in that county and in Sutherland and Caithness, our traveller again entered Inverness-shire by Beauly. He describes the priory, "pleasantly situated on the river Beauliew." In the church, "the shell of which remains entire," he saw a tomb belonging to one of the Earl of Seaforth's family, in which was the body of a lady. "Part of the skin remains entire like leather, and the hand is also entire and dried like a mummy." He also notices the remains of the kitchen of the priory, "with a chimney as wide as the room." From Beauly he came to Kirkhill, where he is much struck by the richness and beauty of the country. The Aird was then, as now, fertile and well cultivated, like a garden. Reelick the bishop admired, a very pretty box built on the side of a hill by Mr Fraser, the author of the life of "Koulikan, who purchased that estate after he had made a small fortune in the East Indies." There does not appear to have been much difference in what the Aird was then from what it is now. There was "agreeable variety of wood," and "beautiful fields up the side of the hills" had a most charming effect in the prospect. Bunchrew, "in a most delightful situation, was a fine, well-timbered estate." The same may still be said after the lapse of a hundred years.

Pennant, a distinguished naturalist and traveller, came to the north of Scotland in 1769, nine years after the bishop.

He entered Inverness-shire from Nairn, and came first to Fort George and Culloden. Of these he has nothing new to tell. He is contemptuous and most untrue in what he says of Prince Charles, who, according to him, "never came into action, but fled ingloriously to the old traitor Lovat"! Of the barbarities perpetrated upon the Highlanders he speaks lightly: "Let a veil be hung over a few excesses consequential of a day productive of so much benefit to the United Kingdom."

Of Inverness he has nothing but good to say. It is "large and well built; the winter residence of many of the neighbouring gentry; the present emporium, as it was the ancient, of the north of Scotland." He tells of its imports—"groceries, haberdasheries, hardware, and other necessaries from London." A new import he also mentions—"six to eight hundred hogsheads of porter annually." The exports are salmon and herrings, and "cordage and sacking." Of late years, he says, "the linen manufacture of the place saves it above three thousand pounds a-year, which used to go to Holland." We gather from his observations that the prosperity of the town had already begun to revive. The poverty of the surrounding district after '45 had exercised upon it a depressing influence, not compensated by the residence of the troops quartered there; but with the settlement of the country things had begun to look brighter for the burgh.

Pennant visited Castle Downie, the seat of the Lovats. It was at this time in ruins, having been burnt by the orders of the Duke of Cumberland. The country around was "fertile, well cultivated, and smiling." The son of the Lord Lovat who was executed had received a grant of the forfeited estates. He had greatly distinguished himself as an officer in the royal army, and was thus rewarded. An Act of Parliament had been passed for this purpose, and our traveller says "no

patent for nobility conveyed greater glory to any one than the preamble to the Act has done to this gentleman." He has also something to say on the administration of the property forfeited in Inverness-shire to the Crown after the insurrection. The rents were lodged in the hands of trustees and spent in the improvement of the country. The revenue was applied "for the founding of schools for the instruction of children in spinning. Wheels are given away to poor families and flax-seed to farmers. Some money is given in aid of the roads and towards building bridges over the torrents, by which means a ready intercourse is made to parts before inaccessible to strangers." It is doubtful whether as much was done in this way as our traveller imagines. Any improvement made at this time by the Government was but slight. One thing, however, was done which was worthy of all praise. The factors on the forfeited estates were instructed to improve them by planting trees, which was done to a considerable extent, and the expenses incurred were paid out of the rents. It was a good example to proprietors, and in after-days was largely followed. An experiment was, according to our traveller, made by Government which apparently ended in failure. The attempt to colonise the Highlands by planting in them communities of strangers was, as we have seen, a favourite project of James VI. It was repeated under more favourable auspices, but with as little success. "In 1753," Pennant tells us, "a large sum was spent on a *Utopian* project of establishing colonies [on the forfeited estates] of disbanded soldiers and sailors. Comfortable houses were built for them, land and money given, and some lent; but the success by no means answered the intentions of the projectors." This scheme of plantation has left no trace behind it, though it probably swallowed up a good deal of money at the time.

After a tour in the more northerly counties our traveller

came back to Inverness, where he describes one of the usual fairs of the place. "The commodities were skins, various necessaries brought in by the pedlars, coarse country cloths, cheese, butter, and meal"—the last in goatskin bags—"the butter lapped in cawls or leaves of the broad *alga* or tang, and great quantities of birch-wood and hazel cut in lengths for carts, and which had been floated down the river from Loch Ness." At this fair he saw specimens of the Highland dress, which he minutely describes. The Act which proscribed it had not been yet formally repealed; but it was apparently falling into desuetude, and the people were returning to their old apparel. Plaids and philibegs were plentiful at the fair of Inverness, but those who wore them carried no weapons in the time of Burt. "Since the Disarming Act they are scarcely to be met with. Partly owing to that, partly to the spirit of industry now rising among them, the Highlanders in a few years will scarce know the use of any weapon."

Mr Pennant pursued his journey from the Highland capital by the side of Loch Ness to Fort William. Like all travellers since, he was much impressed by the beauty of the scenery through which he passed, and especially by the grandeur of the Fall of Foyers, that "vast cataract in a darksome glen of a stupendous depth." He gives an interesting description of an occurrence the memory of which still remains, and which was much discussed at the time. On the occasion of the great earthquake at Lisbon, 1st November 1755, the waters of Loch Ness were "affected in a very extraordinary manner. They rose and flowed up the lake from east to west with vast impetuosity, and were carried above 200 yards up the river Oich, breaking on its banks in a wave near 3 feet high, then continuing ebbing and flowing for the space of an hour; but at eleven o'clock a wave greater than any of the rest came up the river, broke on the north side, and overflowed

the bank for the extent of 30 feet. At the same time a little isle in a small loch in Badenoch was totally reversed and flung on the beach." Pennant was an enthusiastic naturalist, and doubtless made full inquiry before he penned his description, which has been fully corroborated.

Lochaber, through which he passed by Low Bridge and High Bridge, seemed to our traveller a poverty-stricken district. He saw scarcely any arable land, and what little there was for tillage let at 10s. an acre. He notices, what we learn from other scources, that rents were being raised by the proprietors to such an extent as to force the people to leave the country. Emigration from Inverness-shire was already beginning: "The rage of raising rents has reached this distant country. In England there may be reason for it (in a certain degree), where the value of lands is increased by accession of commerce, and by the rise of provisions; but here, contrary to all policy, the great men begin at the wrong end with squeezing the bag before they have helped the tenant to fill it by the introduction of manufactures. This already shows its unhappy effects, and begins to depopulate the country, for numbers of families have been obliged to give up the strong attachment the Scots in general have for their country, and to exchange it for the wilds of America."

We learn also from Pennant that the old clan system which had so long dominated the Highlands had been thoroughly broken up. The Highlander no longer remained all his life an inhabitant of the same glen, which he was unable to leave without the special permission of his chief. The old tie between the vassal and his lord had almost been entirely severed even at the time of which our traveller writes: "The Highlanders mix more with the world, and become daily less attached to their chiefs; the clans begin to disperse themselves through the different parts of the country, finding

that their industry and good conduct afford them better protection (since the due execution of their laws) than their chieftain can afford; and the chieftain, tasting the sweets of advanced rents and the benefits of industry, dismisses from his table the crowds of retainers, the former instruments of his oppression and freakish tyranny." When we compare the state of things these words describe with that portrayed by Burt before 1745, we can see how entirely new conditions of life and of society were already beginning to take root in Inverness-shire.

A more celebrated traveller than those we have noticed came to our northern county in 1773. This was the famous Dr Samuel Johnson, who was accompanied by his equally famous friend and biographer, Mr Boswell. It was thought at the time a wonderful undertaking for the great lexicographer to attempt a journey to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. It was as if, living in our day, he should propose a visit to the river Congo. When Boswell mentioned the intended tour to Voltaire at Ferney, the great philosopher regarded him with amazement, "as if he had talked of going to the North Pole." "You do not insist," said Voltaire cynically, "on my accompanying you?" "No, sir." "Then I am very willing you should go"! The tour, however, was successfully accomplished, and with few, if any, of those hardships which were anticipated by the southern friends of the travellers, and the record of the tour itself has become almost an English classic. Some of the observations of Dr Johnson were keenly resented by the Highlanders, and a Highland minister published a work, almost equal in size to the 'Tour,' with the object of showing the doctor ignorant, bigoted, and spiteful. He is represented as hating Scotland and everything Scottish, and as having chosen a time of the year for his tour (August) when everything looked at its worst. Two great offences are particularly

charged against him: he denied the authenticity of Ossian, and would not allow that there were any trees to be seen in his travels. But apart from these dreadful mistakes, the 'Tour' and its accompanying record by Boswell may, we think, be taken as a fair picture of what the travellers really saw. They had no intention at any time of conveying a wrong impression, and the prejudices shown occasionally by the great doctor were only such as might naturally be expected from one who had long lived in London, and who carried the associations of Fleet Street into the wilds of Glenmoriston and Skye.

The doctor entered Inverness-shire by way of Fort George, where he was entertained in a sumptuous manner by Sir Eyre Coote, the commandant. His companion could not help being struck with admiration at finding "on this barren sandy point such buildings, such a dinner, such company; it was like enchantment." But the doctor replied, "It did not strike *him* as anything extraordinary. Here was a large sum of money expended in building a fort; here was a regiment. If there had been less than we had found, it would have surprised him." He, however, vouchsafed to say at his departure, "I shall always remember this fort with gratitude." In the evening the travellers drove to Inverness.

The day after their arrival was Sunday. Fortunately for Johnson there was an "English chapel" in the town, for he made a point of never countenancing Presbyterian worship. It had been built in 1772 out of the burgh funds and a loan. It was a poor edifice. "The altar was a bare fir table, with a coarse stool for kneeling on, covered with a piece of thick sail-cloth, doubled by way of cushion." The clergyman, Mr Tait, "read prayers well, though with a Scotch accent." The number attending the service, Boswell says, was small; but the doctor says, "there was a very decent congregation." At

Inverness the latter was impressed by a noticeable change in the manners and customs of the people: "The appearance of life began to alter. I had seen a few women with plaids at Aberdeen, but at Inverness the Highland manners are common." Here the travellers made preparation for their journey westward by engaging two men-servants, John Hay and Lauchland Vass, with three horses, two for the doctor and his companion, and one for their baggage. It must have been a somewhat comical sight to see the ponderous form of the doctor astride a Highland sheltie. He seems, however, to have "rode very well," and his admirer proudly remarks, "As I saw him now for the first time on horseback, jaunting about at his ease in quest of pleasure and novelty, the very different occupations of his former laborious life, his admirable productions—his 'London,' his 'Rambler,' &c.—immediately presented themselves to my mind, and the contrast made a strong impression on my imagination."

The tourists took their way along Loch Ness to Fort Augustus. The doctor was pleased with his servants. "Both of them were ready and civil. Civility seems part of the national character of Highlanders. Every chieftain is a monarch, and politeness, the natural product of royal government, is diffused from the laird through the whole clan." He was pleased also with General Wade's military road: "We went upon a surface so hard and level that we had little care to hold the bridle, and were therefore at full leisure for contemplation." On this road he made his first acquaintance with a regular Highland hut, "ranged for the most part with some tendency to circularity. It must be placed where the wind cannot act upon it with violence, because it has no cement; and where the water will run easily away, because it has no floor but the naked ground." The old woman who lived in this habitation, "with the true pastoral hospitality, asked them to

sit down and drink whisky." In return for her kindness the doctor gave her a shilling. "She begged snuff, for snuff is the luxury of a Highland cottage." She sent her visitors away with many prayers in Erse. The doctor was evidently in good humour with his reception at this humble abode. "Its inhabitants," he says, "possessed such property as a pastoral poet might exalt into riches."

They dined at the "General's Hut," then "a house of entertainment for passengers. We found it not ill stocked with provisions." They were deprived of the pleasure they expected from the Fall of Foyers, owing to a long continuance of dry weather, and could only imagine "the effect of a thousand streams poured from the mountains into one channel, struggling for expansion in a narrow passage, exasperated by rocks rising in their way, and at last discharging all their violence of waters by a sudden fall through the horrid chasm." At Fort Augustus Mr Trapaud, the governor, treated them "with that courtesy which is so closely connected with the military character." With him they passed a very agreeable evening.

Between twelve and one next day they set off for the west coast by way of Glenmoriston. At Anoch, in that glen, they dined and stayed all night; the house "in a glen or valley pleasingly watered by a winding stream." The doctor remarks that "this country, however it may delight the gazer or please the naturalist, is of no great advantage to its owners"; and he mentions that the laird—we suppose of Glenmoriston—"had raised his rents, to the danger of depopulating his farms, and by exerting every act of augmentation has obtained a yearly revenue of four hundred pounds, which for a hundred square miles is three-halfpence an acre." He found in the humble house of Anoch culture and civility that surprised him. The young woman that waited was "not inelegant in mien or dress. Her conversation, like her appearance, was gentle and

pleasing. We knew that the girls of the Highlands are all gentlewomen, and treated her with great respect, which she received as customary and due, and was neither elated by it nor confused." The gallant traveller was so pleased with the young lady that he presented her with a book, which Boswell informs us was a copy of Cocker's Arithmetic. It was at this place Johnson first heard of "the general dissatisfaction which is now driving the Highlanders into the other hemisphere," and when he asked his host "whether they would stay at home if they were well treated, he answered with indignation that no man willingly left his native country."

From Glenmoriston the travellers came to Glenshiel and Glenelg, whence they crossed to Skye. The country through which they passed was mountainous, and on the scenery the doctor makes many of his characteristic observations: "An eye accustomed to flowery pastures and waving harvests is astonished and repelled by this wide extent of hopeless sterility. The appearance is that of matter incapable of form or usefulness, dismissed by Nature from her care and disinherited of her favours, left in its original elemental state, or quickened only with one sullen power of useless vegetation."

We will not follow our distinguished tourist to the Hebrides; we will only notice that his remarks here and there give us a very vivid picture of what was taking place in Inverness-shire at the time of his visit. He was told how many of the tacksmen were going to America rather than comply with the demands made upon them by the chiefs for increase of rent. Their places were filled by a number of poor people who had lived under them, properly speaking, as servants, the predecessors of the crofters of the present day. This migration Dr Johnson deplored. It seemed to him that the chiefs should have identified themselves more with their people than they did. The replacing the old "tacksmen by strangers

appeared to him a great misfortune. The stranger whose money buys him preference considers himself as paying for all that he has, and is indifferent about the laird's honour or safety. The commodiousness of money is indeed great, but there are some advantages which money cannot buy, and which therefore no wise man will by the love of money be tempted to forego."

The tacksmen seemed to the doctor the strength of social life in the country. "As the mind governs the hands, so in every society the man of intelligence must govern the man of labour. If the tacksmen be taken away, the people must be given up to grossness and ignorance; the tenant for want of instruction will be unskilful, and for want of admonition will be negligent." The modern factor, according to his view, could never take the place of the tacksman: "having no dignity attached to his character, he can have little authority among men taught to pay reverence only to birth, and who regard the tacksman as their hereditary superior. Nor can the steward have equal zeal for the prosperity of an estate profitable only to the laird with the tacksman who has the laird's income involved in his own."

The doctor severely censures the rapacity of the chiefs in driving away the people and letting the land to strangers. He thought that the landlords should be restrained by law from making extortionate demands. His views are in great part those of a Highland agitator of the present day. It was, according to him, folly in the Government to allow the chiefs to dispossess the people: "To hinder insurrection by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably by having no subjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politics. To soften the obdurate, to convince the mistaken, to mollify the resentful, are worthy of a statesman; but it affords a legislator little self-applause to consider

that where there was formerly insurrection there is now a wilderness."

It is difficult for the unbiassed reader of the famous 'Tour' to understand the resentment on the part of Highlanders which its publication called forth. The doctor is full of sympathy for the hardships of their lot and for what seemed to him their oppression at the hands of their lairds. He admired their civility and hospitality at home, and their bravery as soldiers in the army abroad. Bigoted Episcopalian as he was, he found their ministers whom he met worthy of his highest esteem. As the great traveller and writer took no offence when asked by a haughty chief whether he was of the Johnstones of Glencoe or of Ardnamurchan (!), so it becomes his readers to take none though he is doubtful about Ossian and thinks Gaelic the rude speech of a barbarous people.

Late in the last century — in 1784 — another traveller came to the county whose object in visiting it was different from those we have mentioned. Colonel Thornton of Thornville Royal in Yorkshire was a sportsman. He may be considered the pioneer of that numerous class who, as the autumn comes round, yearly make their appearance in the North. On this account, if on no other, the story of his adventures is of considerable interest. He hired the house of Raitts in Badenoch from Mrs Mackintosh of Borlum, with grass and provisions for twenty horses. He provided himself with tents which he could move readily from one place to another. He engaged an artist, Mr Gerard, to accompany him and take drawings of the scenery, and carried with him provisions for three or four months. Boats, camp-equipage, and all things necessary were transported by a sailing-vessel from Hull to Forres, and carted thence to Raitts. He himself and his companion made their journey overland in a gig with two horses driven tandem.

The colonel was a thorough sportsman, and was much given to hospitality. He entertained the gentlemen and ladies of the district in most generous fashion, went to kirk every Sunday, and made himself thoroughly at home among the people. His days were spent on the hill shooting, and fishing, chiefly for pike, in the lochs of the district. He carried his tent and boats to the wildest spots among the Badenoch mountains. He astonished the natives by hawking on the moors. He seems to have been confined by no marches, but wandered anywhere he chose to go over the wide district from Rothiemurchus to Loch Laggan.

Unlike other tourists, he makes no complaint as to accommodation or fare. Wherever he went he met with politeness and hospitality. "Everything," he says, "for the comfort of life may be had in the Highlands at least nine months in the year, superior, if not to all, to most countries. Nature has given to the face of the country a large proportion of barren heath, but in the valleys every luxury of animal food, and that of the most excellent kind, abounds during the winter months." The scenery was to him full of beauty. He had to "rough it" considerably as he went from place to place, but anything like hardship seems only to have added zest to his enjoyment. Whether he spent the night in a bothy or in a gentleman's house, nothing can excel his appreciation of the kindness he received and the goodwill of those who proffered it.

The colonel's book is in the main a delightful chronicle of sport, but there are in it references to the people and their social life which are worthy of notice. Emigration had taken place in Badenoch as in other parts of the county. The best mechanics, the colonel was told, had gone abroad. Many of the tacksmen still remained. They were gentlemen of culture and education, and the sportsman found in them genial companions. Some of them had been in the American war, and

amused him with the story of their adventures. Recollections of the '45 were still fresh in the district. A "Captain M'P. had been a captain in the year 1745, and amused me," he says, "with genuine accounts of what had passed in the rebel army; and as I had just been reading an account of that horrid period, he threw several new lights on confused parts of the history of those times. He himself was long a prisoner, and narrowly escaped with his life, evidence only being wanted against him."

We gain a pleasing impression of the social state of the district from the gallant colonel's narrative. Though the clan system in other parts of Inverness-shire had become a mere nominal relationship, in Badenoch its best features still remained unbroken. Macphersons and Mackintoshs were on every side of him. Cluny Macpherson was still a venerated chief. "The lenity shown to those who had been out in the '45 had been well rewarded by the services they or their posterity had rendered to their country."

While the colonel was in Badenoch an event occurred which gave great joy throughout the district. This was the restoration of Cluny Macpherson to the estates of his ancestors, which had been forfeited. It was celebrated with much rejoicing, and the colonel received a polite invitation from Colonel Macpherson and the clan "to be present at the festivities. It was a hearty and enthusiastic gathering, and was held at Pitmain. On our arrival we found a large party of gentlemen assembled, and the area full of the lower class of the clan Macpherson. Other gentlemen were likewise continually ushering in from all parts, some of whom came above sixty miles. No words can express the joy that was exhibited on every countenance. The ladies too—not that I think it singular—seemed to enter if possible more heartily into the joys of the day than the men." The genial Sassenach was

quite at home among the Highlanders, and entirely in sympathy with the occasion. Strong Hanoverian though he and his family had always been, the return of the chief to his own gave him the greatest satisfaction. "At most public meetings there are some discontented mortals who rather check than inspire mirth: the case was here quite the reverse. With that perfect innocence which abounds in the Highlands, joined to *clannish* regard, not totally removed by luxury and knowledge of the world, every individual added something and exerted himself to promote the common cause."

The feast was worthy of feudal times. "The table was covered with every luxury the vales of Badenoch, Spey, and Lochaber could produce. And a very substantial entertainment it was—game of all kinds and venison in abundance." The gallant gentleman was specially struck by the charms of the ladies. They were "dressed in all their Highland pride, each following her own fancy and wearing a shawl of tartan: this, contrasted by the other parts of the dress at candlelight, presented a most glaring *coup d'œil*."

The colonel was evidently pleased with the loyalty of the clan. There was no mention of "the king over the water." The old Jacobite feelings had died out. "George the Third, and long may he reign!" was drunk with as much unfeigned loyalty as ever it was in London, "and echoed by the inferiors of the clan in the area around us," not a few of whom had probably marched in the ranks of Prince Charlie's army and fought at Culloden. A ball concluded the festivities, when a great number of different reels were danced with true Highland spirit, while every hill and mountain in Badenoch blazed with bonfires of "wood, peat, and dry heather."

This joyous gathering was a survival of the olden time, and the old clan feeling still held full sway in Badenoch. But in neighbouring districts the colonel noticed that it was dying

out. Even at such a great feudal centre as Castle Grant, which he had previously visited, he was "astonished to observe how very much all ranks of people were changed in their manners in the course of ten or twelve years. Luxury and effeminacy have proportionably found their way hither, and, through the facility of intercourse with the South by means of the high military roads, have almost totally destroyed the power of the chieftains. The existence of a new condition of things altogether had become apparent before the close of the century. Even a sportsman like the colonel, intent as he was on his own peculiar pastime, could not fail to notice it.

The travellers at whose tours in our county we have rapidly glanced in this chapter, take us over a period of between forty and fifty years. When we put together their impressions, we can form a very fair idea of what was the history of that time. Severity and repression and the strong hand of the law were the chief features of the first decade after Culloden. Then things almost suddenly changed. Many of the Highlanders enlisted in the army; many emigrated to other countries. Those that remained were rack-rented. The chiefs came back to their old estates to find a different state of things from what they left. The number of their followers no longer constituted their wealth. They had indeed no followers, only tenants, from whom it behoved them to get for their own support and dignity all that they could. If the tenants could not pay, they must be replaced by those who could. All Jacobite feeling had entirely died out or lived only in the songs of the bards. The toast which Colonel Thornton listened to with so much approval in Badenoch —"George the Third, and long may he reign!"—would be drunk with equal loyalty in the Braes of Lochaber and the Glens of Moidart. It was an extraordinary change in so short a time.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SULLEN DISCONTENT OF THE PEOPLE AFTER CULLODEN—BROKEN BY A CALL TO ARMS—THE PEOPLE ENLIST LARGELY IN THE ARMY—HIGHLAND REGIMENTS BEFORE '45—LORD CHATHAM ORDERS REGIMENTS TO BE RAISED ON AN EXTENSIVE SCALE—HIS CELEBRATED SPEECH IN PRAISE OF HIGHLAND SOLDIERS—INVERNESS-SHIRE A PRODUCTIVE RECRUITING-GROUND—THE HON. SIMON FRASER RAISES A REGIMENT IN 1757—MANY GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNTY JOIN—THE FRASER HIGHLANDERS AND THEIR CAREER—REGIMENT RAISED IN 1759 UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOUSE OF GORDON—MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS RAISED IN 1778—THE GORDON HIGHLANDERS RAISED IN 1794—THE VARIOUS FENCIBLE REGIMENTS—THE 79TH RAISED BY CAMERON OF ERRACHT—SKETCH OF HIS HISTORY AND THAT OF THE CAMERON HIGHLANDERS—EFFECT ON INVERNESS-SHIRE OF THIS GREAT OPENING UP OF MILITARY SERVICE—EVERY MAN PROUD TO BE A SOLDIER—INVERNESS-SHIRE MEN WHO HAVE DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE ARMY: SIR COLQUHOUN GRANT AND HIS SERVICES—JOHN CAMERON OF FASSIEFERN—HIS GALLANT CAREER—KILLED AT QUATRE BRAS AND BURIED IN LOCHABER—SIR JOHN CAMERON OF CULCHENNA — SIR ALEXANDER CAMERON OF INVERAILORT — SIR JAMES MACDONNELL OF GLENGARRY — SIR HERBERT MACPHERSON — TWO GREAT NON-COMBATANTS: SIR JAMES MACGREGOR, M.D. — JOHN CAMERON, WAR CORRESPONDENT — MEN LIKE THESE MAINTAIN THE MARTIAL SPIRIT OF THEIR ANCESTORS—THIS SPIRIT GENERALLY DEAD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY—FEW INVERNESS MEN JOIN THE ARMY.

THE sullen discontent into which the Inverness-shire people sank after the fatal field of Culloden, and the hardships by which it was followed, were first broken by a call to arms. Such calls had hitherto come to them from their chiefs, and in aid of the Stewarts: this new summons reached them from the Government, and enlisted them in large numbers in the cause to which they had hitherto been opposed. Within little

more than ten years after the battle of Culloden hundreds of Inverness-shire men were fighting in the ranks of the royal army. There was scarcely a glen throughout the county which did not send out its quota of recruits to serve under the banner of King George.

Two Highland regiments had been raised before '45 which had in their ranks many both of officers and men from Inverness-shire. The independent companies formed in 1730 for the purpose of preserving order in the Highlands were in 1740 united under the name of the 43rd Regiment of the line, since changed to the 42nd, and best known by the original designation of the "Black Watch." The distinguished career of this regiment is part of the history of the country. Lord Loudon, who commanded the royal forces in the North, was able also, by his exertions among the clans which supported the Hanoverian interest, to raise a regiment of 1250 men, of whom 750 were embodied at Inverness. Many of them fought at Culloden under the Duke of Cumberland. This regiment did gallant service in Flanders, but on the restoration of peace in 1748 it was disbanded.

The successful raising of these regiments, and the good services effected by them, naturally suggested the employment of the Highlanders to a still greater extent in the service of the country; and when the bitter memories of the '45 began to die down the attempt was made, and made with conspicuous success. Lord Chatham, then Mr Pitt, ordered regiments to be raised in the Highlands on an extensive scale, and he enlisted many Highland gentlemen in whom the people had confidence to take part in his enterprise. He gave these gentlemen commissions and sent them to the Highlands to invite the people to serve under them. The invitation was largely responded to by those to whom it was addressed. They were men trained to the use of arms, and were glad to resume

the weapons which had been taken from them, and the dress to which they had been long accustomed. They had confidence in the gentlemen of their own clan who asked them to enlist. Nowhere could better soldiers be found than among the mountains. It was with justifiable pride that Lord Chatham in his celebrated speech on the commencement of the American war thus expressed himself: "I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It was my boast that I was the first Minister who looked for and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who had gone nigh to have overturned the State in the war before last. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side, and fought with valour and conquered for you in every part of the world."

Inverness-shire proved a most productive recruiting-ground. In 1757 the Hon. Simon Fraser, son of the famous Lord Lovat, and who had himself served in the army of Prince Charles, received a commission to raise a regiment among his clan. Though the ancient castle of Downie was in ruins and the Lovat estates forfeited, such was the attachment of the people to the son of their old chief that in a few weeks he raised a body of 800 men among them. To this were added 600 others raised by gentlemen of the country, and especially by those who had obtained commissions. Among these were many well-known Inverness-shire men, such as John Macpherson of Cluny; Donald Macdonald, brother of Clanranald; Alexander Cameron of Dungalton; James Fraser of Belladrum; Ranald Macdonnell, son of Keppoch; Ewen Cameron of the family of Glennevis, and others. The men wore the full Highland dress, with musket and broadsword. Fraser's Highlanders, as they were called, distinguished themselves in many battles, and took part in the siege of Quebec

under General Wolfe, when that great soldier was killed. At the conclusion of the war many of the officers and men settled in North America. The rest returned to Scotland and were disbanded; but on the war of the American Revolution breaking out, Fraser's Highlanders were again revived. Two battalions were raised by Colonel Fraser in 1776, who on account of his distinguished services received a grant of the Lovat estates. This body of men was constantly in action during the war, and on its termination returned to Scotland and was discharged in 1783.

Another regiment connected with Inverness-shire was that raised in 1759 under the influence of the house of Gordon. Many of the men came from Badenoch and the valley of the Spey. The 76th Regiment, raised in 1778, or, as it was called, Macdonald's Highlanders, was also largely recruited in our county, especially in Glengarry. It also did brave service in the American revolutionary war. Its men were taken prisoners on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army. Many attempts were made by their emigrant countrymen to induce them to join the cause of American independence, but all of them stood true to their allegiance. This regiment was disbanded on its return to Scotland in 1784. We may mention also that the Gordon Highlanders, still known as the 92nd Regiment, raised by the Marquis of Huntly in 1794, numbered among its officers and men many Inverness-shire soldiers from Badenoch and Strathspey.

Besides the regiments we have just noticed, there were bodies of Fencibles, as they were called, raised entirely in the Highlands. The following were specially connected with Inverness-shire: The Grant or Strathspey Fencibles were raised in 1793; the Inverness-shire Fencibles in 1794; the Fraser Fencibles in 1794; the Glengarry Fencibles in 1794; the Lochaber Fencibles in 1799. These fencible regiments were

chiefly employed in garrison duty, but from their ranks many men passed into the regular army.

These notes, necessarily brief, may serve to show to what a large extent the men of Inverness-shire took service under Government before the close of last century. But there is one Highland regiment which we have not yet mentioned, but which must not be forgotten by us, as in a very special manner it had its origin in Inverness-shire. This is the 79th Regiment, which has had a most distinguished history, and which still bears the name of the "Cameron Highlanders." This splendid regiment was raised by Cameron of Erracht in Lochaber, afterwards Sir Alan Cameron. He was connected with the family of Lochiel. His father had been out in the '45, and his family, like many others, had been subjected to the cruelties and indignities which followed that period. Alan was a man of herculean build and of a fiery but chivalrous disposition, whereby he early acquired considerable influence among the Highlanders of his native glens. When sixteen years of age he had the misfortune to kill a gentleman of his own clan in a duel, and to avoid the consequences was forced to fly to America. On the breaking out of the War of Independence he obtained a commission in a local cavalry corps raised by loyalists for the service of the Crown. Whilst on detached duty he was taken prisoner by the Provincials, and confined at Philadelphia for nearly two years. In an attempt to escape he severely injured himself, but managed to elude the pursuit of his enemies. Ultimately he returned home as a lieutenant on half-pay of Tarleton's Light Dragoons.

Towards the close of the century the hostile attitude of the French Republicans rendered a considerable addition to the land forces of Great Britain imperative, and the Government decided to raise several new regiments. Alan Cameron

offered his services to recruit men in his native county. His offer was accepted, and he received a "letter of service," dated 17th August 1793, authorising him to raise a Highland regiment, of which he was appointed major commandant. The men were to be engaged without any limitation as to the period of their service. They were to receive no allowance of "levy-money," and they were not to be drafted into any other regiments.

With this "letter of service" Alan went down to Lochaber, to which he had long been a stranger. When he arrived he was received with acclamation. He came to Fort William at the time of the market, and all present at that gathering gave him an enthusiastic reception. His mission was crowned with success. His brother had already enlisted a company, and from all parts of Lochaber and the neighbourhood men flocked in to tender their services. Within less than two months 750 men were collected at Fort William. On a winter's morning they were paraded close by the fort, and marched to Stirling with their pipers playing before them, amid the cheers of the people of the district. At Stirling they were formally embodied, and passed as effective by the inspecting officer, and designated the 79th. A few days after their arrival Major Cameron received orders to increase the establishment of the new regiment to 1000 rank and file. He returned to Lochaber, and within five-and-twenty days brought back the needed number of men. All the officers of the regiment with scarcely an exception were Highland gentlemen. The uniform of the regiment was *scarlet* with *green* facings; the kilt was of the Erracht Cameron tartan. It was specially designed by Alan Cameron's mother, and has ever since been worn by the regiment. The 79th at its embodiment was called the "Cameronian Volunteers"; afterwards it became the "Cameronian Highlanders"; and finally

received the name of "The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders," by which it is now called.

This regiment has always been specially regarded as the Inverness-shire regiment, and its headquarters are still in the county. Its history is one unbroken record of gallant achievements in every part of the world, and to give an account of them would almost be to write the history of the British army in modern times.

Alan of Erracht had a most distinguished career as a soldier. He accompanied his regiment to Holland in 1794, and to the West Indies in 1795. In 1799 he commanded the 79th in a second expedition to the Low Countries, and was severely wounded at Egmont-op-Zee. He commanded the regiment during the expedition to Ferrol and Cadiz in 1800, through the Egyptian campaign of 1801, and at the capture of Copenhagen in 1807. Returning to England after Moore's expedition to Sweden, he was immediately ordered with the 79th to Portugal. After holding the post of British commandant at Lisbon, Brigadier Cameron—to which rank he had been advanced—joined Sir Arthur Wellesley's army and commanded a brigade at the battles of Talavera and Busaco. At Talavera he had two horses shot under him. For his services in the Peninsula he received a gold medal and his K.C.B. After Busaco he was compelled to resign his command and to return home on account of ill-health. He died on the 9th March 1828. During his connection of fifteen years with the 79th he brought his regiment to a high state of efficiency. He took a fatherly interest in his men, by whom he was regarded with the deepest affection. His familiar name among them was "Old Cia mar th'a thu?" (How-are-you?), a question he was constantly putting to them in Gaelic as he asked after their welfare. The pride he took in his soldiers was that of an old chief in his clan. It is said

that when he was told by the commander-in-chief that the regiment would probably be drafted into others, and so lose its individuality, he characteristically replied, "You may tell the king from me that he may send us to h—l if he likes, and I will go at the head of them, but he daurna draft us." His son succeeded him in command of the regiment, but as its head had a short though gallant career. He was killed at Fuentes d'Onor, and when his men heard that "Cia mar th'a's" son had fallen, they raised in Gaelic cries for vengeance and dashed onwards in a charge that carried all before it.

The effect upon the population of Inverness-shire by this great opening of military service in the closing years of the last century was very great, more indirectly perhaps than directly. The Highland people became acquainted with other countries than their own. Many of them as early as 1765 received grants of land in America and settled there. Those who came back recounted round the peat-fires of their homes tales of their adventures and of the colonies across the sea with their mighty forests and unoccupied prairies, and many Highlanders were thus induced to seek a home in other lands and among the friends who were already there before them. A warlike spirit was also fostered among the people which was long of dying out. An Inverness-shire man was in those days proud to be a soldier. During the Peninsular war, from every little hamlet throughout the county men were recruited for the army. Every family of importance within its bounds had a son or sons in the service. The very children used in their play to form themselves into regiments. The writer of these pages is old enough to remember a time when every other farm in a wide district was tenanted by a veteran officer, who had gone through the Peninsular campaign, and from whom he heard tales of the lines of Torres Vedras and of the battle of Waterloo.

To give anything like a detailed account here of those Inverness-shire men who have distinguished themselves in the military service of the country would be impossible. They are too numerous. But there are some who were so celebrated, and attained so great a reputation, that in a county history like this they should at least be mentioned.

Sir Colquhoun Grant, of the family of the Grants of Gartonbeg, achieved great distinction as a soldier, and fully maintained the military prestige of his clan. He was born in 1764, a period when Inverness-shire men were inspired with an intense desire to serve their country in the field. He saw considerable service with the 36th and 25th Light Dragoons in India, and took part in the capture of Seringapatam. In 1802, after serving in two dragoon regiments with distinction, he became for a time lieutenant-colonel of the 72nd Highlanders, and was wounded at the head of his men at the Cape of Good Hope in 1806. He afterwards joined the 15th Hussars, and in the Peninsular war distinguished himself as a dashing and adventurous soldier. He commanded a brigade at Morales, and was wounded both there and at Vittoria. At Waterloo he was in the thick of the fight, and had several horses killed under him. He was regarded by the whole army as a fine specimen of a Highlander, and on several occasions led his men to victory against forces that far outnumbered his own. He was the recipient of many honours, was made K.C.B., and had bestowed on him the foreign orders of St Vladimir of Russia and William the Lion of the Netherlands. After long military service he entered Parliament, and died in England in 1835 full of years and honours.

John Cameron of Fassiefern is still remembered in the county as a soldier of renown. He was born at Inverscaddle in Argyleshire in 1771, where his family happened to be

residing, but by clanship and association he must be regarded as an Inverness-shire man. He was brought up at Fassiefern on Locheilside, was educated at the school of Fort William and afterwards at the University of Aberdeen. He was a thorough Highlander, imbued with the spirit of Highland tradition and the achievements of his clan. In 1793 his father purchased for him a commission in the 26th Cameronian Regiment, which he does not appear to have joined; but a year afterwards he entered the Gordon Highlanders, accompanied by a band of Lochaber men. After serving for a time in Ireland he was ordered with his regiment to Holland to form part of the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby, where he was under the command of the famous Sir John Moore. In the battle of Egmont-op-Zee he was wounded. He served in Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby in 1801. After the battle of Mandora he received his majority, and took a conspicuous part in the battle of Alexandria, when he was again wounded. After serving in England and Ireland he took part as lieutenant-colonel in the unfortunate Walcheren expedition. Towards the close of 1810 he joined the British army in the Peninsula at the head of the 92nd, and fought at the battle of Fuentes d'Onor and the capture of Badajos. He shared in the victory at Salamanca in 1812, and afterwards was with Hill's division in the retreat of Burgos, where, he wrote, "he passed through the most wretched and distressing occurrences of his military life."

In command of the first brigade of Hill's division, he took a leading position in the battle of Vittoria, when the French power was broken in Spain. At the Rock of Maya he received three wounds, and for his distinguished conduct was permitted by the king to bear the name "Maya" on his shield. After recovering from his injuries he rejoined his regiment. At its head he was the first to cross the Nivelle when the battle of

that name was fought. In all the battles of this time he and his Highlanders were always to the front. At Aire he so distinguished himself that he was authorised to bear "above the cognisance of Lochiel a representation of the town of Aire, in allusion to his glorious services."

After the Peace of Paris, Cameron returned home with visions of settling down at Fassiefern, but was again called into the field in 1815. At Brussels eight battalions were placed under his command, and he marched to Quatre Bras, where he died "like the offspring of Lochiel." No more gallant soldier ever breathed, and his loss to the army was alluded to in touching terms by the Duke of Wellington in his despatch after Waterloo. As his life-blood was ebbing away he inquired how his beloved Highlanders had acquitted themselves. When he heard they had been victorious, "I die happy," he said, "and trust my dear country will believe that I have served her faithfully." His body was removed to Inverness-shire and buried in the churchyard of Kilmallie, where there are few graves not belonging to the Clan Cameron. His funeral was attended by 3000 Inverness-shire men. His father, in acknowledgment of his son's services, was created a baronet. A monument to this most distinguished soldier was afterwards erected at Kilmallie. On it are written the words of Sir Walter Scott, who more than once alludes to him as the bravest among the brave :—

> "Proud Benevis hears with awe
> How at the bloody Quatre Bras
> Brave Cameron heard the wild hurrah
> Of victory as he fell."

There were two other great soldiers connected with Inverness-shire belonging to the Clan Cameron who emulated in modern times the brave deeds of Sir Ewen of Lochiel. Sir John Cameron was the son of John Cameron of Culchenna, and was

born in 1773. His mind in his early years was filled with recollections of the martial deeds of his clan, and his great desire was to see service in the army. His ancestors had fought on the side of the Stewarts in a cause that had proved hopeless. His one wish was to show equal valour in the ranks of the king's army. A commission was purchased for him in the 43rd Regiment, which he joined in 1787, and from that date his sword was but rarely in its scabbard. His career throughout was an active one. In the expedition of Sir Charles Grey he took part in the capture of the islands of Martinique, St Lucia, and Guadaloupe. In the Peninsular campaign he saw much fighting. He was at the battle of Vimiera, fought in the advance to Salamanca, and took part in the retreat of Corunna. In the Walcheren expedition he was at the head of the first battalion. He distinguished himself in a marked way at the battle of Busaco, of Fuentes d'Onor, and in the sieges of Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, San Sebastian, and Bayonne. He was one of the most trusted officers in the British army. He fully maintained the character of the Clan Cameron given to them by an ancient writer as "the fiercest among the fierce." He received many honours. In 1815 he was one of the first on whom the title K.C.B. was conferred. He was a Knight also of the Tower and Sword of Portugal. In more peaceful times he commanded in Canada and elsewhere. He was lieutenant-general in 1837. He handed on his military genius to his son, Sir Duncan Cameron, who fought at the head of the Black Watch at Balaclava, and afterwards commanded the Highland Brigade in the Crimea.

The other Cameron, Sir Alexander of Inverailort, was born in 1781, and, like the two former warriors we have mentioned, maintained on many a hard-fought field the reputation of his ancestors. After serving in the Breadalbane Fencibles and the

92nd Highlanders, he became lieutenant in the Rifle Brigade, and was present at the taking of Copenhagen. Afterwards he took part in hard fighting with his old regiment the 92nd in Egypt, when he was severely wounded. Like those Inverness-shire men whom we have noticed, he achieved great distinction in the Peninsular war. He was at the battle of Vimiera, took part in the retreat of Sir John Moore, and fought bravely at Corunna. Cameron was always to the front. On one occasion he held a bridge with only two companies against the French army until he received assistance. Many similar and equally gallant deeds are credited to him. During the siege of Torres Vedras he was in responsible command. At the siege of Almeida, the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, at Ciudad Rodrigo, at Badajos, Salamanca, and Vittoria, he and his Rifles were always in advance. At the last engagement he was severely wounded and had to return home. When the war broke out in 1815 he went to Belgium. He was in the thick of the fight at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, where he was again wounded. His latter years were spent peacefully among his native hills. He was made K.C.B. in 1838, and attained the rank of lieutenant-general. At Inverailort "the General," as he was always called, passed his last days, honoured and respected. He died there 26th July 1850. The eulogium passed upon him by a great military authority was a very high one. He was "one of the best officers ever trained by Moore and employed by Wellington."

The fighting clan of Glengarry have sent many brave men into the army, but none more distinguished than Sir James Macdonnell, the third son of Duncan Macdonnell the chief. He entered the service in 1793. In 1795 he was captain in the 17th Dragoons. In 1804 a second battalion was formed for the 78th Ross-shire Buffs, and he was appointed one of the majors. He served with this battalion in Naples, Sicily, and

the descent on Calabria in 1806, and took part in the battle of Mandora and in the expedition to Egypt in 1807. Here he distinguished himself by capturing a Turkish battery at Alexandria. It was a gallant affair, and marked Macdonnell as a daring officer. He became colonel of the 78th in 1809. In 1811 he exchanged into the Coldstream Guards, and served with them in the Peninsula. He fought at Salamanca, Vittoria, Nivelle, and Nive, and was made C.B. in 1815. His great achievement, for which he is honourably mentioned in military annals, was performed on the night before Waterloo, and notably contributed to the success of the famous battle. With some regiments he obtained possession under heavy fire of the chateau of Hougomont, the key to the French position, and held it with great determination. For this deed of arms he received the approbation of Wellington. At one time, when the French were making their way into the courtyard of the chateau, the brave Glengarry man, with the help of some soldiers, closed the gates against the enemy by sheer physical strength. In peaceful times he served in Ireland and in Canada. He became lieutenant-general in 1854, was made G.C.B. in 1855, and died in 1857.

These military heroes of our county achieved their fame in the Napoleonic wars. The one we are about to notice showed in more modern times that he was equally animated by the spirit of his race. Sir Herbert Macpherson, V.C., K.C.B., K.S.I., was born at Ardersier in 1827, of a distinguished military family. He received his education at the Nairn Academy, and in 1845 obtained a commission in the 78th Regiment, of which his father had at one time been in command. He was engaged in the Persian war, 1856-57, under Sir James Outram, and also during the Indian Mutiny, when by his brave conduct at the relief of Lucknow he won the Victoria Cross. When his regiment was ordered home he exchanged into the Bengal Staff Corps, and commanded

a Goorkha regiment and saw much service in the Looshai expedition. At the first advance into Afghanistan he commanded a brigade under Sir Samuel Brown, and so distinguished himself that he was made C.B. He achieved great fame by his conduct in the Khyber Pass, and was with General Roberts in his march to Candahar. For his services in this campaign he was made K.C.B., and on his return to Inverness-shire he received the freedom of the burgh of the county. In the Egyptian campaign under Wolseley he took a prominent part, especially in the famous battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and for his services there and many gallant actions was created Knight of the Star of India. On his return home he received an ovation from his fellow-countymen in Inverness-shire. He was entertained at a public banquet and presented with a Highland claymore. In 1886 he, on his return to India, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Presidency of Madras; and after the first expedition to Burmah had failed, he was sent to that country at the head of a large force to bring about its settlement. With a large flotilla of boats he ascended the river Irawaddy. At Mandalay on the river he contracted fever and had to return to Rangoon. He died on board the steamer by which he was being brought back, on 20th October 1886. His life from first to last was one succession of gallant deeds. Without influence or fortune he reached the front rank of the British army. He was beloved by those who served under him, and in the words of Sir Garnet Wolseley was regarded "as a pillar of strength to any army with which he may be connected." He was as fine a specimen of a Highland soldier as our county ever produced.

Two notices of men who were non-combatants, but who yet distinguished themselves in connection with the army, may conclude this chapter.

Sir James MacGregor, Bart., M.D., was born at Lethendry,

in Strathspey, and was educated as a doctor in the University of Aberdeen. He joined the army as a surgeon, and saw much military service in various parts of the globe, especially in the Peninsular campaign. His eminence as an army medical officer caused him to be appointed afterwards Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, and finally Director-General of the Army Medical Department. In this high office he gained great reputation for his zeal and administrative ability. He was in high favour with the Duke of Wellington, and with the officers charged with the administration of the different military departments. Numerous honours were conferred upon him. He was made a Knight Commander of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, and was permitted by the sovereign to wear the Turkish Order of the Crescent for the part he bore in the Egyptian campaign. In 1831 he was created a baronet, and in 1850 was invested with the Order of a Knight Commander of the Bath. After fifty-seven years spent in active employment he died at London in 1858.

John Cameron was a native of Inverness, and of the family of Kinlochiel. He was a bank clerk in the county town; afterwards he went out to India, where he was in the employment of a mercantile firm in Bombay. He soon began to contribute articles to the 'Bombay Gazette,' and was for a time acting editor of that paper. The Afghan War of 1879 required a special correspondent in the field for the 'Bombay Gazette,' and Cameron accompanied the first campaign in the expedition to Kabul. His letters, from their great descriptive power, attracted much attention; and in the following year, on the renewal of the Afghanistan War, he joined, as correspondent of the London 'Standard,' the column for the relief of Candahar. Journeying night and day, he reached Quetta in seven days after leaving Bombay, having ridden up the Bolan Pass from Lebe in thirty-six hours.

He was the first to ride with the news of General Roberts's victory to the nearest telegraph-post, beating his competitors and the Government couriers by a day and a half. Then, returning with great rapidity to Candahar, he accompanied the first party who went out to the battle-field of Maiwand, and sent home a description of the scene and the fighting which established his reputation as one of the best journalists of his class. Soon after his return to Bombay the Transvaal War broke out. He at once crossed to Natal, arriving there before correspondents from England could reach the spot. He was present at the battles of Laing's Nek and Ingogo, and at the fatal fight on Majuba Hill, when he was knocked down and taken prisoner by the Boers, but contrived on the following day to send home his account of the battle. After peace was concluded in the Transvaal he came to England, but in June 1882 left for Egypt, and was present at the bombardment of Alexandria. He continued with the British forces, describing every engagement that took place with his graphic pen. After service as a journalist in Madagascar and Tonquin, he heard on his way home from the latter place of the threatening of Suakin by the forces of Osman Digna. Leaving his ship at Suez, he made his way to Suakin and accompanied the British expeditionary force, witnessing and describing the battles of El Teb and Tamanieb. After a few weeks' stay in England he started once more for Egypt, and pushed up the Nile with the advanced boats of Lord Wolseley's expedition. On the 19th January 1885 he was shot in the Arab attack on Sir Herbert Stewart's advanced brigade on the march from Abu Klea. His death was much lamented both in journalistic and military circles. He was a true Highlander, as brave as he was clever, fearless of danger, and full of pride in his profession. Such as he maintain, even in our time, the martial spirit by which Inverness-shire men in all periods of

our county's history have been animated. It must be confessed, however, that much of that spirit has now died out. There are not many Inverness-shire men at present in the ranks of the army, though there are still some who keep up the fighting name of their forebears. The crofter will readily serve in the militia, but he holds aloof from the regular army. The recruiting parties that pass with pipes playing through our glens find few to follow them. Few indeed of the clansmen are there, and those few are not like their progenitors, who were men of war "from their youth upwards."

CHAPTER XV.

CHANGES IN THE COUNTY AND AMONG ITS PEOPLE—RENTS OF THE TACKSMEN RAISED — LARGE NUMBERS LEAVE INVERNESS-SHIRE FOR THE COLONIES—PROGRESS OF THE PROCESS OF DEPOPULATION—THE STRONG TIDE OF EMIGRATION TO AMERICA—GOVERNMENT INDUCED TO TRY TO STOP IT—SEND MR TELFORD, ENGINEER, TO REPORT ON THE BEST MEASURES TO BE TAKEN—HIS RECOMMENDATIONS—STRONGLY ADVISES GIVING THE PEOPLE WORK IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS AND A CANAL—CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS AND MAKING OF THE CALEDONIAN CANAL BEGUN IN 1804—THE DIFFERENT LINES OF ROADS DESCRIBED, AND THEIR COST — THE EXCAVATING OF THE CANAL — DIFFICULTY OF THE WORK — IMPEDIMENTS SURMOUNTED — OPENING OF THE NEW WATERWAY—ITS COST—THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS TO INVERNESS-SHIRE OF THESE UNDERTAKINGS—INCREASE IN THE VALUE OF PROPERTY—THE TOWN OF INVERNESS MAKES A NEW START — A GREAT RECORD OF IMPROVEMENT—THE GREAT WOOL FAIR ESTABLISHED—EMIGRATION NOT STOPPED BY THE GOVERNMENT WORKS—PERIOD OF SHEEP-FARMING BEGINS — LANDLORDS BEGIN TO EVICT — DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE EARLIER AND LATER EMIGRATIONS—THE GLENGARRY EVICTIONS—THE COUNTRY SWEPT BARE OF THE INHABITANTS — A TRAGIC STORY AT BEST.

WHILE men from every part of Inverness-shire were embodied in the military forces of the country, and many of them were gallantly fighting in distant lands, a great change was taking place among the people at home. As we have already noticed, society in Inverness-shire and the Highlands generally was divided into three great classes. First there were the landowners or superiors, then the tacksmen or wadsetters, and lastly the subtenants holding their lands from the middlemen and paying them their rent. These subtenants corresponded

to the crofters of the present day. The laird received his rent from the middleman, and could depend on his service in time of war. He was generally an officer of the clan, and in most cases also a relative of the landowner. He lived in considerable comfort, and drew rents from the subtenants.

With the opening up of the country and the consequent rise in the price of cattle the landlord began to improve his position, either by increasing the rents of the tacksman, or by dispensing with him altogether and drawing his rents directly from the subtenants. Wadsets were in many cases redeemed, while leases as they expired were not renewed. Thus the middlemen were obliged to find a new home for themselves. They emigrated in large numbers to America and elsewhere, taking with them in most cases many of those of the humbler class who had hitherto been their dependants and followers. This emigration on the part of the latter was not in consequence of what in our day is termed "eviction." It was spontaneous, and was stoutly opposed at first by the lairds. But it was widespread, whole districts were depopulated, and sheep-farmers from the South began to take possession of the vacated lands. Where they appeared on the scene most of the small tenants who had not emigrated were forced to remove to the seashore, to take refuge in the towns and villages, or to follow their former neighbours to other lands.

The process of depopulation began as early as 1759, when many from the western parts of Inverness-shire emigrated to North Carolina. That province became so thoroughly Celtic in some of its parts that many of the negroes acquired Gaelic and attended the ministrations of the Gaelic-speaking ministers. It is said that one of the early emigrants, being addressed on arriving in Gaelic by a black man, exclaimed in tones of horror in the same language, "God of grace! will we all become like him?"

As time went on, other districts besides North Carolina were chosen by the departing Inverness-shire Highlanders for their new home. In 1773 a newspaper informs us that three gentlemen of the name of Macdonnell, with their families and 400 Highlanders from Glengarry, Glenmoriston, Glenurquhart, and Strathglass, embarked for America, having obtained a grant of land in Albany. In the same year a vessel left Fort William for America with 425 men, women, and children from Knoydart, Lochaber, Appin, Mamore, and Fort William. A few days previous to their departure 250 emigrants sailed from Fort George, and 308 of the Macdonnells of Glengarry embarked at Fort William for America. The son of The Glenaladale, who had been out in the '45, sold his lands, and with his tenantry set out for Prince Edward's Island. In 1786 a devoted priest, the Rev. Alexander Macdonald, of the family of Scotos, who had laboured in Canada, reached Quebec with a party of nearly 600 men from the Glengarry estate. Later on they were followed by many others from the same district, and founded a new Glengarry in Upper Canada, calling their farms by the names of places in the old glen. In 1801 three vessels left the west coast for Pictou with 799 emigrants from the Aird, Strathglass, Urquhart, Glengarry, Knoydart, Arisaig, Moidart, and Lochaber. In 1803 eleven vessels left different ports for the same destination.

These statistics are sufficient to show how strongly the tide of emigration flowed from the North of Scotland to the American continent towards the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. This nomadic movement was viewed by many with alarm. That patriotic body the Highland Society of London took into careful consideration the process of depopulation, and by their influence the Government were induced to take steps to stay if possible—we quote from the report of a committee of the House of Commons—"that

emigration which will deprive the country of its hardiest and bravest protectors, who have distinguished themselves most conspicuously on sea and land." The first proceeding of the Government was to appoint Mr Telford, the celebrated engineer, to report on the state of the Highlands, to ascertain the causes of emigration and the means of preventing it, and the best methods of opening up and improving the country. Accordingly Mr Telford came down to the North, and in 1803 he made a very complete and exhaustive report. He amply corroborates what we have said as to the extensive emigration. About 3000 persons, he tells us, had left the Highlands in 1802, and three times that number were preparing to go in the year in which he writes. The most powerful cause of emigration, in his opinion, was "the converting large districts of the country into extensive sheep-walks. This not only requires much fewer people to manage the same tract of country, but in general an entirely new people who have been accustomed to this mode of life have been brought from the southern part of Scotland."

Mr Telford, however, enters with considerable hesitation on the question of whether Government should interfere to prevent emigration. He states the two views on the subject with which we are familiar at the present day, but is particularly careful not to state his own. On the one hand, he points out that it is the interest of the empire that this district be made to produce as much human food as it is capable of doing at the least possible expense, and this may be done by stocking it chiefly with sheep; and though some temporary inconveniences may arise, yet upon the whole matters will in the end adjust themselves. On the other hand, he points out that it is a great hardship, if not a great injustice, that the inhabitants of an extensive district should all at once be driven from their native country to make way for sheep-farming, which is

likely to be carried on to an imprudent extent; that in a few years this excess will be evident, but before it is discovered the country will be depopulated, and the race of people which has maintained so honourable a share in the operations of our armies and navies will be no more. Having stated these opposite views temperately enough, he presses upon the Government a project about which there could, he thought, be no dispute. Public works would prove beneficial to the country whether it was to be inhabited by men or by sheep. If anything could stop emigration, plenty of work at home would do so. The building of bridges, the making of roads, and, above all, the construction of the Caledonian Canal, which had often been projected, would give employment to large numbers of people, and would accomplish "all the leading objects which can reasonably be looked forward to for the improvement and future welfare of the country."

It was fortunate for our shire that Mr Telford's practical suggestions commended themselves to the Government. In 1804 the construction of the Highland roads and bridges and of the Caledonian Canal was begun simultaneously. General Wade had done much for Inverness-shire in the way of road-making, but Mr Telford and his subordinates far excelled that celebrated officer. Main lines of roads were successively constructed, branching westward at right angles to the great Caledonian Glen, from Fort William to Arisaig on the west coast, from Invergarry through Glengarry to Loch Hourn head on the west, and from Invermoriston through Glenmoriston to Glenshiel and Loch Duich. On the east side of the Caledonian Glen a line of road was constructed from Fort William up Loch Laggan side to join the military road at Pitmain; also a road from Grantown on the east side of the Spey, with a new iron bridge across the river at Craigellachie. On the east side of Loch Ness a

line of road was made through Inverfarigaig, and the Highland road was altered and a new road constructed from Moy to Inverness and from Inverness to Dingwall, with a branch from Beauly up the valley of Strathglass.

The traveller who is smoothly carried along these splendid highways can have little idea of the cost and labour expended in constructing them. The works were spread over a wide extent of country where there were no inns or habitations of any kind, and where those engaged were exposed to a rude and boisterous climate. The cost was great. The expenditure on new roads and bridges amounted to £540,000, of which £267,000 was furnished by the Government, the balance being contributed by the counties and by individuals. Of this sum a goodly portion came to Inverness-shire. The work of construction went on for about seventeen years, and in 1821 it was brought to a close. The benefit to the country has been incalculable.

The feasibility of making a canal through the Great Glen of Albyn and uniting the Moray Firth with Loch Linnhe had often been discussed before Telford took the matter in hand. A famous Highland seer in the beginning of the seventeenth century is said to have prophesied, "The time will come, and it is not far off, when full-rigged ships will be sailing eastward and westward by Muirton and Tomnahurich." Mr Burt in his famous Letters, in describing the Great Glen and its chain of lakes, alludes to the possibility of a canal being some day constructed. To him it seemed "an incredible expense to cut fourteen navigable miles in so rocky a country"; and there was, to his mind, even a stronger objection than the expense: "The whole opening lies in so direct a line, and the mountains that bound it are so high; the wind is confined, as it were, in the nozzle of a pair of bellows, so that, let it blow from what quarter it will without the opening, it never

varies much from east to west. This would render navigation so precarious that hardly any would venture on it." Mr Pennant also in his 'Tour' decides against the possibility of the undertaking: "It is supposed to be practicable, but at a vast expense—at an expense beyond the power of N. Britain to effect, except it could realise those sums which the wishes of a few of its sons had attained in idea." The doubters, however, had little conception of the marvels which modern engineering, backed by the resources of the national Exchequer, are capable of effecting.

Mr Telford and a gentleman associated with him, Mr William Jessop, began their work in 1804 and prosecuted it vigorously to its close. It was proposed by Mr Telford that the intended canal should be formed of a size to admit the largest class of British and American traders, or such as on occasions of emergency a 32-gun frigate fully equipped could pass along. In order that this might be done, it was contemplated that a uniform depth of 20 feet of water would be necessary, with locks measuring 170 feet long by 40 feet in width. Mr Telford's estimate for executing the work on this scale amounted to no more than £350,000, and the period of its completion was computed at seven years.

The length of the canal is sixty miles forty chains, of which forty miles are lakes. The summit level of Loch Oich, the central lake, is 100 feet above the sea at high-water mark at Inverness and Fort William. The canal was constructed 110 feet wide at top and 50 feet at bottom, with a permanent depth of 20 feet of water throughout, having a basin of 20 acres in extent at Inverness, with storage and warehouse accommodation. The summit level is passed by the construction of twenty-eight locks 170 feet, and, when two or more are contiguous, 180 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 28 feet deep.

The difficulties experienced by the constructors were great, and it was only by skill and perseverance that they were finally overcome. Perhaps the chief difficulty was the regulating and controlling the great rivers and innumerable streams that pour into the three lakes forming part of the waterway. The drainage area extends to about 1200 square miles of mountainous country, with extended valleys like that of Glengarry, containing vast lakes to the right and left of it. From these valleys at times heavy floods come down with terrible violence. These water-courses had to be controlled and regulated, and to do so required no small foresight and calculation.

Loch Lochy, ten miles long, had to be raised permanently 9 feet, and a new passage for the river cut through the solid rock. Loch Oich, three and three-quarter miles, and Loch Dochfour, had to be dredged and made of the required depth of 20 feet. At the west end a large stream had to be brought under the canal by three arches. Inlets and outlets for streams had to be constructed at different parts. Great embankments and cuttings had often to be made in mossy and gravelly ground, and the difficulty of rendering them water-tight in the gravelly and sandy soil peculiar to some of the localities was very great. At Fort Augustus the gravel was found to be so open that the lock, which was to be 24 feet under the loch-level, was impossible, and the river had to be diverted and the canal locks built on the rocks where the river formerly ran.

The construction of the locks, particularly at the entrance to the sea and the lakes, was a matter of considerable difficulty. At the western end the lock was formed by a coffer-dam on the solid rock, so as to give the clear waterway of 20 feet throughout the canal. About two miles from this entrance a series of nine locks was constructed, elevating the canal 72 feet in height, which Telford christened "Neptune's

Staircase," and which still bears that name. The most difficult feat of all was the construction of the sea-lock at Inverness. To obtain the required depth of 20 feet at all times, it had to be extended into the sea about 900 yards; and there, on an artificial mound over a bed of mud 60 feet deep, it was founded and built.

These technical engineering details, for which we are chiefly indebted to the late Mr Joseph Mitchell, C.E., who was closely connected with the work, may serve to show how much of skill and patient labour were expended on it. The expense far exceeded the original estimate. An enormous rise, owing to the war with France, had taken place in the prices of all descriptions of commodities as well as of food, and consequently of labour and workmanship. From the year when the canal works were commenced to the years 1812 and 1813 the difference in many articles had increased to 50, 70, and even 100 per cent. Labourers, whose wages in 1803 were from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. per day, received in 1814 2s. 4d. and 2s. 6d. Native timber rose from 10d. to 14d. per foot, and finally to 3s. 6d. per cubic foot; Baltic timber from 2s. 6½d. to 7s.; oak from 5s. to 10s. and 12s. This rise immensely increased the cost of the undertaking.

Another source of unlooked-for expenditure is to be attributed to the great extent of dredging, a process hitherto untried on so large a scale. It was on the Caledonian Canal that steam-power was first applied to this operation. The excavation of Loch Oich in particular was most difficult, from the vast number of oak-trees, some of them 10 feet to 12 feet diameter, that had in the course of ages been carried down by the river Garry and were embedded in the bottom of the lake, forming a network of trees and branches difficult to penetrate.

Many unforeseen difficulties occurred to prevent the canal

being opened until several years after the time originally contemplated. The first passage from sea to sea was accomplished in a steamboat on the 23rd and 24th October 1822 in thirteen hours. On this occasion a large party of county magnates —the magistrates of Inverness and others—made the voyage. The vessel started amid music and the firing of guns. A grand display took place in Lochaber. "A large bonfire was lit, and a plentiful supply of whisky was given by the gentlemen of Fort William, who with genuine Highland enthusiasm prolonged the festivities of that memorable evening."

Though the canal was opened for traffic in 1822, it was by no means completed. Up to that time the cost had been £645,000. It was not till 1843 that the work was really finished as it stands to-day. The disbursements in connection with the undertaking had then reached the enormous sum of £1,300,000, while the whole revenue up to that date was only about £80,000.

Though the canal had been by no means a profitable undertaking so far as shown in the profits reaped by the Government, it certainly benefited the Highlands generally. Relays of nearly 3000 Highlanders received employment during the time of its construction. The making of the roads, which went on at the same time, must have given occupation to probably as many more. The lairds who owned the lands through which the canal passed received considerable sums of money.

The results of these great undertakings were well summarised in a report to Government in 1828 by Mr Joseph Mitchell, who with his father had taken a chief part in carrying on the works. He shows that a great change had been already effected in the North, and especially in Invernessshire, perhaps unparalleled in the same space of time in the history of any country. Before the commencement of the

present century no public coach or regular vehicle of conveyance existed in the Highlands. In the year 1800 it had been attempted to establish coaches between Inverness and Perth, and between Inverness and Aberdeen; but from the state of the roads at that period, and the little intercourse that then took place, it had been necessary to discontinue them after a short trial. It was not until 1806 and 1811 that coaches were regularly established in these directions. After the completion of the parliamentary works, they began to run from and to Inverness with great frequency. Forty-four coaches arrived at, and the same number departed from, Inverness every week. Postchaises and other modes of travelling increased proportionally. Instead of five postchaises, which was the number kept in Inverness about the year 1803, there were in 1828 upwards of a dozen, besides two establishments for the hire of gigs and horses, all of which found sufficient employment.

The number of private carriages at Inverness and its vicinity increased. In 1715 the first coach or chariot seen in Inverness is said to have been brought by the Earl of Seaforth, and was an object of wonder and veneration to the inhabitants. In 1760 the first postchaise was brought to Inverness, and was the only four-wheeled carriage in the district. Soon after the roads were finished there were four manufactories for coaches in the burgh.

With facilities for travel, inns were established on all the principal roads, and in the remotest parts of the county the traveller found accommodation and the means of continuing his journey. Regular carriers for the conveyance of goods passed at all seasons of the year from one place to another. A postal service reaching to the extremes of the county was also established.

A great increase in the value of property took place almost

immediately on the completion of these improvements. In Inverness and its vicinity the increase was in several cases tenfold. The lands of Markinch, situated between the town and the canal, were rented at the beginning of the century for £70 and £80; in 1828 their rental amounted to £600. The estates of The Chisholm rose from £700 in 1785 to £5000 per annum. When the chief of Glengarry died in 1788 his yearly income did not exceed £800; the same lands in 1828 yielded from £6000 to £7000 a-year.

The town of Inverness specially benefited by the works completed by the Government. It received an impetus to its prosperity the force of which has not yet slackened. The prosperity of the burgh may be said to date from 1785, when Mr Inglis, the provost, a man of ability and public spirit, carried out improvements of considerable importance, tending much to the wellbeing and civilisation of the people. In 1791 the Royal Academy was erected by voluntary subscription, many sons of Inverness in the colonies contributing large sums. In the same year the gaol was built at an expense of £3350, a theatre was erected, and the streets were paved.

Steamboat communications were established between Inverness and the west coast and Glasgow, as well as between Inverness and Leith on the east coast. "The increasing wants of the inhabitants of Inverness," says Mr Mitchell in 1825, "sufficiently prove their increasing wealth. Since their closer connection with the southern counties a rapid change has taken place in the general state of society. The manufacture of hempen and woollen cloths was commenced, churches and chapels of various sects were built, Missionary and Bible Societies established, schools endowed, an infirmary erected, reading-rooms established, subscription libraries set on foot, two newspapers instituted weekly, and

a horticultural, a literary, and various other professional and philanthropical institutions were founded. Two additional banks were likewise instituted, three iron-foundries and three rope and sail manufactories commenced, an additional bridge was constructed, the harbour was enlarged and improved, the town was lighted with gas, and all within the last twenty-five or thirty years."

This is a great record, and shows a wonderful change in the brave little burgh from the time when Col of the Cows threatened it with destruction. It shows also how the opening up of the country, and the bringing North and South into close connection, had proved a source of wealth. One item of improvement is specially noticed in the report to which we have been referring: "In no instance is the benefit arising from facility of communication more apparent than in the establishment in 1817 of the great annual sheep and wool market at this central point of the Highlands, to which all the sheep-farmers resort from the remotest parts of the country. Here the whole fleeces and sheep of the north of Scotland are generally sold or contracted for in the way of consignments, and in 1818 upwards of 100,000 stones of wool and 150,000 sheep were sold at very advanced prices. This circumstance affords a striking proof of the advantage of lines of communication in facilitating the exportation and sale of the staple commodities of the country."

The great works of the Government certainly brought wealth to Inverness-shire and to its capital, but they had not the result their construction was primarily intended to produce. They were undertaken principally to prevent the depopulation of the country, and that they certainly did not do. They scarcely retarded it at all. While the roads were being made and the canal was being dug the hive still continued to swarm, and vessels came to western lochs and to the Moray

Firth and spread their sails with their living freight for lands beyond the sea.

It is probable, indeed, that the wealth the public works brought into the country, and the employment they gave the inhabitants, would have in the end induced the people to remain at home, and might have stemmed the outgoing tide had not other forces come into operation. The landlords began to compel the people to go, and the period of evictions began. The early emigrants were in many instances men of means. They emigrated with the view of acquiring a position of independence abroad which they did not expect to obtain at home. The outgoing band was generally headed by a man in whom they had confidence. Many of them went to join colonies of friends and relations on the other side of the Atlantic. They were buoyant with hope. The earlier emigrations were to a certain extent comparatively cheerful. When Glengarry tried to keep his people at home, the poet Burns denounced him as a tyrant, and the Highland Society as in league with Beelzebub in preventing the people from making their escape from the slavery of their lords and masters. Those who left Inverness-shire in those days went forth bravely in search of freedom and independence. But the later emigrants had none of the spirit and the enthusiasm of the pioneers. They were the crofters whom the tacksmen had left behind, who were dependent directly on the laird, and when he forced them to emigrate they left their native land with heavy hearts.

We are not called, fortunately, to write in full the final clearing out of the Inverness-shire people from their native glens. It is a painful story, and it would be painful to narrate it. The Glengarry evictions in 1853 are still fresh in the remembrance of many. The estate was possessed by a minor, and his mother, the widow of the late chief, who managed it,

determined to evict every crofter on her property and make room for sheep. They were all served with summonses of removal, a message being sent to them that they would be conveyed to Australia. Finally, as it was not convenient to transport them to that country, they were told that they would be taken to North America. Scenes of the most heartrending description ensued. Some who refused to go had their houses burnt and levelled to the ground; no mercy whatever was shown them. Whole families were left exposed to the weather without shelter of any kind. The district they inhabited is to-day to a large extent a wilderness where only sheep and wild animals are to be met with, with the few keepers and shepherds needful for their management.

Other evictions took place—unaccompanied, so far as we know, by the cruelty inflicted on the people of Glengarry. At one time only two of the ancient native stock remained in possession of an inch of land on the estate of Chisholm, which in the olden days was the abode of a numerous clan. In 1849 more than 500 souls left Glenelg at once. Glen Dessary and Loch Arkaig side were swept bare. So the clearing of the glens went on, and sheep took the place of men over a wide district of Inverness-shire.

It is not for us, who are not writing philosophy or political economy but history, to moralise on this great change. Undoubtedly there is something tragic in the story. It may be true that the people could not exist in comfort in their own wilds, and were subject to periodic visitations of famine, and that in other lands those who emigrated have found ample means of sustenance, and in many cases have exchanged poverty for wealth; but it must be remembered that it was not to promote their comfort that they were sent away, but too often to satisfy the greed of those who dispossessed them, and in not a few instances they were evicted from

lands fertile enough to have sustained them in comparative comfort.

The few of the original stock of Inverness-shire peasantry, descendants of the old clans, who still remain as crofters, have had much done for them in our own time, and legislation has ameliorated their condition and given them security in their holdings. On many estates they are treated with kindness, and derive a comfortable subsistence from their industry. But those one sees to-day are only the fag-end, the poor remnants of a great people, the vestiges of a soldier race for ever passed away. Political economy has been sarcastically termed "the dismal science." If it be invoked to defend what has been done in Inverness-shire its dismalness appears to be beyond a doubt.

CHAPTER XVI.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS OF THE COUNTY—HIGHLAND FARMING IN THE OLDEN TIME—THE MONKS OF BEAULY AND THEIR CIVILISING INFLUENCE—THE PEAR-TREE IN THEIR GARDEN—THE PEASANT A SOLDIER, NOT AN AGRICULTURIST—CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT IN THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY—COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF THE COUNTY BY DR JAMES ROBERTSON FOR THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE — HIS REPORT TO BE DEPENDED ON—DISCUSSES THE POSSIBILITY OF CULTIVATING THE MOORS — CERTAIN MOORLANDS SPECIFIED BY HIM — HIS ESTIMATE OF THE PROPRIETORS—THE LAND-TENURES EXISTING—THE HOUSES OF THE PROPRIETORS AND FARMERS—THE METHODS OF FARMING—RUNRIG—OUTFIELD AND INFIELD—FOUR CLASSES OF FARMERS—THE MORAL CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE—THE RENTS PAYABLE BY TENANTS—THE RELIEF OF THE POOR AND ABSENCE OF POOR-RATES—THE IMPLEMENTS OF HUSBANDRY—THE CROPS CULTIVATED—PLANTING OF TREES—SHEEP-BREEDING—THE KELP INDUSTRY—THE VILLAGES—CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM DR ROBERTSON'S REPORT—HIS REPORT CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF MR MACDONALD IN 1872—GENERAL PROGRESS AND INCREASE IN RENTAL—INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF GOOD STEADINGS — CHARACTER OF THE LEASES GIVEN — IMPROVEMENT IN AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS—EXTENSION OF PLANTATIONS—FAILURE OF KELP—ESTABLISHMENT OF POOR-RATES—THE CROPS PRINCIPALLY CULTIVATED — INCREASE OF DEER FORESTS — PRESENT VALUE OF PROPERTY.

PROGRESS IN THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE—EDUCATION IN THE OLDEN TIME—IMMENSE IMPROVEMENT CAUSED BY THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1872 — NEW BUILDINGS AND GOVERNMENT GRANTS — SECONDARY EDUCATION—GREAT PROGRESS OF ENLIGHTENMENT IN MODERN TIMES—THE MORALITY OF THE PEOPLE SHOWN BY THE RETURNS OF THE REGISTRAR-GENERAL—THEIR ATTENTION TO RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

INVERNESS-SHIRE can hardly be said, either in past or present times, to take a high place as regards agriculture. In its population it stands as about the tenth county in Scotland, and it is doubtful whether its agricultural produce would

entitle it to a higher position. Yet agriculture has made considerable progress in Inverness-shire since the beginning of the present century, and especially since the making of the Caledonian Canal and those roads spoken of in our last chapter. Of that progress it is right something should here be said.

The first Inverness-shire agriculturists were probably the monks of Beauly. The monastic orders devoted much of their time to agriculture. Their lands were always the best tilled in Scotland. The approach to a monastery anywhere in the kingdom could be always traced by the fertile fields around it. The woods, enclosed and protected, were of loftier growth, the meadows and corn-lands better cultivated. The population inhabiting the Church lands were more active, industrious, and prosperous than those on the lands either of the Crown or of the feudal nobility. The monks of Beauly were no exception to the general rule. It was probably to them—to their labours and their teaching—that the neighbourhood of the Priory and the Aird of Inverness-shire owed that beauty and fertility which still distinguish those districts, and which is noticed by our earliest travellers. One of the few traditions of the conventual life on the banks of the Beauly that have come down to us tells of the fame of the brotherhood as horticulturists. They often, it is said, got six chalders of good fruit off their orchard; and the old minister of Kirkhill, writing in 1662, tells us that "he heard old men declare that one tree in the orchard paid the teind—that is, carried ten bolls of pears, which were shaken and measured in pecks and firlots, good ripe fruit." We may be sure that like labour and skill to that with which they tended their apple and pear trees were also spent on the land of which they were the owners.

But though the neighbourhood of the monastery was always

an object-lesson to the rest of the county, it does not seem to have produced much effect. The clansman dwelling among the mountains was certainly no agriculturist. He was a soldier, and the sword came more naturally to his hand than the plough or the reaping-hook. The conditions of his life, not to speak of the character of the soil, prevented him giving much attention to the tillage of the fields. Glenurquhart, like the Aird, was always fertile and cultivated, but other valleys had little in this respect to boast of. A scanty and imperfect cultivation of corn was limited to detached patches of arable ground among the rocks. Cattle were the main resources of the tribe, and the acquisition of these the great object of their forays. Their precarious crops gave them wherewithal to bake their oaten cakes and distil their ale or whisky, and they sought nothing more. Their corn was produced with or without manure, as that could or could not be procured. When the land had been scourged by a repetition of grain crops till it could bear no longer, it was allowed to go waste till it gained what was called *heart* enough to allow it to be cultivated again.

When peaceful times came to Inverness-shire more attention was bestowed on the tillage of the land, and at the beginning of the present century considerable improvement had been made. In 1795 a Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement for Scotland was instituted. In the years immediately succeeding surveys of the different counties were made by competent persons; and in 1813 a very comprehensive report was sent in to the Board and published, giving "a general view of the agriculture of Inverness, with observations on the means of its improvement." The author of this report was the Rev. James Robertson, minister at Callander. He seems to have been as familiar with the processes of agriculture as with the doctrines of theology. He was a practical farmer, well

acquainted with the Highlands, and speaking the Gaelic language. Though his style is somewhat Johnsonian, and his ideas of turning the moors into fertile fields utopian, yet his report, on the whole, may be depended upon. It was evidently the result of careful and personal examination. Dr Robertson visited every part of the county from Fort George to Moidart and Arisaig. He went to most inaccessible places, and on one occasion he and his guide had to sleep all night in pouring rain under the shelter of some friendly rocks. The picture he gives of the agricultural state of the county is not without considerable interest, if only that we may contrast it with the state of things at the present day.

After a general description of the county, its divisions, climate, and soil, Dr Robertson takes up and discusses the possibility of cultivating the moors which have a favourable climate—"the low-lying ground covered with a short heath, which grows upon a thin stratum of peat-earth, with a subsoil of gravel or till." These moors he found both numerous and extensive, and he believed them to be capable of being brought under cultivation. He specifies particularly those on the sides of the Lochy and the Spean rivers; the low ground between Loch Oich and Fort Augustus; at the entrance into Urquhart from Invermoriston; above Loch Meikle in the Braes of Urquhart; at the western entrance into the Aird; betwixt the church of Kiltarlity and the house of Beaufort, a most inviting plot of ground just at the proprietor's door; betwixt Inverness and the nearest end of Loch Ness; in the parish of Croy, the extensive moor of Culloden, and westward to Stratherrick, and many miles in that strath and in Strathnairn. Many of the moors he mentions are now cultivated, others remain still as they were. At Cantray great improvements were already in progress, "affording ocular and decisive evidence of what can be made of such moors, to

what account they may be turned, and what beauty our other black and barren spots may by human industry be made to display." The reporter believed that when rendered productive they would support two-fifths of the present population.

Of the deep mosses that abound in the county he was not so hopeful, though he was sanguine enough to believe that even they might be so treated as to furnish a good return for money laid out upon them; and he mentions the fact that Colonel Fraser of Belladrum had a deep moss at the time under a state of progressive improvement.

Of the proprietors of Inverness-shire he formed a high opinion, both as to their intelligence and their desire to benefit their tenantry: "They were distinguished no less by their improved talents and the politeness of their manners than by the opulence of their fortunes. For the most part they have filled high offices in the army, and now enjoy rural ease, equally respected by their sovereign and beloved by their country. They were full of desire to cultivate and adorn their properties." He divides the proprietors into five classes. There were five with estates exceeding £3000 Scots valuation, three with estates from £1000 to £3000, twelve from £400 to £1000, seventeen from £100 to £400, and seven under £100. This shows that a considerable portion of the county had been broken up into properties of more moderate size than those of the old feudal chiefs, many of whom still continued to reside in the county.

The land-tenures were of three kinds: Baronial rights, which were reserved by ancient families over their vassals under the name of superiorities; twenty-six estates which were held of the Crown, and acknowledged no superiors; and a third class held of a subject upon condition of paying a stipulated feu-duty in money, victual, or other articles. Wadsets, which

at one period were numerous, had become almost extinct, and had been changed into ordinary leases.

The houses of the proprietors were large and elegant, and generally of modern construction; but Castle Grant in Strathspey, and The Chisholm's castle at the confluence of the Glass and the Farrar, were of older date, and instead of being deserted, which is the fate of many others, were in high repair, enlarged and ornamented. The farmhouses and offices were not so admirable. Those dwelling-houses built for gentlemen or the wealthier sort of tenants were well constructed and substantially built, but those of the poorer tenants were in most places "mean beyond description. The inhabitants were too poor for the most part to build them properly, and the landlord cared nothing about the matter, his only object being to gratify the cravings of luxury and to secure his rent."

Wherever good houses were built for the accommodation of the farmer's family, the offices were in the same style of excellence. There was hardly a district of the county where a certain number of these were not to be found, in some more, in others less. The offices attached to the proprietors' houses were for the most part excellent, and those of Newton and Belladrum receive special commendation. Those of the farms were very indifferent. "The fact is," says Dr Robertson, "and it must give pain to a feeling heart, that there is too great an interval between the higher and the lower order of tenantry. The former are very comfortable in all their accommodations, very intelligent in their conversation, polite in their manners, and hospitable in their houses; the latter are deprived of these comforts, but have an understanding to discern and an acuteness to feel their wretchedness, which fills them with anguish."

The methods of farming were not such as generally com-

mended themselves to Dr Robertson. A number of farmers working together about the same ploughgate of land, their houses huddled together in the same group, all their ground in alternate ridges, and their possessions without enclosures, betokened, in his opinion, a low state of agriculture. From this condition the southern counties had emerged, but in Inverness-shire much remained to be done to change this feudal aspect of the county. In many parts the change from alternate ridges, called *runrig*, had only been lately introduced. In some places it had not been yet adopted; and in one district the practice from time immemorial had been for every farmer to hold his share of infield during a very limited period, generally three years, which then passed into the possession of another. The denominations of outfield and infield still prevailed over one-half of the arable land of the county. The outfields were manured by the dung of the cattle confined in folds overnight during the summer and autumn, and then cropped while the land could produce any grain. The infields got all the house-dung, and were cropped alternately with barley and oats, or frequently with two crops of oats after the barley. According to this ancient system all the contiguous tenants of the same landlord used their hill-grass in common through the whole year.

Our agriculturist deeply deplored this primitive system of farming, though it was some comfort to him that in a few districts the "dawn of improvement" had begun to appear. It certainly was very faint yet, but his hope was that when the light of knowledge in rural affairs began to be diffused things might become greatly changed for the better.

There were at this time four classes of farmers in the county. A few, but very few, were technical-bred farmers who had been regularly instructed in farming from their youth,

and who followed no other employment. A second class consisted of gentlemen who had no landed property, but who took farms partly for pleasure and partly for profit. Many of them had been in the army and navy, and wished to pass the remainder of their time in the enjoyment of the pleasures of rural life. The most numerous class by far were those whose fathers and grandfathers for generations followed the plough. Having never left their native country, nor seen the practice of agriculture superior to their own, they seldom or never attempted to improve their farms or amend their circumstances. Besides these classes there were others who possessed an arable farm in one district and a grazing in another. Such men were of an active and enterprising disposition.

Dr Robertson speaks highly of the moral character of the people. It had greatly improved. The crimes of bloodshed, rapine, and plunder carried on during the feuds of former ages were never heard of. The domestic and social virtues were now revered and cultivated by all ranks, and the comforts of life were enjoyed by the higher orders as much as in any country. Even the condition of the lower ranks in these respects was never so happy, "were it not the frenzy which had seized the common people to emigrate." The law was everywhere dominant. Single individuals travelled unarmed in all directions throughout the Highlands to purchase cattle, with thousands of pounds in their pockets, without dread or annoyance.

Rents had risen considerably. Near the county town, where ground was measured and for the most part enclosed, land which was formerly let at £1 sterling per acre yielded a rent of £4. The pasture of a full-grown sheep in the grazing district, which formerly used to be valued at 1s., was estimated at 3s. or 4s. In the best cultivated provinces, from

the head of the Beauly river along the coast to Fort George, the rent of farms in general was from £10 to £200. In some places of Strath Lochy, Glen Spean, and Badenoch, where the arable and grazing systems were combined and the farms extensive, the disproportion in the size of farms was carried a greater length, the rents of the great tacksmen being higher in proportion to that of the small tenants in their neighbourhood. While the former paid from £300 to £500, the rents of the latter ran from £5 to £20.

There was no such thing as poor-rates. The poor were provided for from the charitable collections of the people at church, the interest of sums bequeathed for their use by pious and wealthy persons, occasional donations by benevolent people, certain dues for the proclamation of banns, fines for breaches of decorum, and the charge for use of the mortcloth at funerals. Those funds were managed by the minister of the parish and his elders under the control of the heritors of the parish. The poor had an honest pride and reluctance to accept alms. Many of them preferred to suffer the most terrible distress, to the very danger of perishing, rather than become mendicants. In Dr Robertson's travels through Inverness-shire not more than ten beggars solicited charity from him on the public road.

The duration of leases in the county differed in various districts and estates. Some were of only seven years' duration, while others were prolonged to thirty. Nineteen years was more general than any other term, and that mostly on grazing possessions. The greater part of the small tenants had no leases. The landlords of the estates believed the people would be more submissive in such dependence than if their possessions were warranted by a valid agreement for a term of years.

The implements of husbandry were for the most part of a

primitive character. In the western part of the county the *caschrom*, or spade with the crooked handle, was in general use. Harrows with wooden teeth; cart-wheels unshod with iron; tumblers, *currans* or *currachs*, to carry home corn and hay; baskets for carrying out dung, another kind of basket for carrying home peats; sledges for particular carriages, and many instruments of the same rude construction, were used in various districts of the county. On gentlemen's farms harrows for breaking coarse ground, drill-barrows, threshing-machines, and carts of various construction, might be found; but very few of the common tenantry showed any inclination to adopt the style of dressing their ground which rendered these implements necessary. Horses or oxen were employed promiscuously in the plough; sometimes as many as eight oxen were yoked to one plough.

Potatoes were extensively cultivated, and every householder, from the highest to the lowest orders of the people, had potatoes for his family. On the west coast the seaware was collected most industriously, for the purpose of manuring. Wheat was grown to some small extent, chiefly in the parish of Kirkhill. In the Aird a few beans were cultivated. At Keppoch Mr Macdonald had an excellent crop of peas, and at Aberchalder, near Loch Oich, and in general east from the great valley of the Caledonian Canal except Badenoch, pease constituted a part of the farmer's crop. Barley or bere was generally sown. Of all the grains, oats were by far the most abundant. Flax was not much cultivated except in Badenoch. Turnips were grown, and every person who wished to be thought an improver of land sowed more or less field turnips. Rye was cultivated in a few districts, and the poor, who adhered to old modes of farming, sowed a good deal when they despaired of the land making any return even in oats.

The planting of trees had made great progress. The planted firs and larches of Strathspey, besides the natural firs, were supposed to extend over 7000 acres, and at Kinrara, Invereshie, Belville, Cluny, and other parts of Badenoch, and in many other places, plantations were both extensive and thriving.

Sheep, as we have seen, were largely bred. The old indigenous sheep—small, fine-woolled, and altogether white—were very numerous. Stocks of Cheviot sheep were gaining ground, introduced by the sheep-farmers from the South who had taken up the cleared grounds.

There was no regular deer-forest in all the county when Dr Robertson made his survey, except that of Lochiel. The great forest of Gaick, the property of the Duke of Gordon, had been lately dismantled and turned into a sheep-walk.

Kelp was largely made on the coast, and brought in a large revenue. Public manufactures were inconsiderable. But the domestic manufacture of the county was large. Upwards of 60,000 of the inhabitants out of a population of 74,000 might be said to be clothed by their home-spun and home-wrought stuffs of various kinds.

The principal village in the county was Maryburgh, or, as it is now called, Fort William. It contained about 2000 souls, and, owing to the dispossession of the people in the adjacent Highlands, its population was growing. The houses were built on feus from the Duke of Gordon, and many of them were two storeys high. The village of Campbeltown, near Fort George, was next in importance. Its population was about 350. Kingussie was a village lately begun in Badenoch, and promised to rise fast into consequence owing to the encouragement given to settlers and "the richness of the adjacent country." A village had also been established at Beauly by Mr Fraser of Lovat. The tenements were not feus,

but given under a contract of thirty-eight years for £2, 8s. of yearly rent. Such villages as these, Dr Robertson hoped, would be largely planted throughout the county, especially along the line of the Caledonian Canal, then being made, and on the coast, where the poorest person able to work for his bread might find an asylum; and he points to the village of Grantown to show what might be effected in this way. In this village were more than 200 families, tradesmen of various kinds, shops well furnished, schools, and a post-office.

Altogether, the impression we derive from the report we have so largely drawn upon is that Inverness-shire, though extremely primitive in regard to its agriculture, was being at the beginning of the present century very considerably improved. Changes of a progressive nature had already commenced. New methods were being imported from the South, and the county was becoming gradually assimilated in regard to agriculture with the rest of Scotland—a process which has gone on from that time to the present day.

It is interesting to contrast a careful report on the agriculture of the county made in our own day with that made in the early days of the century, such as we have had under review. In 1872 the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland published an elaborate essay on the agriculture of Inverness-shire by Mr William Macdonald, a gentleman conversant with such matters. It is quite as carefully done as that by Dr Robertson, and the comparison of the two is instructive. There has been no material change since Mr Macdonald wrote. He shows that agriculture in various ways has made considerable progress in Inverness-shire since the beginning of the present century, and especially since 1845. The population of the county has been on the decrease since 1841, while, on the other hand, the rental has increased immensely. The total rental, which in 1674 was only

£6099, in 1871-72 was £296,353, 18s. 5d. In 1895-96 it was £327,979. This increase, however, has been in great part owing to the large amount of property used for grouse-shootings and deer-forests. The number of landed proprietors had also increased. In 1808 the number of landed proprietors whose rents amounted to £100 and upwards yearly was eighty-three; there are now more than a hundred such landowners in the county.

The most extensive, and at the same time most rugged, mountainous, and unproductive portion of Inverness-shire is still, as it was when Dr Robertson wrote, the district lying to the south-west of the Caledonian Canal. On the parishes of Inverness, Petty, Ardersier, Dores, Kirkhill, Kilmorack, and Kiltarlity, Inverness-shire mainly depends for its agricultural reputation.

Good commodious slated farm-steadings, Mr Macdonald shows, have increased considerably year by year. Offices and houses of modern construction are everywhere taking the place of old hovels. In some cases the tenant has improved his buildings without the assistance of the laird. In the majority of instances the proprietor defrayed the cost, the tenant commonly paying 5 or 6 per cent interest per annum. In the uplands of Inverness-shire the inhabited houses remain still of a primitive nature. In Badenoch, and especially in the Laggan district, not only the huts in which the cattle are sheltered, but also the dwelling-houses of some of the people, are constructed of at least three parts of turf. In the West Highlands it is no rarity to meet with the kitchen, parlour, bedrooms, byre, barn, stable, pigsty, and poultry-house all under one roof and in a very small compass.

Leases have been very generally given since 1830. All except the mere crofters rejoice in the privilege, and some of those on the mainland have received a five, ten, or fourteen

years' lease, and are increasing their cultivated possessions. The most common duration of lease is nineteen years.

The five-shift course of cropping is most common and most popular in the county, though there are rather more leases than there are farmers working the five-shift course. The principal proprietors, as a rule, specify the five-shift course in their leases, but they do not enforce it in every case. When the soil and other circumstances demand a deviation from this rule the landlord sometimes gives way, and allows the tenant to adopt the course which experience points out as the best calculated to secure the heaviest crops without deteriorating the condition of the soil.

In no department of agriculture has Inverness-shire made more progress than in implements for tillage. Twenty-five years before Mr Macdonald's survey there was scarcely what could be called a good plough in the county, there were few grubbers, and not very many drill-ploughs. These and other improved implements are everywhere to be met with. Carts have generally taken the place of the old "back-creels." The number of threshing-machines is every year increasing.

In the lowland and middle parishes of the county much waste land has been brought under cultivation. In 1854 the total arable acreage amounted to 44,242. In 1869 the acreage under all kinds of crop was 80,174; in 1870, 83,061 acres. Surface-draining has been largely executed in Badenoch, Lochaber, Glenelg, Glengarry, and other high parts of the county, with a view to improve the sheep-pasture. Many miles of stone dikes have been erected, chiefly in the lower districts, while wire-fencing is everywhere to be met with.

The planting of trees has gone on rapidly. Since 1845 in Strathspey alone several thousands of acres have been planted. Along the route of the Caledonian Canal, and in

the valleys of Glengarry, Glenurquhart, and Glenmoriston, the landscape has been beautified by large plantations. Between 1845 and 1872 the area planted is estimated at 15,000 acres.

The kelp industry has entirely ceased. It formerly was a source of great wealth to the proprietors of the west coast, and Clanranald is said to have derived an income of £30,000 a-year from the manufacture. Owing to the abolition of the tax on Spanish barilla in 1823 it could no longer be carried on at a profit, and its cessation reduced many of the proprietors from comparative affluence to poverty.

The exaction of poor-rates is another feature in which the Inverness-shire of to-day differs from the Inverness-shire surveyed by Dr Robertson. In all the parishes an assessment is now made for the support of the poor. The average assessment per pound made in 1896 in the parishes was 1s. 7½d. In one of the parishes of the mainland it was as high as 2s. 4d. per pound. The old independent spirit which refused public support is wellnigh extinct. Relief is not received as a gratuity, but claimed as a right.

Wheat is largely sown in the Aird and Beauly districts. The average yield in some of these districts is occasionally 40 bushels per acre. The county also grows good bere and barley, and under these commodities there is more than triple the area that is set down as wheat-producing. As an oat-growing county Inverness-shire has greatly improved, and takes a fair position in Scotland. The area under oats is the largest north of Banffshire. Turnips are generally grown, the area under this crop being about 9 per cent of the ground under rotation. There is no county in Scotland that has a higher percentage of its arable land allotted to potatoes than Inverness-shire.

Great attention has been paid to the breeding of cattle, of

which every variety is to be found within the limits of the county. Sheep-farming has been brought to great perfection, perhaps more than in any other part of Scotland.

There is one great change that has taken place in Inverness-shire since the beginning of the century. Then sheep were taking the place of the inhabitants, but now to a large extent sheep have been dispossessed by deer. The greater part of the hill-grounds of Inverness-shire have been made deer-forests. At the time of Dr Robertson's survey there was, as we have seen, only one regular forest. In the year in which we write there are thirty-nine. In 1871 the approximate yearly rental of the deer-forests on the mainland of Inverness-shire was £12,571. In 1896 it was £37,000. This foresting of the county has immensely increased the value of property; and if it has put money into the pockets of the proprietors, it has also in many ways benefited the people. Into the economic question of sheep *versus* deer we are not called upon to enter.

Whilst in its agricultural affairs Inverness-shire has progressed during the present century, it has specially done so in connection with a cognate subject, the education and general enlightenment of the people. Shaw, the historian of Moray, born upwards of two hundred years ago, and educated at Ruthven, Kingussie, says in his History: "I well remember when from Speymouth (through Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber) to Lorn there was but one school — namely, at Ruthven in Badenoch, and it was much to find in a parish three persons who could read or write." Things were better at the beginning of the present century; for in addition to the ordinary parochial schools, many schools had been planted by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge throughout the county. Still the educational condition of the people was

very backward. In 1826, according to statistics carefully prepared by the "Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor," there were within the bounds of the Presbytery of Inverness 377 families in which no person could read; within those of the Presbytery of Abernethy 59 families; within those of the Presbytery of Abertarff 86. There is probably to-day no person within these districts who cannot read and write.

Educational advance has been gradual. With the exception of the parochial schools, there were previous to 1843 very few schools of an efficient character. Here and there was to be seen the school of a Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, of a Gaelic Society, or other school maintained by the Church, where pupils were taught to read, write, and cipher. Lads desirous of advancing beyond that stage had to attend a parish school, and in order to do that not a few walked great distances, sometimes eight miles, with the usual peat under their arm, which was sorely needed to heat the clay-floored room. A considerable number of teachers were licentiates of the Church, and scholarly men, during the first forty years of the present century. Although unable to instruct satisfactorily all the pupils under their charge—a number which by modern regulations would require two or three teachers — they invariably paid great attention to pupils of "pregnant pairts," not a few of whom went in those days direct from our country parish schools to the universities.

The Disruption of 1843 left a majority of the parish churches vacant. The filling up of these created vacancies in not a few schools, and it was found difficult to supply the places of the teachers who had got parish churches. The result was that men much inferior in scholarship and culture succeeded them, and the cause of education suffered. After the Free Church was supplied with places of worship it com-

menced the erection of school buildings, but unfortunately, in many instances, placed them in the vicinity of the parish schools, and so limited their usefulness.

The passing of the Education Act in 1872 proved a great boon to the county. Schools are now placed within easy reach of most of the children, the few exceptions being the children of shepherds and gamekeepers in the outlying glens. New schools have been built in all the districts of the county, which are a great contrast to those by which they were preceded. We remember a schoolhouse midway between Dalwhinnie and Newtonmore which was in existence thirty years ago, and was a type of many in the county. The walls and roof were formed of turf. The fire was in the centre of the room. There was no chimney. The rents in the walls and a single broken four-paned window competed with a hole in the roof for the exit of the peat-smoke. There was a single desk, at which only three out of twenty pupils could write at a time. Instead of such buildings there are now substantial, well-ventilated schoolrooms, with comfortable dwelling-houses for the teachers, throughout the mainland of Inverness-shire.

Towards the erection of sixty-eight schools and dwellings, containing accommodation for 6103 pupils, £52,471, 14s. 5d. was paid by the Education Department soon after the passing of the Act to the school boards in building grants, a sum equal to £8, 11s. 6d. per sitting. About £20,000 additional was borrowed from the Government for school building purposes at moderate interest, which amount will be almost all repaid—capital and interest—in about fourteen years. The teaching in those schools has been annually improving, and is now, with a few exceptions, excellent. Since the Trust for Education in the Highlands and Islands commenced paying grants of 5s. to teachers for passes made by their senior pupils in Gaelic reading, more attention has been paid to Gaelic in

several of the schools, and a considerable number of the children are now able to read the Scriptures in that language to parents and grandparents who cannot do so themselves.

Secondary education has been greatly encouraged during the last four years by the appointment of Secondary Education or County Committees, and the grants paid by Government to these committees. The scheme of the Inverness-shire County Committee is acknowledged to be one of the best in operation in Scotland, and has worked well to promote the object in view. Besides allowing grants for merit and leaving certificates to the managers of any schools in which these certificates may be gained, it allows grants of £40 to each of the six following schools on the mainland: Fort William, Glenurquhart, Beauly, Abernethy, Gorgask in Laggan, and Kingussie. The last has become famous as a central school in gaining university leaving-certificates, and for the number of pupils it annually sends direct to the Scottish universities.

This chapter has been in the main statistical. What has been said, however, may be sufficient to show that, both in regard to the cultivation of the soil and the cultivation of the mind, much has been effected since the beginning of the century. The Inverness-shire peasant knows how to till his land on the most approved methods, and when his day's toil is over he can improve his mind in a manner utterly unknown to his forefathers. The newspaper published in Glasgow or Edinburgh reaches all except the most outlying parts of Inverness-shire on the same day on which it leaves the press. The crofter in his hut is as conversant with the news of the day and the politics of the time as the laird in his mansion. There are few visitors to the county on purposes either of business or amusement who have not been struck by the intelligence and culture possessed by many in the humblest ranks of its people.

The rural population in Inverness-shire, it may be also added, maintain a high standard so far as morals are concerned, and the quarterly returns of the Registrar-General invariably show the illegitimacy rate in the county to be among the lowest in Scotland. The people are strictly attentive to the outward duties of religion, and are regular in their attendance on its ministrations. In few parts of Scotland are the churches to which the bulk of the people belong—Protestant and Catholic—more regularly attended.

CHAPTER XVII.

DISTINGUISHED MEN OF INVERNESS-SHIRE IN CIVIL LIFE—NOT SO MANY AS IN OTHER COUNTIES, OWING TO THE LONG YEARS OF TURBULENCE THROUGH WHICH OUR COUNTY PASSED—DUNCAN FORBES OF CULLODEN —HIS FAMILY AND EARLY EDUCATION—JOINS THE SCOTTISH BAR—MADE SHERIFF OF MID-LOTHIAN—MARRIES—TAKES THE SIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE RISING IN 1715—PLEADS WARMLY THE CAUSE OF THOSE FORFEITED—RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT FOR THE INVERNESS BURGHS—HIS LITERARY WORKS—APPOINTED PRESIDENT OF THE COURT OF SESSION—HIS GREAT INFLUENCE IN BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT IN 1745—HIS EFFORTS UNREWARDED BY THE AUTHORITIES—HIS DEATH —CHARLES GRANT, A STATESMAN AND PHILANTHROPIST—HIS BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS—GOES TO INDIA—HIS CAREER THERE—THE CHARACTER OF HIS POLICY — BECOMES A DIRECTOR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY — HIS SERVICES IN ITS BEHALF — HIS ASSOCIATION WITH WILBERFORCE—HIS ENDEAVOURS TO PROMOTE THE WELFARE OF THE HIGHLANDS—HIS DEATH—HIS DISTINGUISHED SONS—THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH — HIS BIRTH AND EDUCATION — BECOMES A DOCTOR OF MEDICINE—AFTERWARDS JOINS THE ENGLISH BAR—HIS DEFENCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—BECOMES RECORDER OF BOMBAY—RETURNS HOME AFTER A PERIOD OF SERVICE—ENTERS PARLIAMENT—MADE A PRIVY COUNCILLOR, ALSO A PROFESSOR OF LAW AND LORD RECTOR OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY—HIS LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL CELEBRITY—HIS DEATH—JAMES MACPHERSON, BORN AT RUTHVEN—STUDIES FOR THE MINISTRY—PUBLISHES FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT POETRY—MAKES A JOURNEY OF LITERARY RESEARCH IN THE HIGHLANDS — PUBLISHES 'OSSIAN' — THE GREAT CONTROVERSY THAT ENSUED—MADE GOVERNOR OF PENSACOLA—APPOINTED AGENT FOR THE NABOB OF ARCOT — SETTLES IN BADENOCH — DIES THERE, AND IS BURIED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY—OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEN—THEIR LIVES AND LABOURS SKETCHED—GRANT OF CORRYMONY—FRASER OF REELICK—JOHN F. M'LENNAN—THE LITERARY SPIRIT OF INVERNESS —ROBERT CARRUTHERS AND THE 'INVERNESS COURIER' — MODERN LITERARY MEN OF THE COUNTY—THE GREAT LAWYERS PRODUCED BY IT—ITS THEOLOGICAL POVERTY—DISTINGUISHED CATHOLIC DIVINES.

INVERNESS-SHIRE was for centuries a county of soldiers. With the exception of the peace-loving citizens of the burgh,

few could rise to distinction except in warfare. In other parts of Scotland there were many avenues by which men could attain celebrity. In our county there was but one. It was not till long after 1745, when the last vestiges of the feudal system had passed away, that Inverness-shire men began in any numbers to be distinguished in any profession other than that of arms. Though the county has not for this reason contributed anything like the same proportion of outstanding men to the civil walks of life with some other counties of Scotland, it yet has given some whose names take high place in history, and whose career may be properly noticed in these pages.

Perhaps the greatest man, taking all things into consideration, that Inverness-shire has produced is DUNCAN FORBES of Culloden. Bishop Warburton calls him "one of the greatest men that Scotland ever bred as a judge, a patriot, and a Christian." This is high praise, and justly bestowed. Forbes exercised much influence in his time, and had it not been for his great exertions the Jacobite rising in '45 might have had a very different result. He may, indeed, be said to have saved the Hanoverian throne. Forbes was the second son of the proprietor of the estate of Culloden, and was born at Bunchrew, another estate belonging to the family, on the 10th November 1685. His family had come from the South in the seventeenth century; one of them had been Provost of Inverness. They were strong Presbyterians, and active friends of revolution principles. His father, Duncan Forbes, was member in the Scottish Parliament for the county of Nairn. His mother was Mary Innes, a daughter of the Laird of Innes, a Morayshire baronet. Forbes, after obtaining his early education at Inverness, was sent to the University of Edinburgh when nineteen years of age. His father died the same year,

and was succeeded in his estates by his son John, the elder brother of the subject of our sketch. From Edinburgh Forbes went to Leyden, in Holland, where he studied law and oriental languages. He returned home from Holland after two years, passed as an advocate in Edinburgh, through the influence of the Duke of Argyll was appointed Sheriff of Mid-Lothian, and married Mary, a daughter of Mr Rose of Kilravock. The rising under the Earl of Mar brought him into prominent notice. With his elder brother he was actively engaged in the civil war in Inverness-shire, and was in close association with Simon, Lord Lovat, in the task of suppressing the insurrection. When that had been achieved — greatly through his exertions — he used his utmost endeavours to obtain the clemency of the Crown for his unfortunate countrymen. He showed kindness in mitigating the fate of the wretched prisoners, who were treated with the utmost rigour by the Government. He collected money for their defence, and publicly remonstrated with the authorities for the cruelty they displayed. Some time after, he proposed the plan, afterwards adopted by Pitt, by which their forfeited estates were restored to the chiefs, and by which the people were employed as soldiers in the service of the country. It would have been well for Inverness-shire if his humane views had been carried out when in after days a conquered and defenceless people were left at the mercy of the victors. The insurrection being overcome, he pleaded that it was not the way to make the Scottish Jacobites peaceful and contented subjects to execute until the hangman was exhausted, and to proscribe for ever as outcasts those who were spared from death. With solemn earnestness he showed that extirpation, if it be sharper and more horrible, is a more effective remedy than proscription, and in the end not so cruel. "If," he says, "all the rebels, with their wives and children, could be at

once rooted from the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country sighing out their complaints to heaven, and drawing at once the compassion and moving the indignation of every human creature."

In 1722 Forbes was returned to Parliament as member for the Inverness district of Burghs, and three years afterwards he was raised to the office of Lord Advocate. While in Parliament, he was on intimate terms with Sir Horace Walpole and with Lords Mansfield and Hardwicke, and was a member of the Literary Society, adorned by Swift, Pope, and other intellectual celebrities of the time. In 1734 his elder brother John died, and he succeeded to the family estates. He resided at Culloden as often as his public duties would admit, and made an admirable laird, doing much to improve his property and to promote the happiness of his tenants. He also made contributions to theological literature. In 1732 he published 'A Letter to a Bishop concerning some Discoveries in Philosophy and Theology,' a book of no great merit in itself, but which was much thought of at the time and passed through three editions. In 1735 he wrote a book more ambitious in its character, called 'Some Thoughts concerning Religion natural and revealed, and the manner of understanding Revelation,' tending to show that Christianity is indeed nearly as old as the Creation. These treatises were very popular, and are evidences of the deep piety of their writer—a piety we of our day find difficult altogether to reconcile with his conviviality. He was a hard drinker, and the libations of claret at Culloden were even in his time famous throughout the North.

In 1737 Forbes was appointed President of the Court of Session, the highest office to which a Scottish lawyer can aspire. He was much respected as a judge, and filled his position with dignity and ability, raising the court over which he presided to a state of efficiency it has never surpassed. A very fine portrait statue in marble of Forbes, attributed to Roubillac, is one of the chief ornaments of the Hall of the Parliament House in Edinburgh.

The rising of the '45 brought the President into great prominence, and he will always be remembered chiefly for the ability he displayed at that critical juncture. He had a warm sympathy with the Highlanders, and did all in his power to keep them from being tempted to break with the Government. On hearing of the landing of Prince Charles he at once set off to Inverness. He was intimately acquainted with the Northern chiefs, and his talents and eminent position gave him weight and influence even among the turbulent spirits of the Jacobites. His whole efforts were put forth to keep the clans from joining in the rising. Through his influence the great Skye clans of Macdonald and Macleod, who could have brought to the standard of the Prince 8000 men, were kept at home. He also kept the clans of Rossshire from taking the field. For a length of time anything done in Scotland to save the country to the reigning family was the work of Forbes. For weeks he concentrated in himself the whole elements of government in the North. "I found myself," he says, describing his position at the time, "almost alone: without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation, and if you except Macleod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by no man of common-sense or courage." With the resources at his command he certainly worked wonders.

His great efforts in the Hanoverian cause were unrewarded. His gentle spirit was lacerated by the memorable cruelties which followed the battle of Culloden. His endeavours on behalf of his suffering countrymen were treated with contempt. The money he had raised on his own responsibility to meet the emergency was never repaid. No gratitude was ever expressed for his energetic and indomitable efforts. The treatment he received so preyed upon his mind that it is said to have hastened his death. He died on the 10th December 1747, pressed by creditors whose claims he was unable to meet, but leaving a name which is held in greater honour by none than by his own countrymen of the North.

CHARLES GRANT was, like Forbes, a statesman and a philanthropist, though his energies were exerted in a wider sphere. He was born at Aldourie, in the parish of Dores, on the 16th April 1746, the memorable day on which the battle of Culloden was fought. A few hours after his birth his father, Alexander, was killed on the fatal field fighting for Prince Charles. Grant received his education in Elgin, and in 1767 proceeded to India in a military capacity, but on his arrival was taken into the employ of Mr Richard Becher, a member of the Bengal Council. In 1772 he was appointed a writer on the Bengal establishment, and commenced a civil career that became more and more distinguished. Three years later he was selected for the office of secretary to the Board of Trade at Calcutta, and in 1781 as commercial resident at Maldah, one of the most important posts of the service. In 1784 he obtained the rank of senior merchant, and in 1787 had conferred on him by Lord Cornwallis the office of member of the Board at Calcutta in consideration of his distinguished abilities and approved integrity. In this high office he continued till 1790, when family circumstances

compelled him to return to England. His early promotion to stations of trust and employment had enabled him to acquire a considerable fortune, and he hoped at home to use his influence in promoting the welfare of the natives of India, in whose prosperity he had come to take deep interest. He had on a voyage made the acquaintance of the celebrated missionary Schwarz, and this led him ever afterwards to identify himself with missionary enterprise, and to do all in his power to promote it.

After his return home he was in 1794 elected a director of the East India Company, and from this time till his death took a leading part in the administration of our Indian empire. In 1802 he was elected M.P. for Inverness, and shortly afterwards became chairman of the Board of the Directors of the East India Company. This was a great position, and he is universally acknowledged to have filled it with conspicuous success. It was through him that a college was established for the education of young men destined for the Company's service, and he watched over its interests with anxious solicitude. His great desire was the establishment of an empire in India founded rather upon character than upon force. Acting upon this view, when Parliament arraigned the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, he took a leading part in the discussions, opposing with all his might what he called "military government," which he defined to be pursuing conquest for the sake of the extension of territory. The character of Grant's policy was eloquently set forth by himself in a great speech in which he spoke of what had been the policy of other conquering nations: "None of these nations sought to establish themselves in the affections of their acquired subjects, or to assimilate them to their manners; and those subjects, far from supporting them, rejoiced in their defeats. Some attempts they made to instruct the natives which had their

use, but sordid views overwhelmed their efforts. It remains for us to show how we shall be distinguished from those nations in the history of mankind,—whether conquest shall have been in our hands the means not merely of displaying a Government unequalled in India for administrative justice, kindness, and moderation; not merely of increasing the security of the subject and prosperity of the country, but of advancing social happiness, of meliorating the moral state of men, and of extending a superior light farther than the Roman eagle ever flew."

Grant was a man of deep piety, and did everything in his power to raise the low moral tone of Indian society. He exerted himself greatly to advance the cause of missions. Through him the augmentation of the ecclesiastical establishment of British India and the institution of a bishop's see at Calcutta were brought about, and especially the privilege was granted to European missionaries, hitherto denied, of enjoying access to the natives of the country in their ministrations. He fought hard to obtain this permission, and was so strongly supported by public opinion that the concession of greater liberty to Christian missions in the East was at last reluctantly given.

Charles Grant was closely associated with Wilberforce and other great philanthropists of his time, and with the band of religious men known by the name of the "Clapham Sect." The welfare of his native Highlands lay very close to his heart. He was a zealous member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands, and helped it largely by his contributions. He was proprietor of the estate of Waternish in Skye. Through his influence civil or military appointments were obtained in India by many Inverness-shire young men. From every part of the county promising youths went out to that country to seek their fortunes. He was one

of the greatest benefactors Inverness-shire ever had, and in recognition of his services the county voted a portrait of him by Sir Henry Raeburn to be painted, which still hangs in the county hall. He died in London 3rd October 1823. His eldest son, Sir ROBERT GRANT, became Governor of Bombay. His son CHARLES, born in India, rose like his father and brother to great eminence in political life. He occupied the high offices of Secretary for Ireland, President of the Board of Trade, and Colonial Secretary, and was raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Glenelg. He also succeeded his father as M.P. for Inverness on his retirement from that office in 1819. He was a Liberal in politics, an eloquent speaker, and a pure-spirited statesman. He died in 1866.

The Right Hon. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH was an Inverness-shire man whose career as a philosopher, politician, and historian reflects credit on the county of his birth. He was born at Aldourie, on the banks of Loch Ness, on the 24th October 1765. His father, John Mackintosh, was Laird of Kyllachie. Mackintosh received his early education at a school in Fortrose, where he was a devoted reader, especially of history, and where he otherwise gave promise of his afterwards distinguished career. In 1780 he went to King's College, Aberdeen, and during his course there showed that taste for moral and metaphysical studies which was always a marked feature in his character. After taking the degree of Master of Arts he went to Edinburgh to study medicine. Here he took a leading part in the Philosophical and Medical Societies connected with the university. On taking his diploma as doctor of medicine he went to London, but after long waiting saw no prospects of a professional settlement. He took considerable interest in politics, and acted for a time on the staff of a paper called the 'Oracle,' where he superintended the foreign news. Finally

he determined to abandon medicine and to study for the bar. In his new profession he attained considerable eminence, and was specially notable for his brilliant defence in the trial of Peltier, who was charged with a libel on Bonaparte. What brought him into prominence was not so much his forensic ability as his reply to Burke's condemnation of the French Revolution. That great historic movement found in him a warm defender, and his book, 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' published in 1791, was greatly admired even by Burke, whose principles it impugned. In this book he advocated Liberal views which would not be thought very advanced in our day, but which at that time were almost new, though they had been somewhat anticipated in Paine's 'Age of Reason.' He discusses at length the expediency and necessity of a revolution, and defends it on the theory of the British Constitution. Before the French could obtain the inestimable blessings of the freedom Britons enjoyed, it was necessary that there should be such an upturning as had excited the wonder of the world. The chains of tyranny were broken, and reason had triumphed over authority and prejudice. He considers at length the conduct of the actors in the great upheaval, and vindicates them so far as the result was manifested in the new Constitution of France. He defends the annexation of ecclesiastical revenues, and lays down—probably for the first time—the axiom which has since been very generally recognised, that "Church property is public property."

The book is a statement in a philosophical form of the principles of Liberalism, and Mackintosh was through its publication brought into association with Fox and the leading Whigs of the day, who recognised in him a recruit to their party likely to be useful. Under their auspices he delivered a course of lectures on the "Law of Nature and of Nations" in the hall of Lincoln's Inn, which were attended by many

prominent men, and were distinguished by great philosophical power. He seemed marked out for political advancement, and was on familiar terms with the literary men of London society; but the office of Recorder of Bombay being offered to him, he accepted it, and was for nine years in India.

On his return to England in 1812, entering into political life, he was elected member of Parliament for the county of Nairn. He did not acquire much political distinction, but was respected as a statesman. His speeches were more philosophical and forensic than popular, and he never altogether accommodated himself to the atmosphere of the House of Commons. He was made a Privy Councillor and a member of the Board of Control, and in 1818 became "Professor of Law and General Politics" in the East India Company's College at Haileybury, which had lately been founded by his countyman Charles Grant. This was a congenial sphere of work, and he was enabled to give full scope to the philosophical bent of his mind. In 1819 he was elected member of Parliament for Knaresborough, and in 1823 Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, when he delivered an address to the students of great eloquence and thoughtfulness. He was a frequent contributor to the 'Edinburgh Review,' and the author of a 'History of England.' Macaulay speaks of him with much respect; and Lord Jeffrey, who was one of his intimate friends, says of him that "his range of study and speculation was nearly as large as that of Bacon, and there were, in fact, but few branches of learning with which he was not familiar." It is chiefly as a philosophical writer that Mackintosh will be remembered. His 'Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy,' contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' in which he summarises the speculations of ancient and

modern ethical philosophers, was much admired at the time of its publication, and still holds a useful place in the literature of its department. In this book Mackintosh takes up a philosophical position to a great extent his own. He expresses and defends his opinion that the affections usually called benevolent are properly described as disinterested. He contends earnestly for the independent existence and supremacy of conscience or the moral faculty. He assents to the theory of the formation of our passions and affections, and even of our sentiments of virtue and duty, by means of the association of ideas. He also lays down a "theory of conscience" which he elaborates at great length. Many of his views had been anticipated by Bishop Butler, though he amplified them and worked them out to their legitimate conclusions with much acuteness as well as lucidity. He died in London on the 30th May 1832.

JAMES MACPHERSON was perhaps, so far as literature is concerned, the best known man connected with Inverness-shire. He was born at Ruthven, in the parish of Kingussie, in 1736, and was the son of Andrew Macpherson, a tacksman, nephew of the chief of the clan. He was educated at Inverness, and at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. At the latter university he studied divinity with a view to the ministry of the Church of Scotland. He was also for a time schoolmaster at his native place. In 1758 he published a poem called 'The Highlander,' followed by 'Death' and the 'Hunter,' none of which evinced poetic merit. In 1759 he became tutor in the family of Graham of Balgowan, and it was during this time he met Mr Home and submitted to him short translations from poems in the Gaelic language. Mr Home brought these to Edinburgh and showed them to Dr Blair, Adam Ferguson, and Principal Robertson, all of

whom greatly admired them. In 1760, at the desire of Home and Blair, he published 'Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland.' These fragments excited much attention, and an earnest desire to recover other remains of Gaelic poetry which were said to exist in the Highlands. A liberal subscription having been made to defray his expenses, Macpherson was induced to undertake a journey of research throughout the Highlands. During his tour he occasionally wrote to Dr Blair informing him of his progress in collecting poems either in manuscript or from recitation. He arrived in Edinburgh in 1761, and took lodgings immediately below Dr Blair, to whom he often repeated parts of what he was engaged in translating. The result of his labours was the appearance in 1762 of 'Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books, together with several other Poems composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal. Translated from the Gaelic Language by James M.' In the following year appeared 'Temora, an Epic Poem in Eight Books.'

These publications created a great sensation in the literary world, and occasioned a controversy which has not yet ceased. By many Macpherson was hailed as a genius, by others he was denounced as a literary forger. Among the latter was Dr Johnson, whose abuse was of the strongest kind. "Macpherson had," according to him, "only found names and stories and phrases, being passages in old songs, and with these blended his own compositions, and so made up what he gave to the world as translations of an ancient poem." Johnson's vituperation so irritated the proud Highlander that he sent the great man a challenge by a friend. Johnson purchased a stout oak stick and replied that "he would repel violence, and not desist from any fear of the menaces of a ruffian."

If the great sage was bold in his attack upon Macpherson, that gentleman did not want for able defenders. A strong array of eminent men—Blair, Lord Kames, Sir John Sinclair, Home, and others—mustered in defence of the genuineness of the poems, the success of which was great. Within a year after their publication they were translated into the languages of France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, and Poland, while edition after edition was called for at home. The poems were the admiration of Goethe and Byron, and were carried about by Napoleon in his campaigns. It is not within our province to enter into the controversy that has raged around these remarkable productions. It is perhaps sufficient to say that modern researches and Celtic criticism have amply vindicated the reputation of Macpherson from the attacks made upon him as a forger. The publication in our own time of the 'Book of the Dean of Lismore' has shown the existence of ancient Gaelic poetry such as Macpherson collected. It contains many heroic ballads, nine of which are attributed to Ossian. Gaelic scholars have shown that tradition is quite capable of preserving such fragmentary compositions as Macpherson received from recitation, and that such fragments were well known to men who knew nothing of his labours. That such fragments were pieced together by Macpherson there is little doubt, but to what extent he inserted lines of his own composition as connecting links—if he inserted any—it is impossible to say. Gaelic scholars have been unable to point out any piece of new cloth sewn on to the old. The same heroic spirit pervades the whole. Certainly, if the poems were either in part or whole the work of Macpherson, it is remarkable that he never afterwards wrote any to be compared with them even in the remotest way. "If he created Ossian," as it has well been said, "he was an athlete who

made one surprising leap and was palsied ever afterwards—a marksman who made a centre at the first shot but who never afterwards could hit the target." His subsequent incursions into the realm of literature may almost be said to be failures; they are certainly destitute of any spark of the fire of genius which glows throughout 'Fingal' and 'Temora.'

If Macpherson never wrote another 'Ossian,' he had successes of a different kind, which probably compensated him for any rough handling he had received. Through the kind offices of the Earl of Bute he received a civil appointment at Pensacola, in North America, and returned to London two years afterwards with a pension of £200 a-year, to act as a political writer in behalf of Government. His 'Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland' appeared in 1771; a 'Prose Translation of Homer'—a thin and watery affair—in 1773; a 'History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover' in 1773, for which he is said to have received £3000. In 1780 he was appointed agent for the Nabob of Arcot, and returned to Parliament for Camelford. From his various labours he amassed a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase the estate of Raitts, the name of which he changed to Belleville, near Kingussie. Here he built an elegant mansion, to which he retired to spend the evening of his life. In his new capacity as a Highland laird he was honoured and respected. He was liberal to the poor, and went among his people by the name of "Fair James." Through his influence with the Government he obtained the restoration to his chief of the property which had been forfeited after the '45. This made him popular with all his neighbours, towards whom he exercised generous hospitality. He was regarded by them as a fine specimen of a true and chivalrous Highlander. He

died at Belleville in 1796, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the Poets' Corner.

Though those we have mentioned are the great literary figures of our county annals, these are not without others who are worthy of remembrance. JAMES GRANT of Corrymony was a Scottish advocate, and when he died was the oldest member of his profession. He was born in 1743, and had a reputation in his time both as a politician and man of letters. He was prominently distinguished as a supporter of Liberal principles at a time when in Scotland there were not many such. He was a personal friend of Henry Erskine, Jeffrey, Mackintosh, and other reformers of the same class, and was a frequenter of the literary circles of Edinburgh. Two works of his were much thought of when they appeared: the one 'On the Origin of Society, Language, Property, Government, Jurisdiction, Contracts, and Marriage'; the other 'On the Origin and Descent of the Gael, with an Account of the Picts and Scots, and Observations relative to the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.' These books show considerable learning and research, and though modern philological inquiries have greatly diminished their value as contributions to science, they are still worthy of being read both for the learning they display and the ingenuity of the author in making good his conclusions. Grant was a stout Highlander, and with him all that was worthy was derived from the Gael. The Gaelic language was the common parent of both the Greek and Latin. The identity of the Greeks and Romans with the Highlanders could be gathered from their stature and complexion, their manners and customs, their modes of living, their dress, their weapons, their religion, and their language. In arguing in favour of these propositions, Grant

displays intimate acquaintance both with classic writers and with the language and literature of his own country. He died in 1835 at the advanced age of ninety-two. His grandson, also JAMES GRANT, was a popular writer of fiction.

JAMES BAILLIE FRASER, born at Reelick on the 11th June 1783, was well known as a traveller and man of letters. After a distinguished career, like many Invernessians, in India, he made a tour in the Himalayas and penetrated as far as the sources of the Jumna and the Ganges. This was an achievement which at the time attracted much notice, and he gave the results of his explorations to the public in a volume of travels. He subsequently made several expeditions into remote parts of the East, in which he displayed a daring and adventurous spirit. In 1821 he travelled through Persia dressed as a native, afterwards writing a full account of his wanderings. He gave to the public many volumes of travels in such remote regions as Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Assouan, countries of which at that time little was known. He also essayed fiction, and wrote several novels, such as 'The Highland Smugglers,' 'Tales of the Caravanserai,' and others. He was an elegant writer, and his literary efforts were much admired. In latter years, like many of his countrymen, he came back to his native county, and spent the evening of his days at Reelick, where he died in 1856.

JOHN F. M'LENNAN was one whom we must not forget in this sketch. He was born in Inverness, where his father was an insurance agent, and after receiving his early education in that town, was a student at the University of Aberdeen, where his mathematical talent won him much distinction. He com-

pleted his education at Cambridge, and passed in 1853 in the list of Wranglers. After doing literary work in London he came to Edinburgh, where he became a member of the Scottish Bar. His natural sympathies were literary and scientific rather than legal, and he was highly esteemed in Edinburgh among those with tastes similar to his own. He wrote the article on "Law" in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and while doing so was much struck by the forms of marriage ceremonies, for which, it seemed to him, the usual explanations were insufficient. His investigations were pursued with great tenacity, and in 1865 he produced his book on 'Primitive Marriage.' This book attracted much attention as a new departure in sociological inquiry. It was, as it has well been said, "a shaft sent right into the darkest part of primitive history." It changed entirely the prevalent conceptions of early society. Others have taken up the line of investigation which M'Lennan began, but which he was not spared to fully carry out. His work bore the undoubted stamp of original genius, and his speculations placed him high in rank among the scientific men of this century. He died in 1881.

We have mentioned the names of some of the outstanding men whom our county has given to literature, though the list, we are aware, is by no means complete. There have been also many Inverness-shire men connected with the Press who have been well known in journalism, like the war correspondent we have already noticed, and JOHN CAMERON MACDONALD, born in Fort William, who died manager of the 'Times' newspaper, and was the inventor of the famous Walter Press. Of late years there has been a distinct revival of a literary spirit in Inverness-shire, and especially in the town of Inverness. In 1826 ROBERT CARRUTHERS became editor of the 'Inverness

Courier,' and will long be affectionately remembered as a powerful personality in the promotion of culture from the time of his coming to Inverness until his death in 1878. Not only was he an eminent man of letters himself, but he awakened literary aspirations in others. He was to many young men "guide, philosopher, and friend." It was in the columns of the 'Inverness Courier' that Hugh Miller began his literary career, and others besides that distinguished man have had occasion to look back with gratitude to its editor. The impetus which he gave to culture and intellectual life in the North has not ceased. In no town of its size is there more cultivated society than in that of Inverness, and no county has had more done to illustrate its history, language, and customs than Inverness-shire. The painstaking antiquarian researches of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, the elaborate clan histories of Mr Alexander Mackenzie, the admirable local histories of Mr William Mackay and Mr Alexander Macpherson, the philological works of Mr Alexander MacBain, the deeply interesting 'Reminiscences of the late Joseph Mitchell, C.E.,' and the 'Transactions' of the Gaelic Society and of the Field Club, have cast a flood of light upon the history of Inverness-shire, its traditions, folk-lore, and poetry, and the social condition of its people in ancient and modern times. To the painstaking researches of those whom we have mentioned, as well as to others of kindred spirit, a very hearty tribute of thanks is due from the writer of this book, who has been much indebted to their labours.

The profession of the law has apparently been that to which Inverness-shire men have taken most kindly after that of arms. To the names already mentioned others might be added. Besides President Forbes, another lawyer from the county,

William Mackintosh, who takes the title of LORD KYLLACHY, has reached the judicial bench of the Supreme Court of Scotland. The late LORD GORDON of Drumearn had also a distinguished forensic and judicial career. Born at Inverness, 10th April 1814, EDWARD STRATHEARN GORDON, after his education in his native town and at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was called to the Bar in 1835. In after years he held the offices of Lord Advocate and Dean of Faculty, and was member of Parliament for the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. In 1876 he was made a Lord of Appeal, with a life peerage and the title of Baron Gordon. He was held in high respect for his judicial capacity. He died at Brussels, 21st August 1879.

Inverness-shire has not produced many eminent theologians. Of popular preachers in the English and Gaelic languages, and of faithful pastors, it has had many in all its various Protestant churches, but none have been famous beyond their own district, either for their eloquence, capacity in ecclesiastical administration, or contributions to theology. One only seems to have reached the office of Moderator of the General Assembly. This was Dr THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, who was born at Moy in 1816, and became Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1876. He was also a prominent Celtic scholar, and published, among other works of interest, the 'Book of Lismore,' with a translation into English and Modern Gaelic. In the Church of Rome many Inverness-shire priests have attained high ecclesiastical positions. Not a few have become members of the hierarchy at home and abroad, and have been professors in different foreign colleges. Two sons of the well-known family of Glenaladale are at present members of the Roman

episcopate in Scotland—the one Bishop of Aberdeen, and the other Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh.

This list of outstanding Inverness-shire men may appear slender and the names few, but those who remember the feuds and turbulent state of the county until the eve of modern times will wonder, not that its men of distinction should be so few, but that they should be so many.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INVERNESS-SHIRE RICH IN ONE SPECIES OF LITERATURE: HAS PRODUCED MANY BARDS—ANCIENT POEMS—"THE DESIRE OF THE AGED BARD"—"THE OWL"—IAN LOM, THE KEPPOCH BARD—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE—SPECIMENS OF HIS POETRY—"THE DAY OF INVERLOCHY"—HIS PANEGYRIC ON SIR JAMES MACDONALD—HIS "LAMENT FOR GLENGARRY"—THE BARD OF THE CLANRANALD, ALEXANDER MACDONALD—HIS HISTORY—THE CHARACTER OF HIS POETRY—TRANSLATIONS OF SOME OF HIS POEMS—"THE SUGAR BROOK"—"THE SONG OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS"—"MORAG BEAUTIFUL"—"IN PRAISE OF THE KILT"—"THE WAR-SHIP OF CLANRANALD"—JULIAN MACDONALD—HER ELEGY ON GLENGARRY—BLACK JOHN OF CLANRANALD—HIS POEM ON "THE HIGHLAND CLANS"—MACPHERSON OF STRATHMASHIE—JOHN ROY STEWART—HIS LIFE AND POEMS—BLIND ALAN, BARD OF GLENGARRY—CHARACTER OF HIS EFFORTS—HIS "SONG ON DRINKING"—EWAN M'LACHLAN—HIS GENIUS, LIFE, AND EARLY DEATH—SPECIMENS OF HIS POETRY—"THE MELODY OF LOVE"—MANY OTHER BARDS BESIDES THESE MENTIONED—ESTIMATE OF THE INVERNESS-SHIRE BARDS AND THEIR POWER OF SONG.

THERE is a species of literature belonging to the Highlands of which Inverness-shire has its full share—namely, the work of the Gaelic bards. Their poems, some of them transmitted orally through many generations, occupy a place of their own in the hearts of the Highland people. It is right that some notice should be taken here of those bards belonging to the mainland of Inverness-shire, though it is exceedingly difficult to convey a true idea of their power to those unfamiliar with the language in which they wrote. An English translation of these poems gives at best but a feeble reflection of their

strength and originality, yet it is only through such a medium that we can bring them before our readers.

Inverness-shire has produced many poets. Some of them, perhaps, belong to prehistoric times, others to more modern days. Every glen in the county has its own bards, and in every cottage their songs are sung. The minstrelsy of Lochaber, Glenmoriston, and Glenurquhart alone would fill, if collected, many volumes. The songs are of varied character. They are of war and the chase, of the beauties of nature and the delights of love. Often they glow with the spirit of patriotism, the affection of the Highlanders for the Stewart race; often they tell of the exultation of the warrior in the hour of battle and in pursuit of his foes. Not unfrequently they are tinged with that deep melancholy which belongs to a race whose glories are mainly in the past. The history of the Inverness-shire people is reflected in their songs as clearly as their mountains are mirrored in the lakes at their feet.

One of the earliest Gaelic poets, so far as we can judge from the fragment of his muse which has escaped oblivion, belonged to Inverness-shire. "The Desire of the Aged Bard," as his poem is called, has in it references to Loch Treig, to Scuir Eilt at the head of Loch Leven, and to Ben Nevis, which he terms Ben Ard, or the High Mountain. Its scene is evidently laid in Lochaber. It bears marks of high antiquity: it speaks of the elk, an animal now extinct. It apparently belongs to a time before the brethren of Iona had converted the Northern tribes to Christianity. The heaven to which the bard aspires is not the heaven of Scripture, but the "Isle of Heroes"—the halls where dwell Ossian and Daol—"the dwelling of the bards upon Ardven, from which there is no return."

The poem begins with a wish on the part of the bard to pass away amid the scenes of nature which he loved :—

" O place me by the little streams that flow softly with gentle steps,
Under the shade of spreading branches lay my head ;
And, O thou sun, be kind to me.
Lay softly my side on the grass upon the bank of flowers and gentle breezes,
My feet bathed in the wandering stream that slowly winds along the plain.
Let the pale primrose, grateful in hue, and the little daisy surround my hillock,
Greenest when bedewed."

In scenes like these he would recall the vanished days ere he took his last journey. He would hear in his solitude the hunter's step and the song of his dogs on the mountains, and as he listened the days of his youth would come back to him :—

" The marrow of my bones shall awake when I hear
The noise of horns, of dogs, and of bowstrings ;
When the cry is heard, 'The stag is fallen !'
My feet shall leap with joy along the mountain-heights."

Upon his mind there rushes the recollection of the time when he too followed the chase among the hills and far-spreading moorlands that lie between Ben Nevis and the Black Mount, of the prowess of his old companions, and of the faithful dog that bore him company :—

" I see, methinks, the hound by my side
That followed me early and late,
The hills I loved to travel,
The rocks that echoed the hunter's horn.

The smoke of the deer-feast arose,
Our drink from Treig, the wave our music.
Ghosts might shriek and mountains roar;
Reclined in our cave, peaceful was our rest.

I see Ben Ard of beauteous hue,
The monarch of a thousand hills;
The dreams of stags are in his locks,
His head is in the bed of clouds.

I see Scuir Eilt on the brow of the glen,
Where the cuckoo first sweetly calls;
The beautiful green hill of thousand firs,
Of plants, of roes and elks."

So his dreams move on in long procession, bringing back days of joy to his memory. Love mingles also in his visions with the delights of the chase: "Happiness to thy soul, virgin of the curling locks." "Her hand of snow among her locks of gold, and her mild rolling eye on the youth of her love." Then the dream passes and his pulses beat slow. Death is near, and he must face it:—

"Hast thou forsaken me, O pleasant dream?
Return yet—one little step return.
Thou wilt not hear me. Alas! I am sad.
Mountains of my love, farewell!"

But he will meet the inevitable with a brave heart and in a manner worthy of his forefathers. The closing verses are the death-song of the old pagan:—

"Turn my ear to the roar of the waterfall
That bursts in thunder from the rock;
Let a harp and a shell be by my side,
And the shield that defended my sires in battle.

Then come friendly over the sea,
Low whisper that moveth softly;
Bear my shade on the wing of thy swiftness,
Make thy way to the Isle of Heroes,

Where those who passed of old
Are in deep slumber without sound of music.
Open the hall where dwell Ossian and Daol.
The night shall fall, the bard shall not be found.

But oh, before it comes, ere my shade retire
To the dwelling of the bards upon Ardven,
Whence there is no return,
Give me my harp and shell for the road;
Then, my harp and beloved shell, farewell!"

There is another poetic fragment, not so old as that we have referred to, yet still very ancient, which also belongs to Inverness-shire. It is supposed to have been composed by a famous hunter and poet of Lochaber, DONALD MACDONALD, or, as he was called, Donald Macdonald, the son of Finlay of the Songs. The title of the poem is "The Owl." Donald, it is said, married when an old man a young woman who treated him with much indignity, and who, to show her contempt for her husband, brought home an old and enfeebled owl, which she presented to him as a fit companion for his declining years. The ancient hunter, with a philosophy which does him credit, accepted the gift, and entered into a long conversation with the bird of wisdom, worthy of Æsop. This conversation is the subject of the poem. It opens with an expression of pity on the part of the hunter for one aged and decrepit like himself:—

"Poor owl of Sròne,
Sorrowful to-night is thy bed.
If thou hast lived since the days of Donnaghall,
No wonder though thy spirit is heavy."

The owl replies by saying that his age is as that of the oak. He has seen many generations pass away. He has known the heroes of former years, though he is to-day the poor owl of Sròne; and then ensues an outpouring of the reminiscences of the past. Some of the verses are very plaintive:—

"I am sitting on the fairy hill of the mountains,
Gazing at the head of Loch Treig;
Craiguaine, sacred to the chase,
The sunny height where dwell the deer.

I see the crest of wooded Bidean,
The side nearest of Scuir-a-li,
Scuir-a-chointich of slender stags.
Dear to me to-day is all I see.

I see Strathfarsuin of the cattle,
Where loudest is the bay of gallant hound;
And the rocky corry of Mām,
Where oft my hand struck down the brown stag.

My blessing to Ben Alta,
The honoured among all mountains;
And to Loch Erroch's side, where dwell the deer—
Well I loved to be there."

Then comes the mourning of the aged hunter over departed days. Old age had brought feebleness both to himself and the dog, his companion in the chase:—

"Dismal and heavy is my heart,
For age has wounded my foot.
No more will I climb the hill of the deer,
Never again let loose my dogs.

Me and thee, my white hound,
Sad for us to-day is all we have left;
We have lost the baying voice and the song,
Though once our condition was lofty.

The wood from thee has taken the roe,
The heights from me have taken the stag;
But there is no shame in that, my hero,
Since age has settled on us both."

Lochaber, to which the bards we have noticed belonged, has ever been famous for its poets; but among them none has attained a higher reputation than IAN LOM, or JOHN THE BARE. He has already been noticed in these pages. He, as we have seen, guided Montrose in his wonderful march through the mountains from Kilchumin to Inverlochy. After the famous battle there, he celebrated the victory of the Great General. We have also seen how, through his unwearied

efforts, the Keppoch murderers were brought to justice. John the Bare was related to the Keppoch family, and, like his chief, was a devoted Royalist. He celebrated in his verses the prowess of Dundee, and accompanied him in his march to Killiecrankie. The poet was a man of considerable humour and ready wit, of which many stories are told. When Alastair Colquitto said to him that he was, in honour of his services, to take prominent part in the battle of Inverlochy, John, who had no taste for fighting, replied, "If I go along with thee to-day, who will sing thy praise to-morrow? Go thou, Alastair, and exert thyself as usual, and I shall sing thy feats and celebrate thy prowess in martial strains." He then betook himself to a place of safety.

After the affair of Inverlochy, irritated beyond measure by the poet's satires, Argyll is said to have offered a considerable reward for his head. John the Bare, relying on the sanctity of person which belonged to the office of a bard as of a priest, went himself to the castle of Inverary and demanded the reward. "Give it to me," he said to Argyll, "for here I am, produced by myself!" "Grim Archibald," to his credit, received him courteously and conducted him over the castle. On entering a room hung round with the spoils of the chase, and especially with the heads of blackcocks, he said to his guest, "Did you ever, John, see so many blackcocks in one place?" "I have," said John. "Where?" "At Inverlochy," was the reply. "Ah, John," replied the nobleman, "will you ever leave off gnawing at the Campbells?" "I am only sorry," was the bard's remark, "that I cannot swallow them"!

The steward of the castle, to whom the poet was sent for entertainment, does not appear to have had the same respect for him as his master, and set before him very meagre fare. All he gave him for his repast was a dish of boiled whelks

gathered on the shore of Loch Fyne. The bard, sitting down on the floor, loosened the gold pin with which his plaid was fastened, and proceeded to extract the meat from the shell-fish, pouring forth as he ate extempore verses descriptive of his dinner as a specimen of the hospitality of the Argyleshire chief and of the fare given to strangers at Inverary. The steward at last, alarmed lest these verses should gain currency to the discredit of his master, removed the whelks and set before the poet more substantial fare.

The most spirited of the poems of John the Bare is that called "The Day of Inverlochy." He describes the fight as seen by him from the battlements of the castle, though that he was ever there is highly improbable. Nothing can exceed the contempt which he pours upon the Campbells, whom he pictures in full flight, swimming the water of Nevis, or with "cloven skulls" "stretched to rot upon the heather."

The rendering we give of part of this spirited poem is that of Mr Napier in his 'Memoirs of Montrose.' It is by no means literal, yet it may give the English reader some idea of the *verve* and vigour of the verses:—

"Heard ye not! heard ye not how that whirlwind the Gael
To Lochaber swept down from Loch Ness to Lochiel;
And the Campbells, to meet them in battle array,
Like the billow came on and were broke like its spray?
Long, long shall our war-songs exult in that day.

'Twas the Sabbath that rose, 'twas the feast of St Bride,
When the rush of the clans shook Ben Nevis's side.
I, the bard of the battle, ascended the height
Where dark Inverlochy o'ershadowed the fight,
And saw the Clan Domhnuil resistless in might.

Through the land of my fathers the Campbells have come,
The flames of their foray enveloped my home;
Broad Keppoch in ruins is left to deplore,
And my country is waste from the hill to the shore.
Be it so! By St Mary! there's comfort in store.

Though the Braes of Lochaber a desert be made,
And Glen Roy may be lost to the plough and the spade;
Though the bones of my kindred, unshrouded, unurned,
Mark the desolate path where the Campbells have burned.
Be it so! From that foray they never returned.

Fallen race of Diarmid! disloyal, untrue,
No harp in the Highlands will sorrow for you;
But the birds of Lochiel are wheeling on high,
And the Badenoch wolves hear the Camerons cry,
Come feast ye! come feast ye! where the false-hearted lie."

John the Bare turned his muse to other subjects besides battles. His boat-song, which begins "On my rising in the morning early," is in praise of the vessel of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, the chief through whose influence the Keppoch murderers were brought to justice. In it he skilfully mingles admiration for the ship with admiration for its owner, though perhaps his best effort is in the former direction. Here is his description of the vessel:—

"'The Dubh Cnoydeartach,' swarthy,
Broad, high-shouldered, tight,
With many spears and iron blades in her bosom.

It is not the riders of fleet horses
That could take the prize of the race from thee
When on high thou spreadest thy sails
Over the sea;

When aloft are the bellying sails
Over the proud ocean,
And waves without number are spouting
Beneath thy keel."

From the vessel he passes to the chief, whom he praises in more exuberant fashion. "Great is my love to thee," he begins, "though I will not make a display of it," which he immediately proceeds to do:—

"Beloved of the women of Loch Treig
And Strath Ossian of pleasant meadows,
A band would rise with thee from Roy
With the bent yew on their shoulders;

And from the cold hills of Cairn na lairge
Many a youthful hero,
With the quiver behind his shield,
Will come to thee from the shoulder of Meal na lairg,
That would answer thy call
Without fear, without sorrow,
When thou raisest aloft for deeds of valour
The cross of fire."

Ian Lom's poem on the Keppoch Murder, his "Lament for Montrose," his "Lament on the Chief of Glengarry," are full of tenderness. From the last of these poems we may give one or two verses translated by an able Celtic scholar :—

"Not safe were they who rashly met
Thy warriors stern and true,
When the proud heather badge was set
In all their bonnets blue.
When thy brave banner waved on high,
And thou thyself wert seen,
With battle kindling in thine eye,
To draw the broadsword keen,
Then, then 'twas time for Albin's foes
To fly their fierce, their deadly blows.

That praise, that early praise was thine,
And spread thy well-known fame afar;
Thou didst on all occasions shine,
The wisest leader in the war.
No serried redcoats daunted thee,
Although their well-aimed volleys rolled
Upon thy ranks from musketry
That oft in deadly slaughter told.
Thy just distinctions ever were
The wise to lead, the bold to dare.

Thy lineage is, for blood and length,
In Albin's councils unexcelled,
And formed of chieftains famed for strength,
Who in the deadly charge compelled
Steeds fierce and fleet that harnessed shone
Like meteors coursing through the sky!
While on their selles, as on a throne,
They towered in their war panoply,
And none of them has been constrained
To deeds that have that lineage stained."

The translation gives a feeble idea of this lament. In the Gaelic the words sometimes sound like the roll of thunder. One hears the tramp of armed men mingled with the wail of the clan and the sound of the bagpipe as the great chief of Glengarry is borne to his burial:—

"The manly leader of the race
Who own the Garrian glen
Is off to his last resting-place,
Borne high by sorrowing men;
The chieftain, lofty, true, and bold,
Who never his allegiance sold."

The greatest of the Inverness-shire bards, who holds, indeed, a place in the foremost rank of Celtic poets, was ALEXANDER MACDONALD, or, as he was called, "Allastair, the son of Master Allistair." He was born in the beginning of the eighteenth century and lived in troublous times. His father was minister of Ardnamurchan during the establishment of Episcopacy, and was famous among his people as much for his great physical strength as for his religious influence. His son Alexander, it is said, was destined for the ministry, and sent to pursue his studies at the University of Glasgow; but he married before he finished his college course, and had to turn to other employment. For a time he acted as schoolmaster in Ardnamurchan, where he compiled a Gaelic and English vocabulary which was published by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. When the chiefs resolved to take up the cause of Prince Charles Stewart, he threw himself into the Jacobite movement with the utmost zeal. He abandoned the farm by which he added to his scanty allowance as a teacher, and received a commission in the Jacobite army. By his songs he did all in his power to inspire the people of his district with enthusiasm. He became a Roman Catholic, after having been first an

Episcopalian and afterwards a Presbyterian. After Culloden he found shelter in the wilds of his native district, between Kinloch Aylort and Moidart, and from his hiding-places sent forth songs denouncing "the Hanoverian usurper." His Gaelic songs in praise of Prince Charlie are quite in the spirit of those English Jacobite ballads which are still regarded as beautiful, and his address to the Prince under the guise of "Morag" is the Celtic counterpart of "Bonnie Charlie's o'er the main." His love for the Prince is only exceeded by the contempt he pours upon the Hanoverians. His poems after Culloden breathe rebellion in every line. He denounces the king as "the son of a German sow," whose only care for the Highlander was that of the raven for its bone. He prays the Lord of the universe to take from them "the pig" and his yoke, with his "leprous, scabbed, swinish progeny"; and his devout aspiration for the Duke of Cumberland is that the "Butcher" may have a rope tied round his neck and be made to swing from it. Fortunately for him, the language in which his invectives were couched was not generally understood by his enemies, else he would surely have had the fate meted out to him which he so ardently desired for the "Butcher." He was permitted, however, to spend the evening of his days in peace. After acting as tutor to certain Jacobite families in Edinburgh, he retired to Moidart, and afterwards to Knoydart. He died at Sandaig, near Arisaig, at a good old age, and was carried by his clansmen to his grave in Eillan Finnan on Loch Shiel.

Many of Macdonald's poems are coarse and indecent. It has been truly said of him that, "like Nebuchadnezzar's image, he was gold above and coarse clay below." He had, however, an intense appreciation of the beauty of nature. Like most Gaelic poets, he has no feeling of the spiritual suggestions of scenery, and of "those thoughts that lie too

deep for tears"; but he has great love for the beauty of nature in itself, its harmony and grandeur, and great command of language in describing it. A little burn, called the "Sugar Brook," which flowed past his cottage, is the theme of much loving and delicate description. In the "fragrant summer morning" the azure dew lies grey upon the grass "like rosaries." The blue-backed cuckoo proudly tosses her head, cuckooing on the branch. The blithesome brown wren has music of her own. The linnet tunes up its choicest strain, and the moorhen hoarsely responds to the croaking of the blackcock. After these slight touches, the poet paints the stream itself:—

"The trout kept leaping nimbly
With merry plunge and play,
Dimpling the burn with sprightly tricks,
Warm in the summer ray.
Their blade-blue backs and spotted gills
Gleamed with their gem-like scales,
When with a dash they snapt the fly
That careless wandering sails."

The poet describes with very delicate touch the sights and sounds that greet him as he wanders by the burnside—the hum of bees, the lowing kye, the beauty of the simple flowers that border the streamlet:—

"O dainty is the graving work
By Nature near thee wrought,
Whose fertile banks with shining flowers
And pallid buds are fraught.
The shamrock and the daisy
Spread o'er thy borders fair
Like new-made spangles, or like stars
From out the frosty air.

O lily, king of flowers, thou
The new rose hast undone;
In bunches round, of tender hue
And white crown, like the sun,

To keep the Sugar brook from harm,
As amulets are given,
Such stars to sparkle where it winds,
Like guiding lights from heaven."

The "Ode to Summer" and the "Ode to Winter," the "Welcome to the Mainland," and other descriptive poems, show the poet's love for nature and his deep feeling of her beauty. It is, however, in his patriotic songs that he shows most of his power. The song which he is said to have sung all through the Highlands, calling on the people to rise and join Prince Charles—"The Song of the Highland Clans," as it is called—carries in its verses an impassioned appeal that English is powerless to convey:—

"O loved and loyal kindred!
Choice homage now give ye;
Let no mote cloud your eyesight,
Your heart from care keep free.
The health of James Stewart
With welcome send it round;
Without reserve receive it,
This holy pledge we sound.

Now fill a draught for Charlie,
Rogue! let this cup o'erflow.
Ha! 'tis a balm to heal our hearts,
Revive us when we're low.
Yea! should death's hand be laying us,
Weak, wan, beside the grave,
O Universal King! return,
Return him o'er the wave!"

The famous fulling song, called "Morag Beautiful," may still often be heard sung in alternate verses by women engaged in fulling cloth as they roll it backward and forward and from side to side. In this song the Prince is represented under the guise of a young maiden, Morag, with flowing locks of yellow hair floating over her shoulders. Every two lines

is followed by an impassioned chorus. We give some of the verses in literal translation :—

"Graceful Morag of the curling ringlets,
Thy love is the cause of my anxiety.

If thou art gone from us over the sea,
May thy return be speedy.

Remember to bring with thee a band of maidens
Who will tightly full the *red* cloth.

And shouldst thou come again to my country,
Death alone, my love, will separate us.

I will adhere to thee as closely
As the limpet to the sea-rock.

I would follow thee to the extremity of the world,
Shouldst thou come, my love, to invite me.

Many are the warriors high-blooded, stately,
That would draw their swords for thy love.

Two thousand would come from Sleat,
And a regiment from Glengarry.

The Gael will all close round thee,
Let those who will, come or remain away.

King ! but they were good at fullering the cloth
And shaping it with their blades."

Many such patriotic songs came from our poet in the depressed days of the Jacobites, breathing love for the Prince, and striving in vain to keep alive the loyalty of his adherents. At the time when the Highland dress was proscribed, he was bold enough to put forth a song in praise of the garb of the Gael. In it he dilates on both its beauty and adaptiveness, and abuses the king who suppressed it. "He expected to have blunted the zeal of the noble Gael, but instead of

doing so, he put them on their mettle," and made them "keen as a razor's edge":—

"Although they should tear open our bosoms
And drag our hearts out of us,
They will not extract Charles
While the vital spark remains."

Some of our readers, in these days when the kilt has become fashionable, will perhaps like to hear what this old Highlander has to say of its merits. Our translation is by the late Professor Blackie:—

"Give me the plaid, the light, the airy,
Round my shoulder, under my arm,
Rather than English wool the choicest,
To keep my body tight and warm.

Who is so trim as a kilted laddie?
Tight his gear, and light his adorning,
With only a buckle his belt to fasten,
When he leaps to his feet in the morning.

Thou art my joy in the charge of battle,
When bright blades are flashing o'er me;
When the war-pipe is sounding, sounding,
And the banners are flapping o'er me.

Good art thou in the stalking of deer,
When peaks are red with the young day dawning;
Mild art thou with sober cheer,
When going to church on Sunday morning.

I with thee would lie on the heather,
Closely wrapt to keep me warm,
Safe within thy folds defying
Batter of rain and bray of storm."

Macdonald's greatest poem is undoubtedly that called the "Launching of the Biorlinn," or war-ship of Clanranald. It is a poetic sea-piece. Its conception is original and its execution masterly. It is one of the longest Gaelic poems not

Ossianic, and therefore any extracts from it can give but little conception of the whole. The poem begins with the blessing of the ship, and a noble invocation to the persons of the Holy Trinity to take the bark under their protection and guidance. Then comes the blessing of the arms—the swords, "our keen grey brands of Spain," the dirks and pistols—and every kind of warlike gear which the vessel holds. The next part is a call to row to the place of embarkation; "to bring the galley so black and shapely to the sailing-point;" to stretch and pull and bend in the rowlocks with "their sinewy arms so brawny, knotted, and hairy," that will rise and drop together with one motion. This is followed by a boat-song supposed to be sung by Malcolm, son of Ronald of the Ocean, with a spirited chorus. The arrival at the sailing-point is then described. Every man is ordered to go to his own special post—the helmsman, the man set apart for the sheet and the foresheet, the look-out man at the bow, the man at the halyards, the baler, those ordered to haul the backstays in case the sails might be carried away by the roughness of the weather, the six chosen as a reserve in case any of those named should fail or be carried overboard. These sailors and the duties allotted to each of them are described with great minuteness and vigour. Then comes the story of the voyage, and any one familiar with the Hebrides will feel that the description is drawn directly from personal experience. We give some lines which speak for themselves:—

"The sun bursting golden yellow
From his cloud husk;
Then the sky grew tawny, smoky,
Full of gloom:
It waxed wave-blue, thick, buff-speckled,
Dun, and troubled;
Every colour of the tartan
Marked the heavens.

A rainbow "dog" is seen to westward,
  Stormy presage;
Flying clouds by strong winds riven,
  Squally showers.
They lifted up the speckled sails,
  Towering, tight;
And they stretched the rigid shrouds up,
  Tense and stiff,
To the tall and stately masts;
  Red and resiny,
They were tied so taut and knotty
  Without blunder.
Through the eyelet-holes
  And the round blocks
They fixed every rope of rigging
  Quick in order,
And each man at his place sat down
  To watch smartly."

Then comes this marvellous description of the storm in the Western Sea. It is Homeric:—

"Opened then the windows of the sky,
  Spotted grey-blue,
For blowing of the gurly wind
  And the storm-bands;
And the dark-grey Ocean all around him
  Drew his mantle—
His rough woolly robe of dun-black,
  Horrid, flowing:
It swelled up in mountains and in glens
  Rough and shaggy,
Till the tumbling sea was roaring
  All in hills up.
The blue deep opened up its jaws
  Wide and threatening,
Pouring out against each other
  In deadly struggle.
A man's deed it was to look at
  The fiery mountains,
Flashes of wildfire sparkling
  On each summit.
In front the high hoary surges
  Came fiercely raving,

And the hind seas, onward swelling,
  Hoarsely bellowed.
Every time we rose up grandly
  On the wave-tops,
Need was then to lower sail
  Quick and smartly.
When we sank into the glens
  With a gulp down,
Every stitch of sail she had
  Was hauled to mast-top.
The high, broad-skirted, heaving waves
  Came on raging;
Before ever they were near us
  We heard them roaring,
Sweeping bare the smaller waves
  As with scourges,
Making one deadly sea
  Dire for steering."

This description of a storm in the West Highlands even our English readers will allow to be powerful and poetic. The poem does not end with the extract we have given, but goes on through many verses to describe the perils of the voyage and the battle with the storm, until the vessel, shaping her course through the sheltering Sound of Islay, arrives safe at Carrickfergus. Though "not a knee or timber in her but was loosened," not a tiller was unsplit or helm unbroken; though every stick in her was creaking, the "waves cried peace on them at last," and the sea, "a smooth white table," "ceased from barking."

Macdonald was certainly the best of the Inverness-shire bards, and, perhaps more than any of the others, his verses lend themselves to translation. The extract just given is from the translation by the late Alexander Nicolson, as true a Skye man as ever lived. It is literal, and gives in no small degree much of the force and strength of the original.

Ian Lom and Allasdair Macdonald are the chief bards of the mainland of our county, but there were others also of whom

something needs to be said. We are indebted considerably to the great authority on the Celtic bards, Mackenzie, in his 'Beauties of Gaelic Poetry.'

SICELY or JULIAN MACDONALD was a daughter of the chief of Keppoch, and lived from the reign of Charles II. to that of George II. She was a fervent Royalist, and a bitter enemy to the house of Hanover. Her husband was a cadet of the house of Lovat, and one of her poems is an elegy for him. It is a bitter outpouring of grief, in which she compares herself to a boat "broken on the shore, without rudder, sail, or oar." In her latter days she turned her muse to sacred topics and composed hymns, some of which are still remembered in the North. Her finest verses are those in praise of the chief of Glengarry, written after his death. In this elegy, after telling how the clansmen had lost the grey old oak that shielded them, as the branches of the tree give shelter alike to the capercailzie and the strong blue-eyed hawk, she bursts into a fervent eulogy on the departed chief, and compares him to everything great and precious:—

"Thou wert the red flame to burn up thy foes,
Thou wert the battle-axe that hewed them to their heels,
Thou wert the strong shoulder to wage the battle,
Thou wert the hero with no timidity of hand.

Thou wert the salmon in the spring water,
Thou wert the glad fountain of health to many,
Thou wert Ben Nevis above each height,
Thou wert the rock that could not be climbed.

Thou wert the copestone of the castle,
Thou wert the broad paving-stone of the road,
Thou wert the bright jewel of all virtues,
Thou wert the precious gem of the ring.

Thou wert the yew-tree in the wood,
Thou wert the strong stalwart oak,
Thou wert the green holly, the rough thorn,
Thou wert the blossoming apple-tree."

This eulogium may perhaps appear somewhat overdone, but in the original every metaphor is made to tell. It was a song highly appreciated in the North, and was the model on which others of a similar character were framed.

JOHN MACDONALD, or, as he was called, BLACK JOHN, the son of John the son of Allan, belonged to the family of Clanranald, and had the position of a gentleman in the district of Moidart. He was born about 1665, was well educated, and shows his culture in his poems. These are highly polished compositions, and perhaps on that account wanting somewhat in the fire and exuberant fancy which are generally displayed by the northern bards. His best poem is one on "The Highland Clans." In this song he takes one clan after another, and gives in elegant and classical Gaelic the characteristics of each of the various septs—Monroes, Frasers, Camerons, Grants, and others. He begins by telling that a time was at hand when the stability of the Government would be tried. "The men of Alba had risen in their vigour and might." Every true fighting man was mustering "in his clean new armour" to fight for the restoration of the Crown. The good and true men of the Lowlands had risen. The spoiling of the English was at hand. The French in their array would be soon after them. After this prologue he tells what the Highlanders would do when they joined in the fray. First he gives the place of honour to his own clan :—

"Clan Donnuil will rise
Like lions enraged ;
They will come down like live thunderbolts.
Tall and stout are these heroes ;
These are the men to stand by the right,
Whose cognisance is the red hand."

The Camerons would not be far behind the Clan Donald when the hour came to strip for the battle :—

"Many are the warriors
Of Ewen of Lochiel;
Rough, broad men,
Famous for their prowess,
Sweeping on to battle
Like the spring-tide or mountain torrent.
Well know I that at stripping-time
They will not hold back from the onslaught."

The whole poem has a fine martial ring about it, and closely resembles the Latin poem "The Græmiad," which we have noticed, and which describes the gathering of the clans on the field of Macomer to follow the banner of Dundee.

Mr LAUCHLAN MACPHERSON of Strathmashie, in Badenoch, was, like the last poet we have named, of gentle birth and assured position. He was born in 1723, received a good education, and in his latter years assisted James Macpherson in the translations of the Gaelic poems which compose 'Ossian.' He was an accomplished Celtic scholar, and had large knowledge of Gaelic poetic manuscripts. He was also a poet himself, though not one by profession. He seemed to have turned off verses more for his own amusement than for any other reason. He was a great humourist, and, except his "Lament" for the departure of his chief to France after the '45, his verses are of a sprightly and occasionally even ridiculous character. Such is his song, "The Fellowship of Whisky," which has something of the ring of Burns about it, as the poet sings in merry verses the praise of that by which "heroes are often felled to the ground without any sword being drawn." Of the same character is his somewhat indecent satire called "The Grey Breeks." In it he lampoons the Hanoverian Government for their attempt to abolish the Highland garb, and turns to ridicule the Highlanders masquerading in trousers.

JOHN ROY STEWART, or JOHN STEWART THE RED, was a great warrior, and was famous for his prowess as well as for his poetry. He was born at Knock, in Badenoch, in 1700. He was well educated, and on his attaining manhood became quartermaster and lieutenant in the Scots Greys. After a time he retired from the king's service and was largely employed as a Jacobite agent. He was constantly coming and going between the exiled royal family and the Highland chiefs, and had a share in all the political plots and intrigues of his time. In 1736 he was apprehended as a dangerous person and imprisoned at Inverness, but with the connivance of Lord Lovat he broke out of gaol and escaped to France, where he was as much at home as in his own country. He was sent to Rome on an important mission, and he fought at Fontenoy. On the march south of Prince Charles he joined the army at Blair. He raised and commanded the Jacobite "Edinburgh Regiment," which distinguished itself on many occasions under his leadership. From his courage and resource, his gift of song, and his experience as a soldier from having served in France, he was a great favourite with the Prince, by whom he was familiarly termed "The Body." At Culloden he fought with much bravery, and attracted the notice of the Duke of Cumberland, who asked who he was. When he was told it was John Roy Stewart, "Good God!" he exclaimed, "the man I left in Flanders doing the butcheries of ten heroes! Is it possible he can have dogged me here?"

After Culloden, Stewart had a hard time. A price was set upon his head, and many attempts were made to capture him. He had frequent hairbreadth escapes, but though his hiding-places in Badenoch were known to many he was never betrayed. It was when resting with a sprained ankle beside a waterfall in Rothiemurchus, with his foot in the

stream, that he composed in English the verses, long held in high esteem by the Jacobites, called "John Roy Stewart's Psalm":—

"The Lord's my targe, I will be stout,
With dirk and trusty blade;
Though Campbells come in flocks about,
I will not be afraid.

The Lord's the same as heretofore,
He's always good to me;
Though redcoats come a thousand more,
Afraid I will not be.

Though they the woods do cut and burn,
And drain the waters dry,
Nay, though the rocks they overturn,
And change the course of Spey:

Though they mow down both corn and grass
And seek me under ground;
Though hundreds guard each road and pass,
John Roy will not be found."

Found he was not. He joined the Prince in Lochaber, and accompanied him to France, where he died about 1752.

The English doggerel—for it is little better—that we have quoted from his pious effusion gives little idea of the strength of his Gaelic poetry. His songs are still popular in the Highlands, and breathe in every line the intense love he bore for the cause to which he gave the best part of his life. His two poems on "The Day of Culloden" are a very wail of sorrow. In one of them he charges Lord George Murray with treachery, compares him to Achan, and pours forth, as it has well been said, "torrents of invective and revenge." In the other he sets forth his deep love for Prince Charles, "the true heir of the crown," a wanderer "he knew not whither." He enumerates with sorrow, yet with pride, one after another of those who had fought on his side, and praises their valour, and then

expresses fervently the hope, never to be realised, that the "wheel of fortune would come round," when the false Hanoverian would receive the wages of iniquity; when William the son of George would be "as a blighted tree without root, branch, or leaf," and the faithful clansmen, young and old, would gather under the shadow of their chosen king. His elegy on Lady Mackintosh of Moy, who entertained the Prince, is also a plaintive and tender poem.

ALAN DALL, or BLIND ALAN, born 1750, was the last of those family bards who were attached to the household of a chief. Most of his songs were composed at Inverlochy, and a selection of them was published which spread his fame throughout Inverness-shire. They attracted the attention of Ranaldson Macdonnell of Glengarry, who still kept up in comparatively modern times something of the style of a chief. About 1795 he brought Alan to Glengarry and made him his family bard, and many of his effusions are in praise of his patron. He was a man of sharp wit, and knew well how to please his benefactor, to whom a little flattery was always agreeable. On one occasion, after the Glengarry games were over, and when, according to usual custom, the bard was to give an exhibition of his powers, the chieftain came forward and said, "Now, Alan, I will give you the best cow on my estate if you sing the doings of this day without once mentioning my name." Alan's reply was instantaneous, and is often still quoted:—

> "Sooner the day without the sun,
> Or without salt the sea,
> Than a song from me, most honoured chief,
> Without the praise of thee."

Doubtless Alan got his cow! His poems are often coarse in fibre, and those in praise of his patron are fulsome in the

extreme, but his satire is sharp. His verses on the shepherds from the Lowlands, whom he hated, are full of venom. When he was in good humour, which was as often as he could obtain a sufficient quantity of whisky, he sang songs of a genial and rollicking character which are often very diverting. Such are his songs on "Whisky" and on "Drinking." They are far from being such as would commend themselves to an advocate of temperance, but they exhibit well the jollity of the convivial Highlander. Here is his experience of a jovial night and subsequent repentance. The translation is literal:—

"When we sat in the public-house,
The stoups went beyond counting;
Quickly—not lingeringly coming—
They raced towards us.
No thought had I of the flight of time, but constantly paying,
And drinking the health of the Prince,
My heart with pleasure leaping high,
For Ronald was praising me.

But when I arose to go home
I became weak in the knees;
I tacked hither and thither, not seeing rightly
From the many conceits in my eyes.
Pressing along through the night with scarcely a blink of light,
I made prostrations which doubled me up,
And I fear indecent exposures:
My friends were much dissatisfied.

When I arose next morning
My mind was little disposed to merriment,
My head was without power, my bosom on fire,
My eyes polluted and red.
The 'son of the malt,' it was that laid me low
In a bed uncomfortable;
That wrestler subdued me,
And left me bruised and weak.

Bad trades are rhyming and blethering.
Idiotic conduct it is
To be sitting at a table calling for drink
And turning pockets inside out;

Scattering money vaingloriously,
And stealing kisses in sly corners.
But while my money lasted
No landlord turned his back on me."

The poem concludes with the most solemn resolutions to turn over a new leaf, and "doubly to repent" and to "eschew drink" for the future, "for a moneyless man can only make his bread by the sweat of his brow." It is to be feared these resolutions were like too many others made in similar circumstances.

EWAN M'LACHLAN was a poet of education and learning, a scholar of no mean order, but a true Highlander, fond of the mountains and the language of his people. He was born in Lochaber 1775, was educated at the grammar-school of Fort William, and spent some years as a tutor in the neighbourhood of that town. In 1798 he entered King's College, Aberdeen, where he distinguished himself by his proficiency in classics. After taking the degree of A.M. with honours, he entered the Divinity Hall and completed his theological studies, but instead of entering the ministry of the Church of Scotland, he became assistant librarian of King's College and headmaster of the grammar-school of Old Aberdeen, positions which he occupied till his death in 1822, in the forty-ninth year of his age. He was a distinguished classic scholar and philologist, and was specially famous as a Gaelic scholar. He was the compiler of the Gaelic-English part of the Highland Society's Gaelic Dictionary, a work of immense labour, and an abiding monument of his intimate acquaintance not only with the Gaelic language, but also with Arabic, Chaldean, Hebrew, Persian, and other oriental languages. He had in his time considerable reputation as a poet. His Greek and Latin odes are said to be second only to those of George Buchanan;

and his translation of Homer's 'Iliad' into Gaelic, a work on which he was engaged at his death, has been pronounced by competent scholars to be faithful to the original and imbued with its spirit. He died at Aberdeen from overwork, in the prime of life, when much was expected from his genius. He was buried in his native Lochaber with every mark of sorrow and respect. A conspicuous monument to him stands near the town of Fort William. His Gaelic poems are cultured productions, as might be expected. They all display great love of nature. Those on Summer, Autumn, and Winter show close observation of the effects of the changing seasons. The same familiarity with the varied beauty of the Highland landscape pervades the allegorical composition called "The Mavis of Clan Lachluin," in which the poet assumes the character of that song-bird :—

"The sun is on his flashing march, his golden hair abroad;
It seems as on the mountain-side of beams a furnace glowed.
Now melts the honey from the flowers, and now a dew o'erspreads
(A dew of fragrant blessedness) all the grasses of the meads.
Not least in my remembrance is my country's flowering heather,
Whose russet crest nor cold nor sun nor sweep of gale may wither;
Dear to my eye the symbol wild, that loves like me the side
Of my own Highland mountain that I climb in love and pride."

This extract is a translation from the Gaelic, and, though literal enough, is but a tame copy of the original. With one lilt of M'Lachlan's, translated by himself, we may close our attempts to bring the poetry of our Inverness-shire bards within the comprehension of our Saxon readers. It is called "The Melody of Love," and is a song that is still most popular in the Highlands. It is sung to a lively air and has a spirited chorus :—

"Not the swan on the lake, or the foam on the shore,
Can compare with the charms of the maid I adore;
Not so white is the new milk that flows o'er the pail,
Or the snow that is showered from the boughs of the vale.

As the cloud's yellow wreath on the mountain's high brow,
The locks of my fair one redundantly flow;
Her cheeks have the tint that the roses display
When they glitter with dews on the morning of May.

As the planet of Venus that beams o'er the grove,
Her blue rolling eyes are the symbols of love;
Her pearl-circled bosom diffuses bright rays,
Like the moon when the stars are bedimmed with her blaze.

The mavis and lark when they welcome the dawn
Make a chorus of joy to resound through the lawn;
But the mavis is tuneless, the lark strives in vain,
When my beautiful charmer renews her sweet strain.

When summer bespangles the landscape with flowers,
While the thrush and the cuckoo sing soft from the bowers,
Through the wood-shaded windings with Bella I'll rove,
And feast unrestrained on the smiles of my love."

There are some other Gaelic poets of the past whom we might have mentioned had our space permitted. There are also Inverness-shire poets of the present day who emulate, and not without considerable success, the efforts of their predecessors. It is only a few years since Inverness-shire lost one who in an eminent degree possessed the bardic spirit. This was Mrs Mary Mackellar or Cameron, a native of Fort William. She wrote English poems, some of which are not without considerable merit; but her Gaelic poems are full of spirit, and are likely to be long remembered. Of her and of other minstrels, well known to the northern people, who have well maintained the continuity of Inverness-shire song, we cannot now write.

It has been a difficult task to make a presentation in any comprehensible form of these Inverness-shire poets. In doing so we have supplemented our own knowledge of Gaelic with such translations by competent scholars as were within our reach. While the productions of our county poets may not

excite the admiration of our southern readers, and may even seem to some of them not only rough and primitive, but feeble and commonplace, others will feel that it is remarkable to find among our wild and remote mountains, and often among an uneducated people, so deep and long-continued an expression of fine feeling, chivalry, and love for all that is highest and best as the work of these bards presents to us.

CHAPTER XIX.

INVERNESS-SHIRE OF THE PRESENT DAY—THE FOUR DIVISIONS OF ITS HISTORY—FEW REMNANTS LEFT OF THE OLDEN TIME—THE OLD CASTLES—THE PRESENT CHIEFS—DISAPPEARANCE OF THE MACDONALD FAMILIES OF KEPPOCH, CLANRANALD, AND GLENGARRY—"THE LAST OF THE CHIEFS"—INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PROPRIETORS AND OF DISTRICTS GIVEN UP TO SPORT—TWO ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CHANGE IN INVERNESS AND THE WEALTH POURED INTO IT BY SPORTSMEN—GLENGARRY AND GLENQUOICH — MONEY SPENT IN IMPROVEMENTS — RATES AND TAXES PAID BY SPORTING TENANTS—RAILWAY REACHES INVERNESS-SHIRE—HIGHLAND AND WEST HIGHLAND LINES—LINES PROJECTED—GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF THE TOWNS—INVERNESS NEVER SO WORTHY OF BEING CALLED "THE CAPITAL OF THE HIGHLANDS"—FORT WILLIAM—THE BEN NEVIS OBSERVATORY—KINGUSSIE—A GREAT HEALTH RESORT—FORT AUGUSTUS THE SITE OF A BENEDICTINE MONASTERY—SMALL INCREASE IN MANUFACTURES—THE ALUMINIUM WORKS IN STRATHERRICK—FEARS OF THE BEAUTY OF FOYERS BEING DESTROYED — THE BEAUTY OF INVERNESS-SHIRE ITS GREAT INHERITANCE — THE HEIGHT OF ITS MOUNTAINS AND CHARACTER OF ITS SCENERY — ITS CLIMATE — THE RAINFALL AT SOME OF ITS PRINCIPAL RECORDING STATIONS — ITS GEOLOGICAL FORMATION — THE COUNTY INTERESTING TO THE GEOLOGIST—THE UPLANDS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE—THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE VALLEYS WERE FORMED—THE GREAT GLEN A FRACTURE—THE SCOOPING OUT OF ITS LAKES—THE VAST RESULTS OF GLACIAL ACTION EVERYWHERE APPARENT — ESPECIALLY IN GLEN SPEAN AND GLEN ROY — THE PARALLEL ROADS OF THE LATTER — THE VARIOUS THEORIES REGARDING THEM—THE THEORY OF AGASSIZ DOUBTLESS THE CORRECT ONE.

THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTY IN 1881 AND 1891—CONCLUSION—FLOREAT INVERNESSIA!

We have now come in our narrative to the Inverness-shire of the present day. Of its condition and prospects it is not necessary that much should here be said. They are well known to every one who has visited our beautiful county.

The history we have endeavoured to bring before our readers naturally falls into four great epochs or divisions. The first was the annexation of the kingdom of Moray to Scotland, the coming of the southern lords, and the subsequent establishment by these strangers of the Norman polity, modified in some measure by the peculiar customs and traditions of the Celtic people among whom it was planted. The second was the cessation of the clan feuds, which had long desolated the country and rendered life and property everywhere unsafe, by the banding of the clans together in a common attachment to the house of Stewart. The third was the change which took place after Culloden. The old feudal system was swept away, hereditary jurisdiction and the arbitrary powers of the chiefs abolished, the people emigrated in vast numbers to other lands, and the county they inhabited was almost entirely devoted to pastoral purposes. The fourth is that under which Inverness-shire now exists. The county has become mainly a place for sport and recreation. Large stretches of it are devoted to deer-forests, and thousands annually visit it attracted by sport or by the beauties of its scenery. This is the outstanding feature of the Inverness-shire of the present day. There are still in some parts of it agricultural and pastoral industry. In the west there are large sheep-farms, and in the east many acres under tillage; but the wealth derived from these sources is small in comparison with that poured into the county by the sportsmen who rent its forests, grouse-moors, and rivers, and the multitude of tourists who in the summer-time crowd its hotels.

There are few features in the Inverness-shire of the present day which link it with the Inverness-shire of the olden time, of which we have had so much to tell in these pages. The old castles of Glenurquhart, Inverlochy, Invergarry, Castle

Tirrim, Castle Downie, and other great strongholds of the feudal time, still stand uninhabited and deserted, telling of the old days when "might was right." But the clansmen who dwelt under their shadow are nearly all gone, and the few who remain have lost in great part the martial spirit of their ancestors. Instead of the old keeps where dwelt the feudal magnates, we have elegant mansions, like those of Achnacarry, Beaufort, Balmacaan, Glengarry, and also many others to which attach no historical interest, and whose owners for the most part bear no historic names. From one end of the county to the other, from the southern border of Badenoch to the rough bounds of Moidart, these mansions are to be met with every few miles, evidence in themselves of the vast change that has come over Inverness-shire.

Most of the old chiefs of whom we have written so much are still represented in their descendants. A Lochiel is still at Achnacarry, a Grant in Glenmoriston and Strathspey, a Fraser at Beaufort, a Chisholm in Strathglass, a Mackintosh at Moy, and a Macpherson at Cluny; and several other families also remain in the county whose ancestors took a conspicuous part in the olden days.

It is a curious circumstance that the only great clan families who have disappeared are those of the Macdonalds. We have no longer a Keppoch in the Braes of Lochaber, a Clanranald in Moidart, or a Glengarry in the glen that bears his name.

The Keppochs, who had little or no legal title to their lands, naturally soon disappeared. When sheep-skins became more powerful than swords as instruments of possession, the descendants of brave "Col of the Cows" became only tenants of their holding, and finally vanished from Lochaber.

The grandson of Clanranald of the '45, it is said through association with the Prince Regent and his foolish and extrav-

agant companions, was brought to absolute ruin. One after another, large parts of the family property were cut off and sent into the market. Of the splendid inheritance, once like a principality, there only remains to the descendants of a long line of chiefs the roofless walls of Castle Tirrim, standing gaunt and bare by the Western Sea.

The family of Glengarry had almost as sad an ending. The fifteenth chief, Alasdair Ranaldson Macdonnell, may be said to have been the last of the old race who was a conspicuous figure in Inverness-shire. It was the aim of his life to carry into modern times the pomp and surroundings of an ancient chief. He always wore the Highland dress, lived as much as possible after the manner of his ancestors, exercised unbounded hospitality, and maintained a household modelled upon that of feudal times. He went about, like his forebears, with a bodyguard, which was called his "tail." He had his piper and his bard. When George IV. visited Scotland, Glengarry came to Edinburgh with the gentlemen of his clan, and was in great prominence during the royal visit. During the time of the Peninsular war he commanded a regiment called the Glengarry Fencibles, who wore the Highland costume and the little cap called the Glengarry bonnet. He had all the impetuousness of the old chiefs of his race, and was sometimes hurried by his fiery temper into acts of a most serious kind. On one occasion he unreasonably quarrelled with an officer at Inverness: a duel was the result, and Glengarry killed his man. He was tried for his life, but escaped through the eloquence of Henry Erskine.

This chief, said to be the prototype of Fergus MacIvor in 'Waverley,' was killed in 1828 in leaping off a steamer which had drifted on some rocks near Fort William. He was succeeded by his son, a boy of ten years old, and the estate came under trust. The trustees found that the liabilities of the late

chief amounted to about £80,000, and resolved to sell the greater portion of the estate. That which was unsold was parted with by the young chief on coming of age. There are 20,000 Macdonalds in Glengarry in Canada, but few in the beautiful glen at home. The once famous family own to-day only their burying-place in the ancient church of St Finnan, and the ruined castle that casts its dark shadow on the waters of Loch Oich.

We had almost said that the chief we have mentioned was the last of the old lords of Inverness-shire, but that would not be altogether correct. There was one who, without the absurdities which distinguished Glengarry, displayed in our own time all the best qualities of an ancient chief. Cluny Macpherson—grandson of the Cluny who was exiled after 1745—will always be remembered by those who had the pleasure of knowing him as the embodiment of all that was best in the old patriarchal chief. He possessed his ancestral estates for the long period of seventy years. He maintained with dignity the name he bore, and inherited all the martial ardour of his ancestors. Of wonderful courtesy and chivalrous feeling, he carried into all his duties a flavour of the olden time. In the Highland dress, surmounted by the bonnet and eagle's feather of the chief, with his fine erect athletic figure, no more graceful specimen of a Highlander could be seen. He died in 1885, "the last of the chiefs," who so long, in very different times from his own, controlled the destinies of Inverness-shire.

The change in the county occasioned by the breaking up of large properties like those of Clanranald, Glengarry, and others, has been very marked. Proprietors are numerous: according to a return made in 1892-93, they number 1867. Districts given up to sport are many. Any one who happens to be at Inverness on the days preceding the 12th of August

will wonder at the army of sportsmen who arrive in detachments from the South, and who from the northern capital branch off to their residences in remote glens, to remain there until the approach of winter calls them to return to the regions whence they came.

As an illustration of the change produced in Inverness-shire and the wealth poured into the county by the new condition of things, we may refer to two estates with which all who love the beauty of Highland scenery are familiar—namely, those of Glengarry and Glenquoich. They are typical of many more.

Glenquoich was purchased by the late Right Hon. Edward Ellice from Mr Ranaldson Macdonnell—the last chief of the doughty Macdonnells who possessed the ancestral estates of Glengarry, Glenquoich, and Knoydart—in 1840 at the price of £32,000, while the Glengarry portion was acquired by Mr Ellice from the late Earl of Dudley in 1860 for the sum of £120,000, Lord Dudley having twenty years before purchased Glengarry from the Macdonnell family for £9000.

These estates afford a fair illustration of the enormous harvest which during the past half-century the county of Inverness has reaped from its adaptability to meet the needs of those persons—now a numerous class—of wealth and station who pour into the Highlands every autumn in search of health and recreation.

From evidence regarding these estates which was laid before the Royal Commission of 1892-94 appointed to inquire into the condition of crofters and other smaller tenants, it appeared that during the previous thirty years there had been expended by the proprietors of Glengarry—namely, Mr Ellice above mentioned, his son, the late Edward Ellice, so long the well-known member of Parliament for the St Andrews Burghs, and the widow of the latter, Mrs Ellice, the present

proprietor—no less than £274,749 upon their property, and that by far the greater portion of this expenditure had gone to local tradesmen and labourers for services rendered to the estate.

An even more remarkable instance of the same kind, which we quote from the report we have mentioned, is the outlay upon the adjoining estate of Glenquoich. It is the more striking from being the case of a tenant, having no proprietary interest in the estate, voluntarily expending, out of his love for the place and the pleasure he derives from his residence upon it, a very large sum. It was shown that in twenty years Lord Burton, the tenant referred to, had expended the great amount of £225,272, consisting to a great extent of payments to the resident and local population as wages, and for materials for extensive works. "Not less than a hundred and thirty miles of roads," says the report, "and paths, fifty miles of fences, and many new houses and other buildings, have been constructed, which have afforded well-paid employment to a large number of workpeople, chiefly of the crofter class."

What may be called the sporting interests of Inverness-shire have been instrumental not only in contributing to the prosperity and wealth of the people through the employment and wages they have directly received; it must also be remembered that in a very marked degree they have lessened the pressure of rates and taxes in many parishes, and have thus benefited all classes. While the rents of pastoral farms have gone down greatly, and agriculture generally has been in the Highlands, as elsewhere, depressed for a good many years, the demand for shootings and sporting-places in the Highlands has suffered little or no abatement to the present day. Their annual values or rents have also not appreciably receded. From this it can readily be seen that the great rents often

obtained for shootings must materially increase the rateable basis of taxation, and correspondingly keep down the rates.

Evidence of what we have said has from time to time been brought out by various parliamentary inquiries into Highland affairs. It has been shown that over the whole Highland area 25 per cent of rates and taxes is raised from shooting and fishing rental, while in not a few parishes, including several parishes in Inverness-shire, the proportion reaches 35, 40, and even 50 per cent. What the withdrawal of this burden from parishes with an otherwise impoverished rental would entail on the ratepayers can be easily imagined. The withdrawal or destruction of interests so beneficial would be embittered by the reflection that generally these were interests which might and did exist without detriment to any other concern, and which were in fact almost the only profitable use to which such possessions could be put.

We have probably said enough on this subject, but if any of our readers desire further proof of the invaluable importance to our northern county of its sporting rents, they will find it in abundance in many a blue-book and official document. We would specially mention as of deep interest the reports following the two inquiries of the Royal Commission in 1883-84 and 1892-94 into the condition of the Highlands and Islands. These furnish most instructive reading to all interested in Northern history.

The attractions of the Scottish Highlands, the marvellous natural beauty of their scenery, and the health and vigour derived from a visit to their bens and glens, will doubtless long continue to draw many to the North. Their visits, it is pleasant to think, are being rendered every year easier and less costly by the wisdom of the Government in providing increased postal and telegraphic facilities, and by a remarkable development of railways through private enterprise.

On the 5th November 1855 the "iron horse" first reached Inverness, and that town was connected by railway with Nairn. In 1858 the line was extended to Keith, and direct communication with the South by Aberdeen established. On the 9th September 1861 what is now called the Highland line was opened. The idea of such a line was at first ridiculed on account of the engineering difficulties it presented, but these were successfully overcome, mainly by the ability of Mr Joseph Mitchell, C.E., who gives in his reminiscences a full history of the undertaking. There are few travellers who are not familiar with this route to the Northern Highlands. It passes through the most beautiful mountain scenery in Scotland, and the passenger who leaves London at night is landed early in the forenoon of next day at Inverness.

Another line of railway also reaches our county from the South. Starting from the Firth of Clyde, by the shores of Loch Lomond, through the solitudes of the Black Forest, across the Moor of Rannoch, and by the valley of wild Loch Treig, the West Highland Railway finally debouches into the valley of the Spean, by which it arrives at Fort William. This railway was opened in 1894.

Other railway projects have received the sanction of Parliament. A line is to be made from Fort William to the western border of the county at Mallaig. Another is to run from Fort William to Fort Augustus. Connection between this place and Inverness is likely to be soon effected, and when this is done all parts of our county will be brought into close communication. As it is, crowds of travellers during the summer months come to Inverness-shire either by the railway routes or by the excellent line of steamers which pass through the Caledonian Canal. Our county, once so inaccessible, is now perhaps better known to the southerner and the foreigner than any other district of Scotland.

One result of the opening up of Inverness-shire to the rest of the world has been, as might be expected, the increase and prosperity of its various towns. The burgh, founded by King David I., and to which William the Lion granted privileges, is now one of the most beautiful and flourishing towns in Scotland of its size. It has lost the primitive character which distinguished it through many centuries, when it had to struggle for very existence in the midst of wild and hostile tribes. Its ancient castle and fort have disappeared. Where the former stood rises the imposing and castellated structure which contains the county buildings. Many handsome buildings beautify the town. Among them is specially noticeable the Cathedral of St Andrew, belonging to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, built in 1866, and occupying a commanding position by the waters of the Ness. The town is also distinguished by the many elegant residences by which on every side it is surrounded. Its amenity is remarkable. There are few views in Scotland or anywhere else exceeding in beauty that which is commanded from the upper heights of the town, when the spectator looks down on the wooded islands of the river, the blue waters of the Moray Firth, and sees bounding his view the Ross-shire hills and those of the Beauly valley.

The business and trade of Inverness have been on the increase since the opening of the Caledonian Canal. The tonnage of the port in 1840 was 8000, which has since been more than doubled. In 1831 the population of the town and parish was 14,324; at the last census it was 19,215. It is the centre and emporium of a large and prosperous district, and is more worthy to-day than at any previous time of the name so frequently given to it—the capital of the Highlands.

Fort William, which in Burt's time was a collection of

hovels under the protection of the fort, is now a considerable town of 1870 inhabitants. It is under municipal government, has handsome shops, hotels, churches, and dwelling-houses, and is becoming year by year attractive as a place of residence. The old fort has been swept away, and there is little to remind the visitor of the days when the place was a military stronghold.

On the summit of Ben Nevis, in the neighbourhood, is the famous observatory, visited annually by many thousands. The ascent of the mountain is a great attraction to travellers, and it is easily effected. During the summer and autumn of 1893 a road was made to the top of the hill and the observatory equipped for meteorological observations at a cost of about £4000. Here work is carried on night and day, and the results have been of the greatest importance to meteorological science.

Kingussie, on the banks of the Spey, which, as we have seen, was founded shortly before 1795, has not belied the promise with which at that early time it was regarded. It is a centre of education, and a much frequented place of summer residence. The beauty of the scenery by which it is surrounded, as well as its other attractions, in the way of recreation and amusement, draw hither year after year crowds of strangers, and few who have been there once fail to return again. It is fast becoming one of the great health-resorts of Scotland.

Fort Augustus as a military station has disappeared, and where the fort stood is a magnificent and well-endowed Benedictine abbey. Lord Lovat purchased from the Government the fortress and farm attached to it for the sum of £5000 The old buildings were cleared away and the present monastery erected at a cost of £40,000. It was opened with imposing ceremonial in August 1878. The monastic com-

munity numbers twenty-five, with a staff of professors for the training of the youths who are sent there for their education. The abbey is doubtless a great source of strength to the Roman Catholic community of Inverness-shire, which, as we have seen, is large.

Inverness-shire has not made much progress in manufactures. Two breweries at Inverness, a woollen factory, some meal and flour mills, and various distilleries in different parts of the county, mainly represent this branch of industry. Lately, however, there has been a new departure. The British Aluminium Company have set up works at Foyers for the manufacture of their special product. They employ permanently at this place a hundred hands, and possess 7500 acres of land, with water rights over lochs, rivers, and streams within an area of about 100 square miles, which has cost them upwards of £78,000. What may be the results of this new industry it is impossible to determine. It has been feared that it may lead to the destruction of the famous and beautiful Fall of Foyers, and of the wooded scenery by which it is framed. That it may not do so will be the earnest wish of all who, like the poet Burns, have stood where

> "Among the heathy hills and ragged woods
> The roaring Foyers pours his mossy floods."

The beauty of our county is an inheritance of which it is not likely to be ever deprived. Other districts of Scotland may be richer in mineral and industrial wealth, but none can surpass Inverness-shire in the grandeur and loveliness of its scenery. It is especially the "land of the mountain and the flood." Its mountains present every variety of form. Within its bounds are the highest and grandest of Scottish hills. The Grampians form its southern boundary, rising in Ben Nevis, the highest peak in Great Britain, to a height

of 4406 feet. Other heights are Cairngorm (4090), Ben Alder (3757), Mam Siul (3862), Mealfourvounie (2730). From the borders of Arisaig to those of the Moray Firth one mountain rises behind another like the billowy waves of a tempestuous sea, sometimes clothed with heath, sometimes with forests of pine and fir, sometimes bare and verdureless, but always grand and impressive.

Water everywhere blends with rock to soften the asperity of the landscape. The rivers of the county—the Spey, the Nairn, the Findhorn, the Beauly, the Foyers, the Spean—and the Great Lakes of Lochy and Ness, of Garry, Laggan, Ericht, and many others, vary the wildness of the scenery. Nor must we forget the great arms of the sea by which the west coast of the county is indented, reaching far up among the mountains. Loch Linnhe, Loch Eil, Loch Aylort, and Loch Moidart rival in their beauty and picturesqueness the Norwegian fiords.

The main arteries of travel—the Highland and West Highland Railways, and the Caledonian Canal—have made many familiar with the scenery of Inverness-shire. There is, however, much varied and impressive scenery which these beaten tracks do not touch. The road from Loch Eil to Arisaig, from the Spean along Loch Laggan to Kingussie, from Beauly through Strathglass and the Chisholm's Pass, from Invergarry to Loch Hourn, and from Glenmoriston to Loch Duich, are routes unfamiliar to many, but which for attractiveness are unequalled in Scotland. No county can compare with Inverness-shire for varied beauty. It is not surprising that so many annually visit it, nor is it wonderful that its inhabitants, as it has been truly said, "should be touched with deep romantic feelings at once tender, melancholy, and wild, and that the recollection of their own picturesque native dwellings should haunt them to their latest hours."

The climate of Inverness-shire is in one respect similar to

that of the rest of Scotland. The rainfall on its western side is very great. On the east the heaviest rains are from the German Ocean, but they are less incessant than in the districts adjacent to the Atlantic. It is generally said that the annual number of rainy days at the Inverness end of the Great Glen is about sixty days less than at Fort William, its western extremity.

The following is the mean annual rainfall at some of the principal recording stations in the county: Glen Strathfarrar, 59·04 inches; Fort William, 80·91; Invergarry, 60·70; Glenquoich, 104·62; Glenfinnan, 106·35; Inverie, 79·11; Kinloch Moidart, 64·44. These figures tell of a terribly moist climate. But though the rainfall is great the temperature is mild. Winter is genial, and there is little frost or snow, especially on the west coast. It is a common proverb that "west coast rain doesn't hurt," and it is surprising with what indifference the inhabitants, and visitors who have become acclimatised, regard the frequent downpour.

The geological formation of Inverness-shire is of varied character. The prevailing rocks are gneiss and granite, especially the former, of which the greater part of the county is composed. In the neighbourhood of Inverness and along the southern shore of Loch Ness is a band of red sandstone. Mealfourvounie, on the northern side of the loch from where the band terminates, is one of the most elevated masses of old red sandstone in Scotland.

To the geologist there are two features presented by the county which are of very special interest. In no county of Scotland is shown more clearly the process by which its numerous and deep valleys have been formed, and the result of glacial action in bringing about its present striking configuration.

The tourist who ascends Ben Nevis sees not only the varied character of the country beneath him—mountain rising beyond mountain, far as the eye can reach—he sees also from that elevation what has been truly called the "tableland of the Highlands." As it has been well put by the celebrated geologist Sir Archibald Geikie, "Along the skyline the wide sweep of summits undulates up to a common level, varied here by a higher cone and there by the line of some strath or glen, but yet wonderfully persistent round the whole panorama. If, as sometimes happens, a bank of cloud with a level under-surface should descend upon the mountains, it will be seen to touch summit after summit, the long line of the cloud defining, like a great parallel ruler, the long level line of the ridge below." This long level ridge tells the onlooker what was in far distant ages the general contour of the country—a wide undulating plain, once the bottom of an ancient sea.

Another elevation in Inverness-shire where the mountain tableland can be clearly seen is from the hills to the northward of Dalwhinnie. Here another great view may be had of the sea of mountains between Strathspey and the Great Glen as well as the higher Grampians. The mountains present one unbroken line of upland. No one could imagine that the great undulating plain was broken by many a deep glen and rocky gorge.

This undulating plateau represents the general submarine level. The valleys which break into it have been caused not by eruptive forces, but by the powers of waste. They have been all dug out in the course of ages by water and frost. If it were possible to fill in these valleys with what has been swept out of them by these agencies, the traveller might walk from Dalwhinnie to Ben Nevis along a surface almost as level as a table and unbroken in its flatness. This is an interesting feature of the geological structure

of the county, but there is perhaps one even more striking. The results of glacial action are everywhere apparent. Everywhere the rocks are striated, scratched, and grooved by the great mass of ice as it moved along the surface of the land. Everywhere also may be seen large boulders of stone that have been lifted by ice-power from their original site and deposited where they lie by the glacial mass as it glided seawards.

The great lakes have been dug out by the same agency. The Caledonian Glen which divides the county is probably the result of an ancient fracture in the crust of the earth. Loch Ness is still agitated during earthquakes, showing that yet underground movements tend to reveal themselves along the old line of disturbance. After the fracture had been made it became subjected to a continual process of denudation, and to account for the great depths of its two principal lakes we have to go back to the Ice Age. "In old times," it has been clearly shown, "a larger amount of ice probably flowed into the Great Glen than into any other valley in Scotland. From the west came the great glaciers of Loch Eil, Loch Arkaig, Glenmoriston, and Glenurquhart; from the east those of the glens of Lochaber, and those which descended from the north-western flanks of the Monadhliadh Mountains. The sides of the valley show everywhere the flowing rounded outlines that mark the seaward march of the ice; and its rocky bottom, where visible, bears the same impress. That it has been ice-worn is thus rendered plain. The lake basins of the Great Glen have been scooped out by ice."

But the most striking instance probably of glacial action in Scotland is presented to us in the valley of the Spean, and by the celebrated parallel roads of Glen Roy. In the former valley the glacier which came down from the glen of Loch

Treig has left many traces. It appears to have gone right across Glen Spean and ascended the hills opposite the side whence it came. Agassiz, who visited Inverness-shire in 1840, describes the profound impression made upon him as he stood in Glen Spean. "I shall never forget," he says, "the impression experienced at the sight of the terraced mounds of blocks which occur at the mouth of the valley of Loch Treig where it joins Glen Spean: it seemed to me as if I were looking at the numerous moraines of the neighbourhood of Tines in the valley of Chamounix." Nowhere, indeed, can the result of glacial action be studied better than along the banks of the Spean. It is seen everywhere. How vast it must have been, if there be truth in the estimate of Jamieson that "the ice in Glen Spean must have been two miles broad at the surface, and at least 1300 feet deep"!

The parallel roads of Glen Roy have long formed one of the remarkable sights of the county, and are visited annually by many travellers. It is almost unnecessary to describe them. On the opposite sides of the glen, and at exactly the same levels, are three well-defined terraces, as marked as the terraces of a country mansion. They extend for several miles, and are easily recognisable at a great distance. The lowest terrace is 862 feet above sea-level, the second is 1077 feet, and the third is 1155 feet. The height of the terrace on one side of the glen is exactly the same as that opposite it on the other. The terraces are each from 60 to 70 feet broad.

These "roads" were in ancient times supposed to have been made by human hands. At one time they were believed to be the hunting roads of the Fingalian heroes, at another those of the ancient Scottish kings. Along them deer were driven by crowds of men and killed by the hunters with bow or broadsword. The legendary origin of these

wonderful formations has long ago vanished before scientific inquiry, though it is only in comparatively recent times a satisfactory solution of the phenomena has been reached. The greatest geologists of the century tried to solve the problem. Darwin, Agassiz, Nichol, and Milne Home have all propounded their theories. A literature of its own belongs to this remote glen, down which Montrose made his celebrated march to Inverlochy. All the theories put forward suggest water in some form as the cause, for no other agent could have produced the exact parallelism—not only on one side but on both sides of the valley. Darwin held the theory, and in this he was supported by Nichol, that the terraces were old sea-beaches. It was supposed that an arm of the sea, like one of the western lochs, at a remote period penetrated far inland. These beaches of different levels were formed as the sea receded from the land. This explanation was not deemed, however, satisfactory. Were it true, the levels in the neighbouring valleys—in Glen Spean and in Glen Gloy—would be the same as those in Glen Roy, but they are not.

Another theory was put forward by Mr Milne Home, an accomplished Scottish geologist, who devoted much labour to the subject. Briefly, his conclusion was that the roads were the successive margins of fresh-water lakes supported on gravel. Many existing lakes, it was pointed out, are formed in this manner, and the result here was the same as had occurred elsewhere. The difficulty in the way of accepting this theory was that of explaining how the enormous natural dams, the lowest of them 862 feet above the sea, could have been swept away from their contiguous valleys.

The theory of Agassiz is that which is now generally accepted. He goes back to the Ice-Age, when every valley

had its glacier. The roads were, according to him, the margins of fresh-water lakes supported on ice. As the temperature in the latitude of Scotland rose, the ice barriers were gradually reduced to a lower level. The existence of the three parallel beaches shows that the process of melting was arrested at different periods, during which the three successive beaches were formed; and as the difference between the third and second beach is only 78 feet, while that between the second and the lowest is 215 feet, the natural inference is that the thawing proceeded nearly three times as rapidly during the latter period as during the earlier. "The parallel roads of Glen Roy," to quote the words of Agassiz, "are intimately connected with the occurrence of glaciers, and have been caused by a glacier from Ben Nevis. The phenomenon must have been precisely analogous to the glacier lakes of the Tyrol and to the event that took place in the valley of the Bagne."

The views of Agassiz have been generally adopted by scientific men. His theory was accepted by Jamieson in 1863, and by the late General Sir Henry James, who wrote an interesting paper on the phenomenon in 1894, which is now regarded as the standard opinion on the subject. Sir Henry has pointed out that the Margilensee in Switzerland was an existing example of a fresh-water lake supported on a glacier in precisely the same way as were the old lakes in the glens of Lochaber, according to the theory which he supports. The roads, therefore, long supposed to have been artificially formed, are shown beyond all doubt to have been the result of natural forces—"the shores, as it were, of a phantom lake that came into being with the growth of the glaciers, and vanished as these melted away."

Perhaps what we have said is sufficient to show that our county presents a fine field for geological research, and brings

before the observant mind in a vivid and striking manner the story of ages reaching far back into the past.

The population of Inverness-shire has, on the whole, been decreasing, as the census shows. In 1881 it was 90,454; in 1891, 89,317. That of the islands in 1881 was 35,523; in 1891, 34,307; of the mainland in 1881, 54,931; in 1891, 55,010.

With these statistics we close our story, with the expression of a hope that a county with so striking a history and so admirable a people may yet have a great future before it; and may go on year by year increasing in all those elements that constitute its prosperity. *Floreat Invernessia!*

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Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. IV.

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OF THE

Viking Club,

OR

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OF THE

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ERRATA.

Page 23, line 11. For "Nicholson" *read* "Nicolson."

Page 127, line 14. For "1851" *read* "851."

Pages 147 and 148, lines 20 and 9. For "Colly" *read* "Colley."

Page 151. Add the following at the foot of the page after "over-"—

"lap, when the symbols of the Norse mythology were"

Page 153, line 1. For "harmonized" *read* "homologized."

Pages 155, 156 lines 33, 35, and 1. For "Hatton's Cross" *read* "Halton Cross."

Page 252, line 18 For "Haken" *read* "Hakon."

Page 252, line 20. For "of Halogaland" *read* "or Halogaland."

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"Über die alte politische Geographie der nicht-klassischen Völker Europas" in *Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Sprach und Altertumskunde*, 1903. Strassburg.

"Anganty-Kvadets Geografi" in *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, 1904. Lund.

'Om Racenavnet og Racetanken" in *Norden*, 1904. Copenhagen.

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TWELFTH SESSION, 1904.

MEETING, JANUARY 15TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

THE President gave his inaugural address on "Research," which is printed on another page. The address was followed by a conversazione, at which Mr. E. Swain showed some Norwegian woven work and carvings, and various members and friends played and sang.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 12TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A paper by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.S.L., on "Scandinavian *Motifs* in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation," was read, and is reproduced in this issue, together with the discussion thereon.

A paper by the Rev. E. Maule Cole, M.A., F.G.S., on "The Place-Name Wetwang," was also read, and is included in this number.

MEETING, MARCH 11TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. E. Hailstone, F.R.Hist.S., on "Traces of Danish Conquest and Settlement in Cambridgeshire," was read.

A paper by Mr. M. Mackenzie Charleson, F.S.A., Scot., on "Some Anthropological Notes from Orkney," was also read.

Both papers, with the discussion upon them, are printed in this number.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 15TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 15th, 1904, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1904 were presented to the meeting and unanimously adopted, and are printed on pages 12-17. The Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were also elected.

Dr. J. Lawrence then read Part II. of his paper on "Metres in the Sæmundar Edda," which was followed by a discussion, in which the following took part: Messrs. G. M. Atkinson, A. F. Major, J. P. Emslie, the President and the Lecturer.

The complete paper is unavoidably held over till the next SAGA-BOOK.

ANNUAL DINNER, APRIL 18TH.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Inns of Court Hotel on Monday, 18th April, 1904, at 7-30 p.m., the following being present:—Dr. J. G. Garson, President, in chair; Vice-Chairmen, Messrs. G. M. Atkinson and E. M. Warburg, Vice-Presidents; the Lady Abinger and Friend, Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., and Mrs. Wason, Mrs. Garson, Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, Mr. G. Goudie, Vice-President, Miss Müller, Miss Leslie, Mr. and Miss Rücker, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Mr. Leveson Scarth and Miss Scarth, Mr. Ingram Moar, Mr. Alfred Noyes, the Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay, Dr. and Mrs. Pernet, Mr. Otto Hagborg, Mrs. and Miss Warburg, Mrs. Atkinson, Colonel Hobart, Vice-President, Mr. Brækstad, Vice-President, and Mrs. Brækstad, Miss Olive Bray, Mr. and Mrs. Major, Miss Ragnhild Lunde, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Mr. E. Sloper, Dr. Laughton, Miss M. Hodgson, Mr. F. W. Downing, Mr. D'Arcy, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, and Mr. J. P. Emslie.

The dinner was followed by an entertainment, at which the following assisted:—Mrs. A. F. Major and Mr. Man-

sell Stevens (piano), Miss Ragnhild Lunde (Norwegian songs), Mr. Robert Dennant (baritone), Mr. Charles Bulwar (conjurer).

VISIT TO CAMBRIDGE, MAY 28TH.

On Saturday, May 28th, 1904, a party of about fifty members and friends visited Cambridge under the direction of Mr. E. Sloper, F.G.S., Excursion Secretary. The party was received on arrival by the Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare, Mr. J. E. Foster, Hon. Secretary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Miss Foster, and other members of the Society. Under the guidance of Mr. Conybeare, who kindly acted as cicerone to the party, visits were paid to the FitzWilliam Museum and the Museum of Local and General Archæology, where the Curator, Baron von Hügel, exhibited the fine collection of Saxon and other antiquities. A visit was then paid to St. Benet's Church, where Mr. Conybeare drew attention to certain features of the building which probably dated back to pre-Norman times, and read a paper on the "Saxon and Danish Antiquities of Cambridge and its Neighbourhood." The University Library was next visited, where Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, Vice-President, exhibited some rare manuscripts of the Sagas, early printed Sagas, and other treasures of the library, and gave a brief discourse on Danish and other Scandinavian palæography. Luncheon was served in the Common Room of St. John's College, by permission of the Master and Fellows of the College. In the afternoon visits were paid to King's College Chapel, Trinity College Library, the bridges and backs of the Colleges, and other features of interest. By the kind invitation of Mr. and the Misses Foster, members had tea in their charming garden, secluded in the very heart of the town. After tea Mr. E. Sloper read a paper on the Danish settlement at Cambridge.

The paper read by the Rev. Mr. Conybeare is included in this issue. Mr. Sloper's paper will appear in a future number.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 18TH.

DR. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Vice-President, read a paper on "Ship-building and Nautical Terms of Old in the North," which is reproduced in the present issue.

VISIT TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM, DECEMBER 10TH.

On Saturday, December 10th, 1904, a special visit to the British Museum was paid by members of the Club and friends to the number of nearly fifty, under arrangements made by Mr. Edwin Sloper, F.G.S., Excursion Secretary. After assembling in the Great Hall the Coin Room was first visited, where Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., exhibited and described the coins in the collection likely to be of special interest to members of the Club, such as coins struck in England by the Danish kings of Northumbria, in imitation of Anglo-Saxon coins, as well as other English coins of the Viking Age. The Gold Ornament Room and the Anglo-Saxon Room were afterwards visited, and Mr. Reginald A. Smith, B.A., exhibited and remarked upon the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon jewellery of the Viking Age in the collection, and other relics of the period, including the fine collection of Scandinavian swords found in the Thames.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING, DECEMBER 10TH.

DR. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A Special General Meeting was held in the King's Weigh House Rooms, on December 16th, 1904, at 8 p.m., when the following resolutions were passed:—

(*a*) That (1) Entrance Fee of 11/- be charged from January 1st, 1905. (2) Life Subscription of £10 to include Entrance Fee. (3) Members who have

paid 5 and 10 Annual Subscriptions may compound for £8 and £6 respectively. (4) Members to be allowed to pay Life Subscription by instalments, and Libraries to compound for a limited number of Annual Subscriptions, as shall be fixed by the Council. (5) Members ceasing to belong to this Club before completion of their Life Instalments, may, upon re-election, resume and complete same.

(*b*) All Entrance Fees, Life Subscriptions and Instalments, and Compositions, to be invested in an Endowment Fund, in the name of Trustees, in Government or other approved stock, and the interest to be alone available for the Annual Expenditure of the Club.

(*c*) That there shall be one or more Hon. Editors, that the office of Honorary Convener shall be included in that of Honorary Secretary, and the various duties be re-arranged by the Council.

(*d*) That the Council amend the Law-Book in accordance with the foregoing resolutions.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., Vice-President, then read a paper on "King William the Wanderer," which is reproduced in this issue.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

METHODS OF WORK.

During the year 1903 the work of the Club included:—The holding of seven Meetings for the reading and discussion of Papers on Northern subjects; a visit to Lambeth Palace Library, etc.; the social function of the Annual Dinner; adding to the Library and Museum; the appointment of District Secretaries and a Committee for the Survey of Orkney Place-Names; and the continuation of the Book Agency.

The Council recommend that the work of the Club should be continued on similar lines during the forthcoming year.

MEETINGS.

The following Meetings were held and Papers read during the year 1903:—

January 9th.—Old Yule Meeting. Reading of the late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby's Play, "Gísli Súrsson," founded on the Icelandic "Gisla Saga."

January 23rd.—"The Saga of Gunnlaug Ormstunga," with original ballads founded on the Saga. Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., Hon. District Secretary for East Anglia.

"Some Account of a Danish Camp on the Ouse (Bedfordshire), with a hithe or naust." A. R. Goddard, M.A.

February 22nd.—"The Oriental Character of the Havamal." W. F. Kirby, Vice-President.

March 20th.—"Metres in the Sæmundar Edda." J. Lawrence, D.Lit.Lond.

April 24th.—"Orkney Folklore." George Marwick, Hon. District Secretary for Sandwick, Orkney, and A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Treasurer, etc.

November 20th.—"Discovery of a Pre-historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark." Dr. Karl Blind, Vice-President.

December 18th.—"Some Notes on the Norsemen in Argyllshire and on the Clyde." R. L. Bremner, M.A., B.L.

"The Lay of Thrym," translated from "Þrymskviða." The late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby.

SUMMER VISITS.

Special notice will be sent to Members of such visits as may be arranged.

ANNUAL DINNER.

The Annual Dinner was held on Monday, April 27th, 1903, at the Criterion Restaurant, and was attended by forty Members and friends. The chair was taken by Dr. J. G. Garson, President; and Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, acted as Vice-Chairman. The

dinner was followed by a selection of vocal and instrumental music, contributed by Miss Tora Hwaas (Swedish Folk Melodies), Dr Pernet (songs), Mr. A. W. Johnston (Orkney songs), and Mr. W. Mansell Stevens (pianoforte solos).

SAGA-BOOK AND PUBLICATIONS.

The *Saga-Book* for 1902 has been issued to all Members for 1902 and to Members elected in 1903.

The *Saga-Book* for 1903 is now in the printer's hands, and will be issued in April, to Members who have paid their subscription.

A Prospectus will be issued for the Second Volume of the Translation Series.

A Prospectus will be issued for a Bibliography of Northern Literature by Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Members having works to publish should communicate with the Hon. Secretary.

The following Members have been appointed a Publications Committee: G. M. Atkinson, W. G. Collingwood, Dr. J. G. Garson, A. W. Johnston, A. F. Major, F. T. Norris.

PAPERS FOR MEETINGS.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. A. F. Major, "Bifröst," 30, The Waldrons, Croydon, will be glad to hear from any Members who are prepared to read Papers before the Club, or to receive suggestions as to Non-Members who might be invited to read Papers; also to be informed of any works or articles by Members, or others, bearing on the studies of the Club.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The collection of books and antiquities remains in the temporary charge of Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., as Hon. Librarian. A catalogue is in preparation, and will be issued to Members when completed. The Hon. Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of books and antiquities to the Library and Museum, and cases for books and exhibits.

BOOK AGENCY.

The Book Agency for the sale (to Members) of new works on Northern subjects has proved useful and profitable, and is now fully established. Printed lists of works will be issued periodically.

The Council have arranged with Mr. Francis Edwards, Bookseller, 83, High Street, Marylebone, London, W., to supply Members with works out of print and general literature.

HONORARY DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

The following have been appointed Honorary District Secretaries for the districts named:—

Aberdeen—Archer Irvine-Fortescue.
Iceland—Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Norway—Miss M. Rohrweger.
„ Haakon Schetelig.
Orkney—Rev. Alex. Goodfellow.
Shetland—Thomas Mathewson.

SURVEY OF ORKNEY PLACE-NAMES.

The Council appointed a Committee of Members to consider a proposal made by Mr. A. W. Johnston for the survey and collection of Orkney place-names. The Committee met in Orkney in October, and approved the scheme. The Ordnance Survey Department have placed copies of their maps at the disposal of the Committee. Printed forms for collection will be supplied by the Club. Committee:—*Chairman:* J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall. *Vice-Chairman:* Magnus Spence, Deerness, Orkney. *Members:* W. P. Drever, J. G. Moodie Heddle, of Cletts; Dr. J. Jakobsen, A. W. Johnston, J. Johnston, of Coubister; Duncan J. Robertson, W. G. T. Watt, of Breckness.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 1903 the Club has not lost any Members, while fifty-one Subscribing, five Honorary and two Honorary Corresponding Members, and five Honorary District Secretaries, a total of sixty-three Members, have been added to the roll, and the exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with two Societies.

The issue of the Prospectus in 1903, costing £30 12s. 1d., resulted in a gain of fifty-one new Members, contributing £36 10s. in subscriptions and £39 3s. for back works, or a clear surplus of £45 0s. 11d., while providing a permanent revenue of £25 10s. in annual subscriptions.

The following is an analysis of the present Membership of the Club:—

Elected.	*Non-Subscribing Members (Honorary Members and Hon District Secretaries).*	*Subscribing Members.*	*Societies Exchanging Proceedings.*
1892	12	4	—
1893	9	4	—
1894	4	29	—
1895	3	7	—
1896	2	3	—
1897	2	5	—
1898	2	5	—
1899	1	4	—
1900	3	2	—
1901	2	14	3
1902	2	40	2
1903	12	51	2
1904	0	2	2
	54	170	9
TOTAL			233

There are twenty-seven Hon. District Secretaries, fourteen of whom are non-subscribers, seven Honorary Members are regular subscribers, so that there are 177 subscribing Members in all, two of whom have compounded for life.

The ordinary income and expenditure of the Club is therefore estimated as follows:—

INCOME.	£	s.	d.	*EXPENDITURE*	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions, 175 at 10/-	87	10	0	Working Expenses .	36	0	0
Interest on Compounded Subscription & Reserve	1	0	0	Printing *Saga-Book* ...	71	0	0
Gifts	5	10	0				
Interest on Bank A/c. Sale of Back Works Profit on Book Sales New Subscriptions	13	0	0				
	£107	0	0		£107	0	0

The Council would impress upon Members the importance of enlisting more Members. An increase of Members, while not materially augmenting the working expenses of the Club, would provide funds for enlarging the publications. Names and addresses of others interested in the work of the Club, and printed lists of Members of other Societies, should be sent to the Hon. Convener.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1903, is appended.

The Club Banking Account has been transferred to the Birkbeck Bank, in order to obtain 2 % allowed on current account when not drawn below £100.

Adopted by the Council,

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

March 4th, 1904.

Adopted by the Annual General Meeting,

J. G. GARSON, *President.*

April 15th, 1904.

ACCOUNT OF THE FUNDS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

FROM JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1903.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance from 1902—Bank	155 0 7	
,, Cash in hand	0 16 10	
		155 17 5
,, Subscriptions, 1899 (1)	0 10 0	
,, ,, 1900 (1)	0 10 0	
,, ,, 1901 (1)	0 10 0	
,, ,, 1902 (8)	4 0 0	
,, ,, 1903 (138)	69 4 8	
,, ,, 1904 (49)	24 12 6	
		99 7 2
,, Gifts 1903 (15)	9 0 2	
,, ,, 1904 (4)	2 19 2	
		11 19 4
,, Interest Deposit Account, Feb. 20th—March 31st ...		0 0 10
,, Compounded Subscription (1)		10 0 0
,, Subscription in Advance to Publications Account...		0 12 6
,, Sale of *Saga-Books*		46 18 0
,, Subscriptions to Translation Series, Vol. I. (6) ...		1 10 0
,, Reprints from *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., Part II. ...		5 11 6
,, Annual Dinner, Sale of Tickets (43)		11 16 6
,, Sale of Books		59 8 6
,, Cash advanced by Hon. Treasurer		4 18 8
		£408 0 5

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Working Expenses:—		
Bank Books and Cheques	0 6 0	
Bank Charges	0 2 3	
Commission to Trade for Collecting Subscriptions	0 10 6	
Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery	18 10 6	
Postage, etc.:— £ s. d.		
Hon. Treasurer and Librarian ... 8 6 2		
,, Editor 0 10 0		
,, Convener 1 3 8		
,, Sec., 1902 and 1903 ... ... 3 8 2		
Assistant Sec. 5 16 0		
	19 4 0	
Fire Insurance Premium	0 18 0	
Assistant Secretary's Honorarium	2 2 0	
Rent of Rooms, Nov., 1901—May, 1903... ...	3 6 6	
Refreshments at Meetings	2 0 3	
		47 0 0
,, Library, Catalogue Outfit...	1 1 0	
,, ,, Purchase of Books	0 16 5	
		1 17 5
,, Translation Series, Vol. I., for Subscribers ...		22 10 0
,, Expenses Annual Dinner, including Printing, etc....		9 18 6
,, *Saga-Book*, Vol. II., Part III., Engraving ...		7 0 2
,, ,, Vol. III., Part II., Printing, Illustrating, and Posting		51 8 9
,, Reprints from *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., Part II. ...		8 3 3
,, Purchase of Books for Sale		53 11 4
,, Prospectus (13,100 copies), Printing	15 2 6	
Postage and Addressing	15 9 7	
		30 12 1
,, Balance in Bank, Current Account	145 18 7	
,, ,, Deposit ,, ...	30 0 4	
		175 18 11
		£408 0 5

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

The Books of the Club have been examined and found correct, February, 1904. W. V. M. POPHAM, J. STIRLING ROSS, } *Hon. Auditors.*

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31st, 1903.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., Part III., Printing, Illustrating, Postage, and Reprints	71	0	0				
„ "Thing-Steads," Printing and Illustrating (Horsford Fund)	47	6	0				
„ "Saga Studies" (Major Fund)	5	0	0				
„ Purchase of Books for Sale	1	10	0				
„ Rent of Rooms, November—December, 1903 ...	1	0	0				
„ Compounded Subscriptions (2)	20	0	0				
„ Subscriptions and Gifts for 1904 paid in 1903 ..	27	11	8				
„ Subscription in advance to Publication Account ...	0	12	6				
„ Cash advanced by Hon. Treasurer	4	18	8				
„ Balance, being Surplus at December 31st, 1903, of which for :—							
Library, Museum, Stationery, Blocks, etc....	£162	15	0				
Books for Sale in Stock ...	6	6	11				
Saga-Books in Stock	239	0	0				
Balance to 1904	8	8	1				
				416	10	0	
				£595	8	10	

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions, 1902 (2)	1	0	0			
„ „ 1903 (14)	7	0	0			
				8	0	0
„ Interest on Current and Deposits Bank Accounts to December, 1903				1	15	6
„ Books Sold				0	14	2
„ *Saga-Books* Sold				0	18	4
„ Balance in Bank				175	18	11
„ Library, Museum, Stationery, Blocks, insured at				162	15	0
„ Books for Sale in Stock at net cost				6	6	11
„ *Saga-Books* in Stock				239	0	0
				£595	8	10

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

ENGLAND.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

THE Rev. Canon J. Clare Hudson, District Secretary, Horncastle, sends us, with the kind permission of the author, the following outline of a paper read by the Rev. Alfred Hunt, M.A., Vicar of Welton by Lincoln, before the British Association at Cambridge in August last on:—

BRUNANBURH: IDENTIFICATION OF THIS BATTLE SITE IN NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE.

NO modern historian of repute is able to name the site of this famous battle of the tenth century—fought between the Saxon king Athelstan on the one hand and Anlaff the Dane and Constantine, King of Scotland, on the other —though most are agreed as to the importance and greatness of the battle. The numbers engaged are supposed to have been over 120,000, and the result of the battle was to raise England in the councils of Europe to a position never reached before. The present paper suggests reasons for the belief that this battlefield is to be found in North Lincolnshire, at the hamlet of Burnham, in the parish of Thornton Curtis, within four miles of the Humber.

Geographical considerations send us at once to the river Humber and district in search of the lost site, while many of the old writers agree in saying that Anlaff entered the mouth of the Humber, and that the battle was fought near by, though silent as to where Anlaff landed and encamped. Now, as is evident from the form of the river Humber, this landing must be placed between Spurn

Head and the junction of the Ouse and the Trent, either on the Lincolnshire or Yorkshire side; and it is probable, from the statements regarding the number of Anlaff's vessels (615) and troops, that he divided his forces, sending a portion against the Saxon outpost at Brough (the Roman Petuaria), on the Yorkshire side, and also effecting a landing at Barrow Haven, a tidal and navigable stream on the Lincolnshire coast.

At Barrow Haven there are extensive earthworks of the usual Danish form of construction for an entrenched position, covering an area of eight acres, and locally called Barrow Castles. It is suggested that these were thrown up by Anlaff on landing. South of Barrow Castles, and four miles away, is the hamlet of Burnham, believed by the writer to be the true site of the Battle of Brunanburh.

At Burnham extensive lines of entrenchments, covering over sixty-four acres, of a totally different character from those at Barrow, are still to be seen, while local tradition has always said this was a great battlefield. There is a perennial stream at the rear of the camp, which was the only surface-spring known for seven miles across the Lincolnshire Wolds. In Domesday Survey this hamlet is entered as Brune in the parish of Thornton Curtis, while in the "Welsh Chronicle of the Princes" and in the "Annales Cambriæ" the battle is called the Battle at Brune. Adding to this name the possessive termination, *an*, together with the Anglo-Saxon "burh" (camp or earthwork), we at once have the long-lost word Brun-an-burh.

From this camp, burh, or earthwork the two main Saxon roads from the west and south of England, called Ermine Street and Fosse Way, are available for Athelstan's support. At Castlethorpe, a few miles south-west, and near the present town of Glamford Brigg, which commands the only place of crossing the river Ancholme, are extensive earthworks of a similar nature to those at Burnham. Here was discovered, in 1884, a Danish raft, constructed like the famous Gokstad boat, or Viking ship.

The best geographical description of the land and place

of battle is given in "Egil's Saga." This tells us Athelstan came northwards to repel the invasion by the Humber; that the battle took place by Vin-heath, or Vinwood; and that the land sloped towards the north. North of the heath stood a town occupied by Anlaff and Constantine. South of the heath was another town, to which Athelstan came, and to which he returned after the battle.

All these conditions are fulfilled in the case of Burnham. The town in the north is Barrow, that in the south Glamford Brigg; the ground slopes north from Burnham; there is still one field of Vin or Whin left; while the whole of the south and west of England would be open for the arrival of Athelstan's supporters.

The battle was a final struggle for supremacy between the North and South, resulting in favour of the South.

East Anglia.

The Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., District Secretary, writes:—

I CAN only give a few notes this time, more or less Vikingian in character.

Boasting Matches.

Mann-jafnaðr, "comparisons, boasting matches." Those who have read the Saga of King Sigurd, who travelled to Jerusalem, will recollect how he and his brother Eystein had a dialogue, comparing their respective exploits in war and peace. The match ended in both becoming angry: neither thought himself beaten.

But it is curious that such boasting matches appear to have been the practice in other lands. A short time ago, in a note of Professor Kirkpatrick on Psalm cxxvii. 5, "They shall not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate," I read this: "Professor Bevan suggests that the allusion may be to 'boasting

matches,' like the *Mufachara* of the Arabs. Even in times of peace it was a common occurrence in Arab society for poets to engage in such rivalries. In such contests the strength of a family would naturally form an important element."

I think that the Psalmist most likely means (as Dr. Kirkpatrick says) that a father of stalwart sons runs no risk of being wronged by powerful enemies through the maladministration of justice: but it is interesting to know that there was in the East something corresponding to the *Mann-jafnaðr* of the North.

INVULNERABILITY.

One reads of Berserks and the like, upon whom weapons would not bite. Swords in those days, say some, were of poor, ill-tempered metal, and not keen. Very likely. But legends of men with bodies that could not be wounded are found long before the Saga period, and in other lands. Ovid (in "Metam." xii. 84) tells of Cycnus, whom Achilles could not wound:

> His spear steel-pointed all in vain he shot
> He smote the breast with shock, but pierced it not.

And again, when Cæneus is assailed by the Centaurs:

> No blood they draw; Cæneus, unpierced by all,
> Unwounded stands; their weapons blunted fall.

PICTURE-WRITING.

A girl in a neighbouring village, some sixty years since, having received a letter from a swain asking her to walk out with him o' Sundays, being a slow penwoman, enclosed in an envelope a straight little stick and a wisp from a sheep's fleece, meaning: "I wool."

A proverb told me by a farmeress here a few months ago: "Dream of eggs, sign of anger." Why?

SOMERSETSHIRE.

The Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., District Secretary, writes:—

BATTLE BURIAL, PROBABLY OF DANES.

IN the course of opening out a new heading for the quarry close under the ancient hillfort near Combwich, on the Parrett, presumably built to guard the ford once existing there, a further disinterment of skeletons was necessarily made. It may be remembered [1] that this site is claimed by Dr. Clifford and his adherents as the most probable location of the battle of "Kynwich castle," where Hubba was defeated and slain by Alfred's Devon levies. Some seven skeletons in all were uncovered and, as in cases already reported, the evidence of battlefield burial was well marked. The interments are in long shallow trenches, and the bodies have been carelessly, and apparently hastily, thrown in. They overlap here and there, and are occasionally reversed. One or two of the crania bore evident proof of the cause of death, the temporal bone in one case being gashed by some heavy weapon, either sword or seax, wielded from behind and by a left-handed man; in another case an arrow had perforated the base of the occipital bone while the man must have been retreating uphill. The local tradition of a rout of the Danes here, which bears out the statements of the chroniclers, would therefore seem to be correct. No wargear is found with the slain. Probably they were stripped by the victorious Saxons, or else by their own reserves, who are recorded to have "held the field," though they were too late to prevent the disaster. The soil, however, is not of a nature to preserve metal. The skeletons are all of well developed and most muscular men, several being over six feet in height. In two cases the skulls were of extreme thickness, and I should be glad to know if this peculiarity has been re-

[1] SAGA-BOOK, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 165-166, 174-175.

corded in the case of Danish interments of similar date elsewhere.

LATE USE OF RUNES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

Although unconnected with this district, I should like to draw the attention of the members to what I think is an unnoticed statement of some interest in Gibson's notes on Cumberland, in his edition of "Camden's Britannia" (Page 843, ed. 1695, folio).

In discussing the inscriptions on the Bewcastle Cross he prints in full a letter on the subject from Dr. William Nicholson, written in 1695. The writer, after giving his own translation of the runes, adds as an instance of the persistence of superstitions derived from their "Danish" pagan ancestors among the Borderers, that

> A Gentleman in the Neighbourhood showed me a Book of Spells and Magical Receipts taken (two or three days before) in the Pocket of one of our Moss-troopers. Wherein, among many other Conjuring Feats, was prescribed a certain remedy for an Ague, by applying a few barbarous characters to the body of the person distempered. These, methought, were very near akin to Wormius's RAMRUNER, which he says differ wholly in figure and shape from the common Runae.[1]

He then adds a quotation or two from Wormius, on the use of Ramruner, and concludes—

> I shall not trouble you with a draught of the spell, because I have not yet had the opportunity of learning if it may not be an ordinary one, and to be met with in Paracelsus or Cornelius Agrippa, and among others of the same nature.

This omission is greatly to be lamented. It is far more probable, as indeed the writer would seem to think, that the mosstrooper used an ancient and traditional copy of actual runes, than that he had transcribed from the classical writers mentioned. If so, the letter is a valuable proof of the persistence of written runes, among other "Danish" superstitions, at a far later date than one has imagined possible, at least in England; though perhaps there is

[1] Olaus Wormius, "Fasti Danici," lib. i., cap. i.

no reason why we should not have used them in the Norse-settled counties contemporaneously with the manufacture of the Runic stave calendars of Scandinavia.

SHETLAND.

UNST.

Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby, Vice-President, District Secretary, Baltasound, sends the following report on:—

SACRED SITES IN A SHETLAND ISLE.[1]

TRADITION has it that there were at one time about twenty kirks in the Isle of Unst. This island is about fourteen miles long, and about seven miles broad at its widest. For centuries its population has been sparse. The people were poor, the isles insignificant; superstitious rites and beliefs held sway over the natives. They hated alien races, and had good reason to suspect later teachers than their heathen ancestors. The neighbouring Isles of Yell and Fetlar are said to have been as well supplied with kirks as Unst. We speak of those three as the "North Isles." If the mainland and its adjacent isles are also crowded with kirks I do not know. But it is evident that ancient usages, language, superstitions and beliefs lingered longer in our North Isles than elsewhere. It is also plain that contact with other folk was not so continuous, and did not influence our part of Shetland so much as it did the rest of the isles.

People have a careless way of interpreting folklore. I have always doubted the assertion that there were "twenty Christian chapels in Unst," and I think recent investigation bears me out in this. I discussed these interesting themes with our local antiquary, Mr. Andrew Anderson, and Mr. John Fraser, an Orcadian, whose keen observation and patient research have been rewarded by valuable discoveries here and elsewhere. Our frequent and ardent exchange of ideas led us to decide that we

[1] We have just learned that this Report has also been sent to *The Antiquary*, where it appears as an article in the number for April, 1905.—ED.

would make pilgrimage to the reputed kirk "steedes" (sites), and gather such fragments of folklore and other remains as might yet be found in these localities.

It is true that many had been before us to those sacred "steedes"; some in search of buried treasure, others to grab such relics as report had it were there; many to appropriate stones for building purposes. But, as far as I can ascertain, only a very few had made careful observations for the pious purpose of preserving for the future those remains of a buried past. Indeed, such learned men as visited these sites seem to have set the worst example of any, for they excavated and turned over cairns and standing-stanes, kirks and brochs, and replaced nothing, nor took any steps to preserve the ruins. I cannot ascertain that any person has prosecuted such research with patient intelligence, and given the result to the world in a permanent conclusive form. I speak of what has to do with Unst only. And now to return to our kirks. I append the notes Mr. Fraser made on the spot, supplemented by those of Mr. Anderson, who helped me to finish the circuit after our Orcadian coadjutor was obliged to leave. Interspersed with these notes are a few of my own independent observations.

I.—Bartle's Kirk, Norwick.

Most northerly known in Shetland, situated on slope of hill, amid cultivated land. Foundation, owing to running down of soil, many feet below surface. Four upright stones at site, probably Norse. No well-dressed stones in neighbourhood, only a few stones from Braewick about. Braewick stone is a fine sandstone of a slatey nature, much valued for "sharpening-stones," etc. It is easily worked and shaped. There is a stone basin, supposed to be a baptismal font, built in yard dyke. Basin two and a half feet long, oval, scolloped out, about a foot in depth, and two feet long, by fifteen inches wide. Another stone basin, supposed for holy water, is shown. It is broken, and was used for a pig's trough.

A "holy well" existed twenty yards below site of chapel. It is now filled up, as dangerous for children. There were steps down it. Many stone relics were found here, such as handle of what appears to be a stone axe; a stone with incised hole and rough moulding; a square clibber-stone dish, circular inside, nearly complete. There was also found a lump of clay with clear impression of man's naked feet, short and broad. This clay model was covered with a flat stone, and had an upright stone at end to protect clay from pressure. There is no clay in the soil, so that used for this purpose must have been brought there. The folk surmised this was the foot-print of some holy man.

About fifty yards from chapel an empty kist was found, formed of four stone slabs, short and deep, as Norse kists are. Bones and ashes were found at some depth below foundation of chapel. No trace of Christian burial. A family named Henderson live in the cottage adjoining, and being very intelligent people, they have preserved such relics as they found. Some of these were purloined from the old man by a laird.

II.—Kirk o' Virse, Norwick.

The foundation is clearly traceable in the burying-ground, which the people still use. Walls of surrounding cottages contain large numbers of well-dressed stones from Braewick, which is a place at some distance from Virse. There are a number of crosses in the burying-ground. One good specimen with incised crosses, one with raised cross; all of very ancient type. Several fine ones have disappeared, been stolen. One antiquarian thief was caught in the act, and compelled to bring back the stone. Minute bits of broken pottery and burnt bones have been found at a depth below site of chapel as well as elsewhere in the enclosure. Outline of ancient circular wall can be traced in part. Kirk o' Virse was in use long after Bartle's Kirk was in ruins.

III.—KIRK O' BODEN, HAROLDSWICK.

Burying-ground is still in use. Foundation of chapel quite distinct. One old tombstone inside chapel walls was uncovered by Mr. Fraser. This stone seems to have escaped observation previously. The lower end is broken, but otherwise the stone is intact, and the raised carving is clear and beautifully formed. There are two angel-figures, each having a hand outstretched with a scroll, and these nearly meet over what seems a cherub of the usual type—infant head, with wings attached. There is a large lying tombstone in the graveyard, raised from the ground on freestone pedestals. It is engraved with what we conjectured was a coat of arms. St. Andrew's cross in right panel. There is a lengthy inscription in raised letters, but not decipherable. Below the inscription death's head, crossbones, and hour-glass quite distinct. This is the reputed grave of a laird, who was cursed by a widow he had evicted. She prayed that his name might perish, and grass never grow on his grave. Though the stone is raised from the surface of the tomb no grass grows beneath. The man's name is lost.

IV.—CROSS KIRK, CLIBBERSWICK.

This chapel was in use one hundred and twenty years ago. Foundation of chapel still distinct. Long a place of pilgrimage. Coins found quite lately in the wall. No trace of burial near the surface. I think that examination of the steede might well reward the investigator. Not far from Cross Kirk is Crusgeo,[1] where Mr. Fraser found what (for lack of a more descriptive term) he called a Viking cup.[2] Later research rewarded us with interesting remnants, such as burnt bones (human and animal), scraps of pottery, and human bones, that had *not* been subjected to fire. We found no shell-fish or fish-bones,

[1] **Crusgeo.** So pronounced, but evidently a corruption of "Cross-geo."
[2] See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iii., pp. 21, 22.

as are usually found in ancient middens here. There is a circular steede near the brow of the cliff at Crusgeo.

V.—KIRKHOOL, BALTASOUND.

There is nothing here to indicate that a chapel ever existed. The name only tells that some sort of holy place was there, but of what age it is impossible to guess. Kirkhool is situated at the head of the Voe terminating Baltasound, amid crofts, etc., and the whole neighbourhood has been so long under cultivation, the stones removed for building with, and tradition suppressed, that we can only say the name implies that a kirk, or temple, was on, or near, the knowe ("hool" means "knowe").

VI.—KIRK O' BALIASTAE, SCRAEFIELD.

This kirk was in use as late as 1822, but when it was first built is another story. The building is of different periods. In Hibbert's admirable book on his visit to Shetland he says, "I arrived on the Sabbath morning, the natives of the vale were all in motion on the way to the kirk of Baliastae." He attended the service, and describes at length what he calls "the convulsive fits to which the religious congregations of Shetland are subject."

This kirk, like others, had a saint's name. One authority gives one list of saints to whom the Unst kirks were dedicated, and another wiseacre gives a different list. The Protestants who quietly possessed themselves of the Shetland kirks would doubtless ban the saint's name, and so it would be lost. Perhaps a correct list could be got from Norway, as Shetland was long, ecclesiastically, under the bishops of that country.

No ancient relics have been found in this kirk or kirkyard, but close by, at the Ha' o' Scraefield, there existed, till a few years ago, the site of an ancient lawting (Hibbert saw it). The three concentric circles, the tumulus in the centre, the burned bones found under debris, clearly show this to have been one of the important

temples of heathen times, of which Hibbert correctly says: "These sites of ground were intended for popular juridical assemblies . . . religious rites were also mingled witn the duties of legislation." No vestige of the lawting is left now: of late years the stones were taken for building.

The folk say that there was another kirk at Baliastae. Some curious little chambers were accidentally found some years ago in that neighbourhood, but no examination was made. There is a croft there called Broch, which indicates that there was a broch near, but I can hear of no tradition connected with it.

VII.—Kirk o' Sandwick.

Traces of foundation of reputed chapel on shore beside the sands. The spot is called Milya-skera. Encroachments of the sea on loose soil has removed most of the foundation. West end remaining. Lot of ashes under foundation. Further north along shore is the steede of a house, with a midden beside it. These were disclosed by the great tidal wave and tempest of February, 1900. Midden is rich in animal and fish bones, ashes and shells. Two coins and a comb of ancient pattern were found in the midden, but we could not trace who has these now. Tradition says that the kirk o' Sandwick was carried one dark night across the bay to where the later kirk stands.

VIII.—Our Lady's Kirk.

North of Sandwick, and surrounded by a burying-ground, still in use. The walls of the chapel are very thick, at west end about five feet thick. The chapel is narrow, and most disproportionally long; in fact, it seems to have been twice added to in length, and I think these more recent portions have been added *after* the kirk became a ruin, and were utilised as family burying-places. Bruces of Mooness (of hated memory) are buried in east end of chapel. A lying tombstone, supported on four pieces of freestone, is there, and is known as

"Bruce's tombstone." There is a coat of arms engraved on the stone, with inscription in raised letters, visible but illegible. With little trouble this might be restored enough to be read, I think. There is another large lying tombstone on the south side of the chapel, inscription entirely effaced. Four, and possibly more, "keel-shaped" lying stones are in the burying-ground. They are about five feet long. No similar stones are found in other Unst kirkyards, except one I found at Virse. No inscriptions have ever been on these "keeled" stones, and tradition says they were there in the time of the Vikings. Many crosses by our Lady's chapel are like those known as the Norwick crosses.

IX.—Glitna Kirk.

At side of new road north of East Uyeasound. This foundation is much more square than any other we saw, and encloses larger space. Tradition says the building was never completed. The Catholics possessed themselves of a trow-hoose (temple of Thor?), and commenced to build a kirk on the steede; but what they built one day was thrown down by invisible agency during the night. There is no trace of burying-ground within the steede. Remains of broken urns, with ashes and burnt bones, were found close by when the new road was constructed. There is the site of an ancient circular enclosure to the west of the kirk, as if it had surrounded the spot at one time. The road may have cut into the circle. It is matter for regret that local authorities never interest themselves in such finds, and so permit history, writ on stones, to be lost.

X.—Kirk o' Wick, Lund.

I remember this kirk being called St. Ole's Kirk. No pre-Christian relics found here, as far as we can ascertain. The place belonged to successive lairds, who, taking no interest in such things themselves, selfishly prevented more intelligent persons from investigating. Kirk o'

Wick now belongs to a different sort of folk, and I hope their love of all that pertains to our country's old story will lead them to search for relics of the past. The story is told that a laird of Lund, annoyed at people crossing his land *en route* to church, dressed up a half-witted servant to personate Satan, and sent him into the chapel during service. Amid excitement, hysterics, etc., all rushed from the spot save the clergyman, who cursed the laird after the manner of his kind in those days. The curse was to extend to the ninth generation. No service was held in Kirk o' Wick after that day. The laird's family is extinct. While it lasted it "carried the curse." The burying-ground here is in use.

The sites of two imposing brochs are not far distant from the spot, and might tell a tale, if opened.

XI.—Kirk o' Colvidale.

Foundation still visible, but no tradition obtainable. Circular steedes in vicinity, and some upright stones.

XII.—Da Kirkhool, Gunyester.

Stance of building not now known, only conjectured, but circular steede not far from knowe.

XIII.—The Kirk at Underhool and Kirkamire, Westing.

Below house. House supposed to be built on chapel stance. Crossbister is between the Gunyester chapel and chapel at Underhool. From Crossbister both were visible. On this spot the people crossed themselves.

XIV.—Kirkaby, Newgord, Westing.

The enclosure is still called the kirkyard. The foundation of building stands east and west. Steede surrounded by traces of a circular wall, and some upright stones about two feet in height. We found these were sunk possibly many feet below the surface. The prejudices of individuals prevent (in many cases) examination.

XV.—KIRKAKNOWE, NEWGORD.

Above the beach. Stance of chapel about one hundred yards below a house on the knowe, and near an old mill. Traces of foundation found when delving, and this confirmed tradition. This kirk was always referred to by fishermen as the "boun-hoose,"[1] a sea-term for house of prayer. There are remains of an old building on the sloping bank at Taftens. The stones very large. Apparently there had been two circular enclosures. Traces of ashes under foundations. Some ancient dishes (stone) were found about two hundred yards north-east some years ago when the road was constructed.

XVI.—KIRKAMCOL, CLIFF.

This is a pretty sequestered spot on east side of a lake, and is pointed out as the site of a long-forgotten kirk. There are slight indications of a circular wall, enclosing as much land as we found within the foundations of other kirkyards, but there is nothing to show that any chapel stood in the centre, and no excavations have been made which might throw light on the subject.

Across a tiny ravine rises a bold bluff, called the Mool, and on its summit we found evidence that a circular wall, possibly a broch, had existed there. In very early times this district seems to have been well peopled. The land is fertile, the little vales sheltered and picturesque. Until thirty-five years ago it was the abode of a dozen families. Now it is given up to sheep.

XVII.—KIRKARIG, BURRAFIRTH.

Three or four stones by the roadside mark this spot. Tradition says a kirk was there, but no relic has been found to confirm the statement. On the brow of an adjacent cliff stands the Broch of Burrafirth. Its outline is well defined. Careful delving might well reward the explorer. That this was an important broch I think we

[1] "Boon" = prayer, A.S. and N.

may believe, since it gave its name to the fiord over whose turbulent waters it frowned.

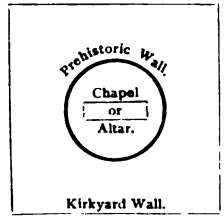
Other Possible Sites.

I think there must be some sacred steedes at Skau which would complete the circle of our island kirks, but as yet I cannot hear of any in that district, which has been almost depopulated for many years.

There are other places in Unst which were undoubtedly burying-places, where burned bones and funeral urns have been found, but these spots were never known as kirks.

The kirks that were usurped by the so-called Reformed Church lost their saints. St. Bartle's, Our Lady's, and Cross Kirk probably remained in possession of the Catholics till the fathers in charge died, for there was no violent transfer in Shetland, as in Scotland. Thus the three kirks in Unst that do not seem to have been occupied by Protestants have retained their patrons' names, and are so styled by some old folk.

We noted that all the authentic kirk foundations stood with the gables east and west, after the usual fashion, and that all the earlier yard-walls were circular. Thus there stood an oblong within a circle, which again was enclosed at a later date by a square. It is said the



burnt bones and pottery found in such places have been discovered only inside the chapels, or with debris deplaced from them, and much below their foundations. Certainly *our* small finds were so. I fancy the astute Catholic fathers, finding that the people clung to their

ancient beliefs and usage with a tenacity beyond the power of priests to shake, or superficial conversion to alter, judged it politic to graft the new faith on the old. So they built their Christian kirks amid the ruins of heathen temples. They identified the great Yule festival with the Mass of Christ. They adopted the sun-worshipper's obeisance towards the east as one of their own religious acts. They consecrated the spots which the people held sacred, and they buried the baptised dead beside the cremated ashes of their ancestors.

In consequence of such clever policy time would obliterate all the old associations with those places. As the older language became merged in the new; as the Christian faith spread, and paganism passed away, the memory of the heathen gods, with all their savage rites, became superseded altogether. But superstition—as immortal as the soul of man—transferred a great many of the old observances to the new creed, and kept the old sacred sites sacred still. The Church had, as we have seen, helped in this. Thus the holy term "kirk" was applied to all such spots, whether there had been a chapel there or not.

Everywhere one finds the steedes of circular walls. All such places were regarded as "trowie"—associated with the mysteries of the spirit-world. They were haunted, or holy, or horrible, or health-giving—Helyabrün, Crushafiel, Wullvershool, etc., names linked with the unseen and the unknown. I cannot help thinking that many of the twenty chapels of Unst were never chapels at all, but Troll-haunted Temples, and that the few authentic kirks were built on the sites of some of these.

Pre-Norse Christianity.

The finding of a few Ogham stones in Shetland has led some persons to assert confidently that there was a Celtic-Christian Church in our isles prior to their invasion and settlement by the Vikings. One swallow does not make a summer. One flower gathered in a place where no botanist would expect such a blossom to be at

home does not prove that plant a native of the spot. A few isolated memorial stones, engraved in a manner common to Celt and Scandinavian alike, do not give sufficient data for asserting that our isles were Celtic-Christian before the Norsemen came, though it is likely that a few individual Christians may have found a refuge and a rest in the south isles of our group. It would be a delightful surprise to find that the cross was in Unst before Thor's hammer. Possibly excavations might unearth an Ogham in Unst, which would add a much-desired link to a chain I have striven to weave regarding the prehistoric race that once peopled our isles; but one would like to be satisfied that the few Oghams found elsewhere in Shetland have not been brought from Orkney. Meanwhile all research that has been made has shown cremated remains below the foundations of almost all our chapels, etc., which seems conclusive evidence that a heathen creed immediately preceded that of the Norse Roman Catholics.

If the builders of our brochs, the mighty men who raised our standing-stanes, were ever a Christian people, some more evidence must be forthcoming before we can accept the statement as fact.

ORKNEY.

SOUTH RONALDSHAY.

The Rev. Alexander Goodfellow, District Secretary, writes:—

DURING the last two years three things of some antiquarian interest have been found here.

UNDERGROUND DWELLING.

First, at a place in the South Parish, generally known as the "Cairns o' the Bu'," or occasionally the "Cairns o' Flaws," an underground house with passage, to all appearance like a Pict's house, or a weem, has been dis-

covered. The situation is on a rising slope, with a beautiful outlook towards the east, or German Ocean, where, in the olden days, the sea-robbers might have been sighted at a long distance, and the people on the shore be prepared for any attack. Although the contour of the cairns might have suggested something important to the observant eye, yet no one ever suspected that there were buildings underneath. Farmers, when ploughing near the spot, have at different times come across stones, bones, shells, etc., but the cairns was supposed to refer only to a gathered heap of stones, and not to any built walls. It looks as if there has been a subterranean passage in connection with Windwick Bay, which is not far away. The part of the building opened up was the passage, the walls of which were built mostly with stones taken from the quarry of Oback, near by, while large boulders brought from the shore were laid across, as cover or roof stones for the passage. Each of these boulders (there were three whole, one broken, and probably more) were fully 5 feet in length, and about 2 feet in breadth and thickness. One wonders by what means such stones had been brought up there. The walls themselves were well built, being 6 feet deep, while the width of the passage was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There were dividing stones to strengthen the structure, as well as to indicate chambers beyond. Across the passage was a wall, apparently a terminal wall, but on examination we came to the conclusion that the end had not yet been reached. Nothing very special was picked up during the partial excavation beyond two pieces of human bones, a boar's tusk, a deer's horn, a stone scraper, and shells. To open up the place fully men and money would be required, and as the tenant of the ground was unwilling to leave the hole open, it was filled up again.

Stone Implement.

Second, an old shore stone was found in the quarry of Oback, that has all the appearance of being what is called

a stone breaker. In shape it is like a skull, or helmet, and weighs about 40 lbs., and in circumference it measures 34 inches. To antiquarians this stone must be of some value, seeing where it was got. Oback quarry is beside Oback burn, and in direct line with the cairns. The stones for building the cairns had been taken from this quarry. This must have been a long time ago, from 1,000 to 2,000 years. Lately, when some men were digging for stones at this place, they were under the impression that this was virgin soil, but afterwards they discovered from certain marks that the ground had been previously opened, in fact, they were reopening an old quarry. Beneath 5 or 6 feet of earth they came to the rock, and lying there was this boulder, which must have been brought from the shore, as there was no other stone like it near at hand. From its shape and size, as well as from its position when found, along with certain marks on it, the workmen were forced to conclude that this was a stone used for breaking the rock, namely, a stone hammer. Most likely the people who had built the cairns had used it for that purpose, and after their work was done left it lying on the face of the rock as found.

Cremation Mound.

Third, another thing of interest has been the discovery of a cremation mound on the Nave Hill of the Red Head at Sandwick. The word "Nave" is said to be from the Icelandic "nef," meaning a nose, while in Faröese it refers to a long jutting-out headland. In Unst the word "niv" is used, and the Scotch "nieve" is applied to the hand or fist. Sometimes the people use "niv" instead of "nave." No one had ventured to disturb this mound, so far as known, until recently some lads removed the turf and stones and dug into the heart of it, and were rewarded by finding a small stone cist at the east side of the mound, which was 2 feet 9 inches long, and 18 inches wide, while inside of the cist was an urn. As the lads were inexperienced in such work the urn was care-

lessly broken, but a fragment has been preserved which shows that it belongs to an early period. And in the same mound were found three large stones, rough and unhewn, as if taken from the shore, standing stones, 5 feet in height, most likely meant to be memorial stones in honour of the dead. Roughly speaking, the mound was 60 feet in circumference, and 20 feet in diameter. No bones were found, but burnt stones and very black earth were plentiful. There is another somewhat similar mound with a cairn of stones not far away, while in the same district there are eight or nine mounds of a smaller size, like "fairy knowes," or may be "barrows"—burial places to all appearance. Some of these are oblong, and measure 15 feet by 5 feet. One cannot tell how they came to be in this part of the island, unless they have been connected with the old Pictish castle, the ruins of which are not far away. There is also a big standing-stone in the district. Formerly a Popish chapel, called Halyrude, was in existence here. In fact the whole surroundings are full of historic interest.

FARÖE.

Dr. Jakob Jakobsen, Ph.D., District Secretary, sends the following:—

REMARKS UPON FARÖESE LITERATURE AND HISTORY.

IT goes without saying that in the case of a little group of islands, which in the year 1800 had only about 5,000 inhabitants altogether, and in the centuries immediately preceding still fewer, we can only in a very limited sense speak of its history and literature. Add to this the scantiness and incompleteness of sources for a history, at any rate when one is outside purely administrative affairs; and further, that with regard to those affairs and persons to whom *oral* tradition in Faröe clings most

closely, there is often an entire lack of written records. Apart from the short history of the old time, it is really not till after the Reformation that there can be any question of a continuous historical tradition: the period covered by the Middle Ages is to a very great extent shrouded in darkness.

The greatest part of what one can call the history of Faröe in a proper sense only consists of a recital of certain administrative measures which have taken effect and been abrogated again in the lapse of years, and of a longer series of names of magistrates about whom there is little or nothing beyond to relate. But, as a kind of flesh and blood about the dry skeleton, there gather a multitude of old folk-tales and stories about persons who in one or another way have stamped themselves or made an impression on the events which are related.

Of any really connected history with a claim to any great general interest there can thus, in the case of Faröe, be no mention; but still there are a few short periods, or rather a few considerable personages appearing in these periods, that gather, or tend to gather about them, more than a mere local interest. Thus, especially, the ancient period of the islands, with the two chief figures known from the Færeyingasaga, Sigmund Brestesson and Thrond of Gata (about the year 1000); later on (in the sixteenth century) the sea-captain and adventurer Magnus Heinesen, who for a time put an end to the ravages of sea-rovers among the Faröes, and finally (about 1800) the free-trade agitator and satirist Poul Nolsö.

The Saga Period.

The history of the old time, the Færeyingasaga, which belongs to the old Icelandic Saga literature, has not survived as an independent whole, but only as a series of sections scattered in Olaf Tryggvason's and Olaf the Saint's Sagas. These sections concerning the Faröes were

collected and edited by Professor C. C. Rafn in the year 1832. Many circumstances—as, for instance, the fact that the fragments, when put together, form a particularly well rounded off whole, and that there is a reference plainly made in some passages to a "Færeyingasaga"—suggest that there originally was such an independent Saga, which was introduced in sections into the two above-named King's Sagas, and has since been lost. (The Færeyingasaga thus divided up is most fully contained in the great Icelandic vellum MS., "Flatey Book.")

That the Færeyingasaga, though the subject must be due to stories from the islands, yet in the form in which we have it was not written with the pen in the islands themselves, appears for one thing from a confusion between two islands of a very different natural character (Great Dimun and Skuø), a confusion of which no Faröese would be guilty. The description of Skuø in the Saga, in the account of how the chieftain Øssur was attacked and overcome by Sigmund Brestesson, suits rather Dimun, which is approachable only with great difficulty. Skuø was the island of Sigmund's birth, and here was his farm. The Færeyingasaga is a particularly well-told, clear and entertaining saga. It begins with the colonisation of the islands by the Northmen in the ninth century; but its real pith is the conflict between the shrewd Thrond and the warlike Sigmund for the overlordship of the islands. In spite of the fact that Sigmund gets support, first from Hacon Jarl and afterwards from King Olaf Tryggvason, by the promise to hold the islands as a fief from Norway, yet Thrond, by his cunning, succeeded in holding his own, and raised higher both his own lordship and—at any rate with partial success—the independent position of the islands; only on the question of the introduction of Christianity was he obliged to give way in face of Sigmund. After the slaying of Sigmund, King Olaf the Saint seeks to make the Faröes a skatland (tributary) of Norway, but without result. The first two ships with his deputies were lost, never being heard of again;

the third deputy was killed at a Thing in Thorshavn, and the saga allows it faintly to be seen that this was due to Thrond's design. Not till after Thrond's death (about 1035) did Leif Øssursson take the islands in fief from King Magnus the Good, and herewith the saga ends.

Later Periods.

Magnus (Mogens) Heinesen, beheaded 1589, is known for one thing from Mogens Frii's historical romance of that name, and from Troels Lund's historical study, which gives a living picture of him. Poul Nolsø has been described by the author of this article in the "Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift," Sixth Series, Part III. Many other men could easily be named who have been of great importance to the Faröese community, alike material and spiritual, especially in the last century and a half, but the interest attached to them is far more local than in the cases named above.

Influence of Icelandic Sagas.

In the old time the Faröes stood in close communication with the surrounding world, especially with the motherland Norway, as well as with the Shetland Isles and Iceland; [1] the life of the Viking Age preserved the connection; but when this died away there set in greater stagnation—the islands' remote situation compelled the little community dwelling there to live its own life. Yet there is much evidence of the intercourse continuing in the Middle Ages between the Faröes and the lands lying about them, not only trade connections (between the Faröes and Norway, especially Bergen), but also marriage connections and intellectual intercourse, in which last the Faröes must be the side that specially benefited. Many old documents bear witness to the Norse-Faröese marriage

[1] In the saga literature the settlement of Icelanders in the Faröes is sometimes mentioned, for instance, that of the famous lady Droplaug with her little son Herjolf at the end of the tenth century, from the Droplaugssons' Saga.

connections. The many Faröese lays still preserved (by word of mouth) dealing with subjects from Icelandic sagas, such as the lays about Gunnar of Hlîtharendi ("Gunnar's last fight," Njal's Saga), about Kjartan Olafsson (Laxdæla Saga), about Tormann the Skald, that is Olaf the Saint's Court-skald, Thormod Kolbrunarskald ("Thormod's Journey to Greenland": Fostbræðrasaga) and others, together with the many lays founded on subjects from the romantic sagas, bear witness to the intercourse with Iceland. Part of the Faröese songs are prefaced with words such as: "*Ein er ríman (søgan) úr Íslandi komin* (or *Frøði er komið frá Íslandi*) *skrivað í bók so breiða*," that is, "A poem, or story, is come from Iceland, written in a book so broad." The expression "Book so broad" (book of great bulk) cannot well refer here to anything but old Icelandic saga-manuscripts, vellum manuscripts, which have reached the Faröes, and to whose contents part of the Faröese songs may be referred back. The words "*En vise er kommen fra Island*" (A poem is come from Iceland) need not therefore be taken quite literally, but mean in all likelihood merely that the subject itself, the subject of the song, is Icelandic, so much the more as in place of the word "vise" (poem) there sometimes stands "saga," or "tale." In all likelihood it points also to the old saga-manuscripts, when in the Faröese song, prefaced in the above-mentioned way, about Saint Olaf and the Trolls in Hornelen, it is said, "Have you heard of the king who stands written of in a book?"[1] That Tormod the Skald's

[1] There are still a few old phrases used in Faröe, which bear witness to a far greater knowledge of Icelandic saga literature in former times than is the case now-a-days. Of a person with a weird staring look which makes one uneasy, it is said: "He (she) has eyes like Glaam" (*hatta hevir eyguni sum í Glámi*). The Glaam here used as a comparison is only an empty name now-a-days in Faröe; but the person is evidently no other than the ghost, or rather vampire, *Glámr*, mentioned in Grettis saga, with whom Grettir wrestled. The sight of Glaam's wide open and horribly staring eyes, as he was lying on the ground vanquished, was so terrible that—according to the account in the saga—this was the only thing that

journey to Greenland has been sung in the Faröes, and the lay about him so well preserved, ought to be looked at in connection with an old Faröese story, according to which the Northmen, when in old days they made trading voyages to Greenland, used to put into one of the two Faröese harbours, either Vaag in Bordø (North Islands), or Vaag in Suderø. This gave the Faröese an interest in everything that concerned the old Icelandic colony in Greenland, which afterwards was so unhappily ruined. In view of the thorough agreement between the Faröese lay and the account in the Icelandic Fostbræðra-saga, the former clearly relies upon the latter. A recollection of the old journeys to Vinland (America) is contained in the lay of "Finnur hin fríði" (Finn the Fair), which in other points cannot be verified by historical methods. In this lay journeys out and back between Ireland and Vinland are mentioned.[1]

Norwegian Literary Influence.

As the song dance and lays originally came to the Faröes from Norway, it is easily understood that various

during the whole of Grettir's life had given him a fright. After this struggle with the vampire, Grettir had always visions, and was afraid in the dark. The Faröese phrase quoted is no doubt very old; it cannot originate from the reading of any printed Grettis saga—in this respect the printed editions are too young, and Faröe people's knowledge at present of the old Icelandic saga literature, or their present interest in it, are too slight—nor is it likely to originate from any lay. There is no *old* Gretti's lay preserved in Faröe, and the quite young ditty about Grettir, composed about 1850 by the manager of the trade-monopoly, Jacob Nolsø (a younger brother of Poul Nolsø), must be disregarded in this connection. Although the "troll" with whom Grettir wrestles is mentioned here, he is not called by any name, and is not described.

In the North Isles of Faröe some old ruins of houses go by the name of *Íslendingabúðir* or *Íslendingatoftir* ("the Icelanders' booths or tofts").

[1] The journeys here talked of between Ireland and Vinland are, perhaps, not altogether groundless. In the Icelandic "Landnámabok" there is mentioned a "Whitemansland," also called "Ireland the Greater," lying out west in the sea, near to Vinland the Good: "it is said to be six days sailing westward from Ireland."

Faröese lays deal with subjects specially Norse, not to speak of the many romantic poems that have wandered from the south, which have come to the Faröes through Norway as a channel and in a Norse form. The best known of these is certainly the cycle of lays about Sigurd Fafnisbane, and next to this that about Karl the Great and his twelve peers. The kings Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf the Saint appear in many Faröese lays, and especially in the character of exterminators of trolls; anything really historical about them is not found in the lays; they stand out as half mythical persons. The lay of Erling the bonder at Jadar ("Edlindur bóndi á Jaðri") deals with the famous Erling Skialgsson from Olaf the Saint's Saga, but does not come from the saga, since it gives traditions which are not found in the latter. The lays of "Hermund the Evil" and "Margrete of Nordness" go back to Norse ditties on the same subjects. In many Faröese lays—for the most part mythical —to which no parallels are to be had, and which thus escape comparison, the action is placed in Norway.

That a theme treated of in a Faröese lay is peculiarly Norwegian does not, however, by any means exclude the possibility, or probability, that it was taken from Iceland. Two chief currents cross each other at the Faröes in the Middle Ages, one Norwegian and one Icelandic; and since the latter occupies itself to such a high degree with Norwegian subjects, and exercises besides a great influence through its rich written literature, the Faröese in this way often receive Norwegian traditions (and to some extent Danish also) in an Icelandic mould. The ditty about St. Olaf and the Hornelen trolls ("Trodlini í Hodnalondun") begins, although the theme is very peculiarly Norse, with the words: "A ditty (or tale) is come from Iceland," etc. Olaf's fights with the trolls are certainly mentioned in Icelandic sagas, but without any close local connections; but there is found a Norwegian legend about St. Olaf's fight with trolls linked to the mountain (cape) Hornelen, the *Hodnaland* of the Faröese

lay. A ditty from Denmark on the same subject is also known ("Troldene i Hornelumme"), which is certainly Norwegian in origin. No Icelandic ditty on this theme is known. Nevertheless since the Faröese ditties in all the various versions begin with remarks on its descent from Iceland, there may have been a corresponding Icelandic ditty; but the commencing words may also, and with much likelihood, refer to the bare fact that the Icelandic saga about Olaf the Saint was well known in the Faröes in the Middle Ages (*cf.* the expression about Olaf: "The king who stands written of in a book," just cited in the Faröese ditty above named). In the Faröese lay about "Geyti (Hemingur)-Áslaksson," which contains a variant of the Palnatoke legend, and whose action takes place in Norway, King Harald Hardrada appears. The theme is dealt with in the "thattr" about Heming Aslaksson in the Icelandic collection of sagas, "Flatey Book," and also in a Norwegian folk-song about "Hemingen"; but the Faröese lay stands considerably nearer to the Icelandic tale than does the Norwegian. The Faröese lay, "The Jomsvikings" (or in Faröese, "Jómsvikingarnir"), treating of the fight in Hjorungavaag," agrees closely (though with some distortions of names) with the Icelandic Jomsvikingasaga.

The existence of an Icelandic saga parallel to a Faröese lay is not always decisive, however, as to the origin of the Faröese lay in question. As there is still a considerable number of Norwegian ballads unpublished, while very many have undoubtedly been lost, whereas comparatively few old Icelandic sagas have been lost and all the known sagas are published, a comparison between the Faröese lays and the Icelandic sagas is far more easily instituted than a comparison between Faröese and Norwegian lays. Often an old Faröese lay must be considered to have originated in a fusion of various traditions come from various parts. "Sniolvs kvæði," one of the longest Faröese lays (in several parts), and the lay about "Ásmundur Aðalsson," both have paral-

lels in Icelandic sagas, the saga of "Asmund Kappabani" and that of "Asmund, King of the Huns," respectively; but there are discrepancies which make one suppose that the Faröese lays do not originate solely, or direct, from the said Icelandic sagas. A tale corresponding to the saga of Asmund Kappabani is told by the ancient Danish historiographer, Saxo Grammaticus, and the same subject is found dealt with in ancient German heroic legends (about Hildebrand and Hadubrand). The chief motive is the hero fighting and killing his half-brother without knowing him; in the Faröese lay ("Sniolvs kvæði") it is the father who kills the son. British influence can be traced in the lays about "Bevus," corresponding to the English lay, "Sir Bevis of Hampton," and also to the Icelandic "Béfus rímur." Some lays belonging to the Arthurian cycle, or traces of some of these lays, are also found in Faröe),[1] but they have come through various channels.

Native Traditions.

Of old lays which handle specially Faröese subjects there is only a single one in Faröese, "Sigmund's kvæði," that is to say, the *older* Sigmund's lay (a subject from the Færeyingasaga), and even then that contains scarcely anything wholly derived from native tradition; here again the Icelandic saga-writing exercises its mighty influence. A couple of incidents—the mentioning of, first, the priest Thangbrand's mission to Iceland and the Faröes (Olaf Tryggvason's Saga), and, second (in a single copy), of a certain Harald, named in "Flatey Book," but elsewhere unknown, as a companion of Sigmund on the latter's expedition against the chieftain Øssur, go to show that the author of the lay had saga manuscripts before him. The lay, however, avoids

[1] There is a confusion between the names *Atli*, *Artala* and *Artan*. Atli is "Attila" and Artan must be "Artus." *Artala* seems to be a welding together of the two names.

the shifting of places of which Færeyingasaga is guilty. When the action in "Finnboga Ríma" (the song of Finnbogi), a lay originating in the Saga of Finnbogi the Strong, is placed in Sandø among the Faröes, where Finnbogi's opponent, Alf the Bonder, is said to live (in Skopum), there is a confusion of places, since Alf, according to the saga from which the lay takes its material, lived at the island of Sandø, lying off the coast of Halogaland in Norway. This Norwegian Sandø has, by a misapprehension, been understood by the Faröese to mean their own native Sandø, and the action of the lay has been changed to the Faröes. When the chief persons in the Færeyingasaga are left out of account, all the heroes of Faröese lays are drawn from outside the boundaries of the islands.

Danish Literary Influence.

Of the Faröese lays which deal with Danish subjects the greater part, especially the older ones, may be taken to have come through Norway. Not till modern times does a more direct intercourse with Denmark occur. The lays framed on Danish subjects are, taken on the average, younger than those framed on Norwegian and Icelandic (Faröese) subjects, the first few dating from the time immediately after the close of the Middle Ages. Their form of speech is generally younger, and besprinkled with Danish ways of expression; sometimes the form of speech is half Danish and half Faröese. Some of these songs treat of famous historical persons, for instance, the lays about King Waldemar and Tova ("Valdimann og Tóva"), and about Queen Dagmar ("Frú Dagmoy"). I disregard here the many folk-songs, in exclusively Danish speech, which have maintained themselves in the Faröes, and which for the most part spring from, or are affected by, printed sources (Anders Sørenson Vedel, Peder Syv).

Later Icelandic and other Influences.

So late as the sixteenth century have the Faröes been under a strong Icelandic influence. The long religious poem, "Ljómur," composed by Iceland's last Roman Catholic Bishop, Jón Arason of Hólar (in thirty-eight ten-line verses), was transplanted to the Faröes, where it has maintained itself to the present day through oral tradition, and under the circumstances in a particularly well preserved shape.[1] With regard to this poem a superstition prevailed in the Faröes that one who knew the poem should always omit a verse thereof, if he communicated it to another, otherwise he would meet with disaster (perish at sea). This led to the poem becoming fragmentary. So much the more remarkable is it that, in spite of this, in the nineteenth century one has been able to get the whole collected except about two verses. The fact is also of interest in a linguistic sense, in that it shows that the Faröese must have stood a great deal closer to the Icelandic in the sixteenth century than now; such a complete oral appropriation of so extensive an Icelandic poem in the Faröes would in any other case have been unthinkable.[2] With the commencement of modern times, however, the Icelandic influence on the Faröes decreases more and more in contrast with that coming from Norway and Denmark, which is supported

[1] The best preserved Faröese version, published in "Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," Copenhagen, 1869, has thirty-five verses.

[2] In passing it may be observed that the characteristic Icelandic "Rime-Literature" (narrative poems), which blossomed in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, have also left their trace in the Faröes, although there is now-a-days only a little of this remaining. As an example the Faröese, or Icelandic-Faröese, Rime "Korald's Kvæði" (the lay of Konrad, the Emperor's son), improperly called "kvad" (lay), may be cited. It has the Icelandic "Rimur's" own ways of representation and of paraphrasing designations, and the same metre (a sort of end-rhyme metre, *runhenda*), which distinguishes a number of younger Icelandic Rimur. There are some Icelandic "Konráðs Rimur" about Konrad, the Emperor's son, preserved, but the Faröese version cannot spring from these.

by a regular trading connection with those lands. After the Reformation Danish became predominant as the official speech in the islands, especially as the church-speech, and as the speech in which religious instruction was given. There is no mention of any regular Faröese system of parish schools until far on in the nineteenth century; a Latin school, however, existed in Thorshavn down to 1804. A proof of the strong intellectual influence from Norway, even in the eighteenth century, is the fact that several poems by the Norwegian folk-poet, Peter Dass (published after his death, in 1708), were so widely spread, and took root so firmly in the Faröes, that there are still to be found a number of Faröese who know great portions of "Nordland's Trumpet" and several of Dass's scriptural songs by heart, mostly from oral tradition. Of modern Danish poetry, from the Reformation to our day, Thomas Kingo's hymns alone can be said to have become in the same way the spiritual possession of the Faröese people. The greatest part of the Faröese folktales are in their present shape fairly young, the majority being of Danish and Norwegian origin. Not till 1814, with the separation of Norway from Denmark and its union with Sweden, does the influence from Norway fall wholly into the shade before that of Denmark, by reason of the political conditions and the closer connection of the Faröes with Denmark.

Political History.

In a *political* respect the Faröes consisted from the first of a single law-district, that is to say, were ruled by one Lawman, who was chief officer of the islands and president of the Lawthing or Assembly of Laws, which was held in Thorshavn in Strømø.[1] The Lawman again was under a royal Sheriff. The islands were a part of Norway until 1709, when the Danish-Norwegian

[1] Thorshavn is mentioned as the meeting-place of the Lawthing as early as in Færeyingasaga.

king, Frederick IV., placed them under the county of Sealand (Denmark). Not till 1816 were the institutions of Lawman and Assembly of Laws given up and the islands made into a separate district in the Danish kingdom. They shared in the constitution of 1849, and have since sent two members to the Danish Parliament, the Folkething and Landsthing respectively. In 1852 the Faröese Lawthing was re-established, but in another shape than before, as a District Council with enlarged powers, among others with the initiative in proposing laws for the islands.

In an ecclesiastical aspect the Faröes were until the Reformation a bishopric, under the see of the Archbishop of Throndhjem (the bishops had their seat at Kirkebø in Strømø), and later on a deanery. Among the bishops only Erlend (at the close of the thirteenth century), founder of the never completed stone cathedral at kebø, need be mentioned.

Monopoly of Trade.

The most important points in the history of the islands in modern times are the years when the trade passes from one hand to another as a monopoly, most frequently burdensome. Throughout the Middle Ages the trade had been free, although it had fallen more and more into the hands of the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen. In the latter half of the sixteenth century it became a monopoly, first of two Copenhagen and afterwards of a Hamburg merchant, and it was in succeeding ages in the hands of merchants, now of Copenhagen, now of Hamburg or Bergen.

For a short series of years (about 1580) the Faröese Magnus Heinesen had the privilege of trade, and the right to fit out a ship as a man-of-war, in order to rid the Faröese seaways of pirates. About his exploits in battle against the pirates there are still legends. Magnus Heinesen soon lost his privilege, being accused of various irregularities; a short time after he was imprisoned in

Copenhagen for piracy (the capture of an English merchant ship), and was beheaded in 1589; but the year after he was honourably acquitted, the sentence was annulled, and Heinesen's corpse was honourably buried. In the seventeenth century the trade was carried on, first by the so-called Icelandic Company in Copenhagen, and next by the royal Secretary of State, Christoph von Gabel, who received the islands in fee, and after him by his son Frederik von Gabel, until 1709, when the trade became a royal monopolv. As such it continued for about a century and a half.

Poul Nolsø and Free Trade.

In 1804 the Faröese shipmaster, Poul Nolsø, raised a strong agitation for free trade, as the only means of placing the islands upon something of an economic footing; but in this he found but slight support among the population, which, although it lived under very burdensome conditions, was yet fearful of a new state of things. The local authorities placed all possible hindrances in his way; amongst other things an action for smuggling was brought against him. It may be observed here that the leading officials themselves at this very time carried on a smuggling trade. As a sort of revenge, Nolsø composed his satire, "Fugla kvæði," "The Lay of the Birds," in which he represented the officials in the likeness of birds of prey (the Administrator of Trade is, for instance, a raven); the birds of prey persecute the small birds (the common people), as whose protector the oyster-catcher (Nolsø himself) comes forward. On Nolsø's early death in 1809—he was lost at sea—everything returned to the old grooves. The monopoly lasted thus until 1856, when the trade at last became free.

Results of Free Trade.

After the introduction of free trade the little Faröese community, hitherto so shut off and oppressed, came into full contact with the surrounding world. One trading

place after another rose up, one fishing ship after another was built, and a new period begins whose chief characteristics are the quickly advancing material and economic development of the islands. The population grew in maturity and fitness for self-government. But one thing which could not be avoided was that the new ideas which came from outside and set a new impression on the way of life and mode of thought of the population, worked the undoing of the existing individualistic Faröese culture. Men began to lose interest in and to forget the traditions handed down through the centuries. Intellectual life in the Faröes before the free trade period was to a very great extent maintained by the so-called "Kvældsæder," evening seats or evening gatherings, which took place in the winter, when folk, after the close of the day's work, gathered together in their houses. Here were revived the old legends and stories which had been handed down from the elder generations orally through centuries—legends and stories concerning the history of the Faröes and life in the islands in earlier times. The elders took turns to narrate, and the youth listened. Here, likewise, Faröese lays and Danish folk-songs, handed down orally through the centuries, were sung, and thus it came about that it was not exclusively the old mediæval "song-dances," still linked to them, which preserved the native lays from oblivion. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Faröese public culture and intellectual life was then in the main dependent on and maintained by these winter-evening gatherings. When we look at the question apart from religious instruction, we see that here youth received its special culture. But when the many trading-steads arose in the several districts (before 1856 there were only four trading-places in all in the Faröes, and before 1836 only a single one, namely Thorshavn) gatherings in the warehouses began to displace as a means of recreation the "Kvæld-sæder," until these latter altogether disappeared, and therewith the special life linked to them—a very grievous exchange. The handing down of earlier tradition, once so rich, is

now but a shadow of what it used to be. The lays are even now frequently sung for dances; but half of them are known to the younger generation, taken on the average, scarcely much more than by name, and some have quite died out.[1]

Satire and Modern Lays.

In connection herewith must be named a characteristic local form of poetical composition: satirical and mocking songs, the so-called "Táttar," in lay-form, and generally with a refrain.[2] These, which take for their target people in some comic situation or other, are sung pretty generally to dances, and have not seldom occasioned poetic quarrels. This form of poetry still puts forth constantly new shoots. A younger contemporary of P. Nolsø, namely, Jens Christian Djurhuus, has with great success composed lays in the style of the old hero-songs, on subjects from the Færeyingasaga.

Work of Recording.

The special recording of Faröese lays did not begin till 1781. It was the son of a Faröese priest, Jens Christian Svabo, who made the beginning. Afterwards many continued the work in the nineteenth century, among them specially two Faröese farmers, Johannes Klementsen of Sandø and Hans Hansen of Fuglø, and the work was brought to a conclusion by Dean V. U. Hammershaimb. The whole of the vast material in a transcript made by Svend Grundtvig and Jørgen Bloch is now preserved in the Great Royal Library in Copenhagen. The recording of legends was not commenced

[1] I speak here of the specially Faröese lays, folk-songs in Faröese speech; because, as already hinted, a number of Danish folk-songs are also sung by the Faröe people as accompaniment to their dances, and these, at all events in the Northern islands, have been far better preserved than the Faröese. The Southern islands are, at the present day, the special home of the Faröese lays proper, but here also they are being driven out.

[2] To these belongs the "Fugla-kvæði" mentioned above.

till the nineteenth century, when it was undertaken by a clergyman (J. H. Schröter). The collecting of legends was continued by Dean Hammershaimb, who is also the real founder of modern Faröese prose literature. By the side of the old traditional composition of satirical songs a Faröese poetry of modern make has now sprung up among the latest generation. It consists mainly of lyrical poems, songs and hymns. There are also dramatic experiments, built partly on local themes. For the rest, the Faröese speech has been used in the local press side by side with Danish for about fifteen years, and has been thereby developed for journalistic use.

NORWAY.

Mr. Haakon Schetelig, District Secretary, Bergen, writes:—

THE SHIP FIND IN SLAGEN.

AMONG the archæological novelties of this year in Norway, one discovery has been of such great importance, and has taken so predominant a part of the public interest, that all others must be put aside as common and indifferent compared with it. The discovery of the new Viking ship in Slagen, close to the old town of Tonsberg, is really one of those rare and lucky incidents by which our knowledge of the old times gets a larger addition than by years of difficult and assiduous researches. Though this find, as belonging to the eastern part of Norway, is not within the district of which I have been especially appointed Secretary, I have been exhorted by the Hon. Editor of the SAGA BOOK to give a short account of this exceedingly interesting find. During eight weeks I worked in the digging as the assistant of Professor Gustafson, the special excavation of the ship itself having begun just before my arrival, and being finished the same day I left the place. Consequently I was able to study from personal observation the arrangement of the grave,

its furniture, and the ship itself; but, as I have not at present the opportunity of giving a more precise description of the archæological results, I must content myself with relating the general features of the excavation and of the find.

Circumstances of the Discovery.

On the ground of the farm Oseberg there was in earlier times a very large mound, situated close to the little brook which runs past the church at Slagen to the bay of Traela, east of Tønsberg. Though it is now at a distance of about 3 km. from the sea, old people of the parish always told, as a tradition from their forefathers, that a ship had once been buried in the said mound, and that traces were still to be seen of the channel through which the ship had been taken up from the sea. I heard of this tradition from Doctor Grimsgaard of Aasgaardstrand, whose father was for a long time the clergyman of Slagen. During the nineteenth century the mound, used for supplying earth to the churchyard, had been diminished by about one-half of its height, and had consequently totally lost the appearance of a funeral monument. But during the work of digging and transporting the earth the peasants often observed that the ground had on this spot another consistency than elsewhere, the mound being throughout composed of regular strata of sods, and that it consequently must have been artificially built. As is common in such cases, rumours about hidden treasure were not missing, and some years ago they induced a peasant of the neighbourhood to buy the ground, with the special purpose of digging up what might be resting in the interior of the mound.

During his digging in October last year he soon met with the top of a mast, and by following it downwards made his way to the centre of the grave, just at the same place where other robbers, many hundred years ago, had broken the roof of the grave-chamber. The trench, made in a hurry, being not very large, he could see only a little of the larger oaken planks forming the roof, and a small

part of the bottom of the ship; he found, too, some fragments of carved wooden objects, but of course could understand nothing of it, especially as the interior of the mound seemed to be full of water, welling forth from the sides and the bottom of the trench. He then sent for Mr. G. Gustafson, Professor of Archæology at the University of Christiania.

The season being already far advanced no systematic digging could be begun that year, and an arrangement was made with the farmer, not without many difficulties, as the laws of Norway in such cases give a very unsatisfactory protection to the interests of science and national history. At last it was agreed that a complete excavation should take place the next summer, to be executed by the Professor of the University under the authority of the Government.

Method of Excavation.

The mere technical part of the work was not without its interest, as unusually large quantities of earth had to be removed, the drainage to be regulated, and a supply of water to be procured for keeping the ancient wood moist, so that it should not crack and be warped by drying. The skilful solution of these questions does great honour to Professor Gustafson and his engineer assistant. The grave had its place in a natural recess of the clay soil, which had been for a thousand years full of water, a circumstance especially favourable to the preservation of the wood. The summer being very hot the water had to be kept there as long as possible, and by a clever arrangement it could be let off in portions whenever it became necessary for the progress of the excavation. Fresh water for sprinkling over the wood was procured through a conduit from the brook; the sprinkling was required several times a day, in spite of the excavated parts being always covered with moss and cloths.

As to the digging, a trench was made corresponding to the supposed dimensions of the ship, and it turned

From a photograph by THE SLAGEN SHIP. *[Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.*

From a photograph by] THE SLAGEN SHIP. *[Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.*

2.—Partially excavated and Grave-chamber removed. ½ *(Looking aft.)*

out to be as accurate as possible; no addition to it was required throughout the digging, and the space in the bottom of the trench was just as large as was necessary for completing the excavation. Very rarely is an archæologist allowed to enjoy so complete a verification of his presumptions, and the work as a whole exceeded all expectations.

Condition and Contents of the Grave.

The contents of the grave were without exception found in an astonishing state of preservation. When uncovered the wood had not only preserved its form, but had a quite fresh looking colour, which, however, soon darkened through the influence of air and daylight. The grass and other small plants, which had come here accidentally so long ago during the building of the mound, were found green and undisturbed, and a botanist could make a good collection of them for his herbarium. Some young branches of alder were taken up from the bottom of the ship, where they had been exposed to no pressure, with their leaves green and slightly curled as when still living. In such conditions of course not a piece of the things which had once come into the mound was missing through decomposition; but, in spite of this, the ship and its furniture were greatly damaged, in consequence partly of the strange arrangement of the grave, partly of a robbery executed probably at some time during the Viking age.

The arrangement of the grave was as follows: a ship, a little more than 21 m. long, had been placed upon the untouched clay soil, its sides being supported by a quantity of clay filled in under it after it had been brought to the spot. Behind the mast a chamber had been constructed of large oaken planks, the top of the roof being supported by two perpendicular beams, very solid, and resting upon the keel of the ship. Outside the chamber the whole of the ship was filled with innumerable objects: kitchen utensils, instruments of weaving, four sledges, a

large carriage, 28 oars, other large pieces of wood belonging to the outfit of the ship, etc. The whole grave, with the ship and all the other things, had then been covered with heaps of heavy and sharp-edged stones, thrown together without any care for the objects, and consequently most of them had been broken and damaged. The ship had been much deformed too by the pressure of the mound bending outwards the sides of the fore and hind-parts. The middle of the ship, protected against direct pressure by the solid chamber, had gone through a transformation still worse, as the clay soil, giving way to the pressure on all sides around the chamber, found here an open space not yet filled. The keel and the bottom of the ship, which could by themselves offer little resistance to such forces, were broken and pressed upwards against the roof of the chamber. This process probably began a short time after the funeral, it being certain at least that it was rather advanced at the time when the robbers broke into the grave. It was seen that they had at first made a hole in the roof close to the mast, as large as would give convenient passage for one man only, and then, probably finding the bottom already pressed up to such a height as to make it difficult to move under the roof, they had cut off the tops of nearly all the planks on both sides of the ridge. The chamber, however, must have been in some degree more accessible at that time than now; for instance, a chest, which it was now impossible to see, and far less to touch without removing a large part of the roof, had been broken and emptied by the robbers. Another chest placed close to the left side of the chamber was found unbroken and still having its contents—several instruments for women's work—in a wonderful state of preservation. We may conclude consequently that at the sides of the chamber the bottom had already at the time of the robbery been pressed close to the roof, thus preserving many objects from the fury of the plundering.

From a photograph by] THE SLAGEN SHIP. *[Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.*

3.—Looking forward from port quarter.

From a photograph by] THE SLAGEN SHIP. *[Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.*

4.—Looking forward from the starboard quarter.

Results of the Earlier Plundering.

The chief part of the furniture of the grave, having its place in the central part of the chamber, had been taken up and ransacked in the broad trench opened on this occasion through the mound. The bottom of this trench could now be distinguished by heaps of fragments and broken objects of the most various kinds, stretching downwards from the southern slope of the mound, touching the prow, the top of which has probably been cut off by the robbers, and from there in the direction of the centre of the mound straight towards the mast and the chamber. Fortunately its level is a little higher than the fore-part of the ship, which has in this way escaped devastation. The robbers seem to have worked in a great hurry and to have revelled in the destruction of all objects which they thought of no value; even some human bones, belonging to two persons, probably both females, were found among the other wreckage in the trench, the skulls knocked to pieces, and several of the other bones broken.

Naturally this part of the find has furnished no complete and instructive object, but some of the fragments found here have good carved ornament, and some others give informations which will be found remarkable, even compared with the untouched contents of the rest of the ship. These things, too, will always deserve study, as the only remains of the central part of the grave containing the person in whose honour a sacrifice so immensely expensive was made.

Human and Animal Remains.

The somewhat surprising circumstance of finding in one grave the remains of two persons buried is most likely explained by supposing that its chief occupant, no doubt a lady belonging to the highest class of society, was accompanied by her female servant. The same thing has been observed in other graves, for instance, in the remarkable find from Donnes in Nordland, where of two skeletons found, the one had its place in the hind-

part of the ship, the other outside, close to the stern; here also it was certainly a woman's grave.

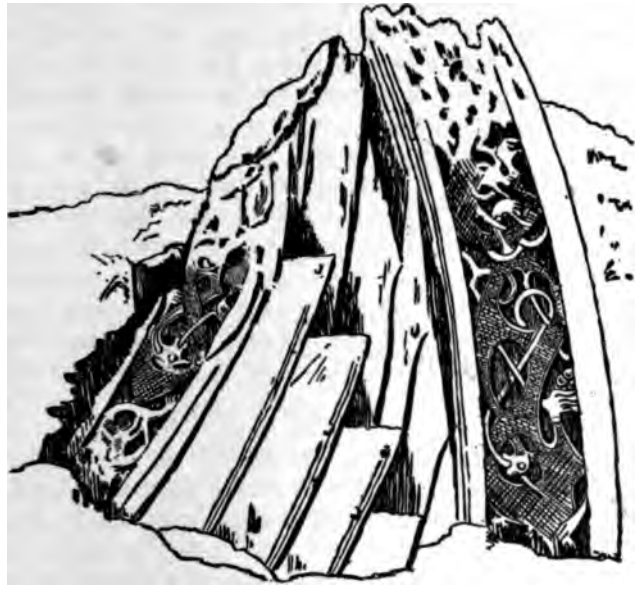
More common is the occurrence of beasts in graves from the Viking age, though none of them, except in the case of the Gokstad ship, has in this respect been so richly supplied as the ship in Slagen. In the hind-part, close to the stern, was found a young ox, placed upon a broad oaken plank; in the fore-part, ten horses, four dogs, and the cut-off head of an old ox, the last-mentioned carelessly placed in a richly-decorated bed belonging to the furniture of the ship; finally, three more horses were discovered outside on both sides of the prow. The horses and the dogs all had their heads cut off. Around the legs of the horses were found the ropes used for binding them when they were slain, so well preserved that they could still be unknotted; the dogs were provided with iron chains fastened to broad iron collars.

General Conclusions.

As remarked above, I have not the opportunity of giving a detailed description of the find until the report of the University has appeared. I can only mention that many of the objects, such as the sledges and the carriage, are quite new discoveries, showing forms and constructions seen by no human eye for the last thousand years, or which afford the explanation of old riddles which have hitherto puzzled the astuteness of archæologists. The most important point, however, about the find is the carved ornamentation, appearing on such a scale and with such refinement as no one would have dared to expect at that remote time. We have here an ornamentation not only excelling in fine and decorative patterns, but also in technical ability of carving never surpassed and rarely reached in the decorations of the *stav-kirke*.

As mentioned above, the ship was too much broken to be moved complete; it has now been taken up in pieces, and it is doubtful whether it will be possible to restore it to the original form. It was, however, measured and drawings made of it, while still *in situ*, by marine engi-

neers in State employment, placed at the Professor's disposal by the Government. Through this very carefully executed work we have exact knowledge of all the principal points respecting the ship. It was a little shorter than the Gokstad ship, nearly of the same breadth as that, but much lower above the water-line. It has consequently not been a ship meant for the open sea, and, though it is provided with a mast, it was no doubt intended principally for rowing, and not for sailing, as the



port-holes for the oars have no shutters. After all it must be regarded as a very large boat, broad and open, built for short journeys in the calm waters of the Christiania-fjord. Its elegant lines and rich decoration will be seen from the illustrations from photographs, taken the day when the excavation was completed, showing the ship cleared of all its contents. Such a ship could be built only for a person of the highest rank, perhaps for the personal use of a queen. The above figure shows on a large scale part of the carving on one of the stems.

Many things indicate that it was already an old ship at the time of its interment, and that it had been for a long time not much used, a circumstance which is easily explained with a luxurious vessel of this sort.

Find of Part of a Ship in Ryfylke.

From Western Norway I will mention a find giving a useful supplement to our knowledge about the ships of the Viking age, namely, the stern of a ship, which has probably been about 20 m. long, found at Søndenaa in Ryfylke. The piece is 4.10 m. long, and has a broad and highly pointed termination. That this form was common in the Viking age may be concluded from some simple drawings scratched on the boards of the ship of Slagen, and representing ships with sterns of the same characteristic form; it recalls, too, some of the boats still used in Western Norway. I think, then, that the stems of the Gokstad ship have been wrongly restored in the drawing in Nicolaysen's book, and that they originally were shaped somewhat in the same way as the new-found piece from Ryfylke. An account of it has been published by Mr. Hilliesen in the "Stavanger Museum's Aarsberetning, 1903."

The piece was found together with a fragment of the prow, showing a similar form, during the digging for the construction of a road. It rested upon the original clay soil and was covered with a stratum of moss 40 cm. thick. Mr. Hilliesen supposes that it was brought here by a flood of water, which is consequently supposed to have flooded a shipbuilder's yard somewhere in the neighbourhood, as the stem has no traces of ever having been actually attached to the ship's sides.

DENMARK.

Mr. H. A. Kjær, District Secretary, writes:—

My Report for this year will take the shape of remarks on some of the most interesting finds, not from sepulchral

tombs, belonging to the Bronze Age, which have been received in the last few years by the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen. A selection of these finds has been exhibited recently. It consisted almost entirely of objects deposited in the ground as votive offerings or deposits, and formed a remarkable series; it also bore witness to the fact that we in Denmark are yet very far from the time when the earth will have surrendered completely the objects which in days gone by have been committed to it. These somewhat considerable finds bear for the most part the peculiarities of the older groups of finds in the Museum; out of about fifty finds made during the last ten years, not less than thirty-five date from the latest period of the Bronze Age. Most of these finds have come from Jutland, from its northern districts especially, and from Zealand, while Lolland-Falster during these years has only yielded a single noteworthy find, two great trumpets (Lurer) from Radbjerg Moss. The following are the most noteworthy of the finds, either for their intrinsic value, or for their relationship to other finds and the new light they throw on them.

Hornbæk and Monsted Finds.

A plantation at Hornbæk, Zealand, yielded a foundry-find, consisting of cast objects that had been broken or were imperfect, obviously arranged with a view to their being melted up. This was dug up at a slight depth below the surface on the inner side of one of the encircling stones of a little Stone Age barrow. It consisted of celts, knives, fragments of arm and neck-rings, etc., eighteen pieces in all, and on the whole of a typical kind. Very peculiar is a find from Mønsted, in Viborg county, Jútland, a little socketed celt of bronze, brought to light from a depth of about 0.30 meter, in a little sand-bank. Inside the celt had been placed eighteen small fragments of gold, including four spirals from gold arm rings. Over them, upon the celt, a cover of some perishable matter had evidently been placed, held fast by a little

pin or peg stuck through a little hole bored in the side of the celt. The find may be compared most nearly with a small series of finds in the National Museum, each consisting of a little bronze box, with two or more payment-rings made of a thin golden wire. These finds come down from the second of the four periods of the Bronze Age; the new find, which shows the custom when no longer in its purity, is a little younger, about from the third period.

Rye and Valsømagle Finds.

Two very characteristic and remarkable finds proceeded from Rye, near Høng, and Valsømagle, near Ringsted, both in Zealand, the first consisting solely of ornaments and other objects belonging to the equipment of a woman: three collars, three large belt-plates, and twenty-one arm and finger-rings, etc., making up in all about three complete sets; the other find was composed exclusively of objects which belong to a man. The find at Rye was made at no great depth in a gravel bank. Many of the objects are especially fine and beautiful, others are of slighter and not such careful work. Of its kind the find is the biggest hitherto known (about 40 pieces in all). But it has suffered no little, and is thus somewhat inferior to the remarkable objects in the find from Valsomagle, which include a sword, two spear heads, and two axes, the one big and very beautiful, the other one smaller, almost of palstave shape. This find was made near a large stone, not more than 85 meters from the place where an older find, almost similar, now in the Museum, was made, though the objects in the latter case were not of the same finished beauty. The sword and one of the spearheads, two weapons which, apart from the decoration, were elegantly and beautifully shaped, are ornamented on unusually fine elegant lines, the spearhead even with small figures of fishes. Moreover, all the objects are in such a remarkably fine state of preservation that they can vie with all the best from the Classical countries of the Mediterranean.

They are perhaps the most beautiful of all among the remains of Denmark's Bronze Age.

SERUP FIND.

Brief mention must be made of a find of eleven flat axes (celts) and three sickle-blades from Serup, 7 kilm. N.W. from Silkeborg, which were brought to light at the foot of a bank near a streamlet.

DEPOSIT FIND AT ALLESTRUP.

Next must be mentioned several finds of neck-rings from the Bronze Age, both of earlier and later date, which occur in pairs of a similar kind, one of those groups of finds about which it was first maintained, by Dr. Sophus Müller in particular, that they must be deposits made from religious motives. This series now numbers not less than thirty-three finds. A new one, of no less than three pairs of rings, has occurred under specially remarkable circumstances at Allestrup, in Aalborg county, Jútland. In a little marsh, which is filled up with stumps and trunks of acicular trees, lay a fir-trunk, across one of the large roots of a fir-stump that had grown on the spot, and just in the angle between the trunk and the branch stood the six rings arranged on edge, two and two. The interpretation of such rings as votive gifts must win substantial support from this. Over the whole there was a layer of turf one meter thick.

DEPOSIT FINDS AT SJØRUP AND ØLSTED.

Finally three finds of substantially the same kind, from the latest period of the Bronze Age, must be recorded, occurring at Sjørup in Viborg county, Ølsted in Zealand, and Budsene in Møen. The find from Sjørup is the biggest, but consisted of objects of smaller artistic value, two so-called "hanging vessels," two neck-rings, buckles, arm-rings, etc., all deposited in the vessels, which were placed with their mouths together, surrounded by the neck-

rings. These things stood at the bottom of a little moss surrounded by banks. The layer of moss over them is of a dry form, not produced in water. The conditions also answered to what may be supposed to have been the case in our great moss-finds from the Iron Age. The Ølsted find consisted of objects very finely executed and decorated, a hanging vessel, a great belt ornament, two buckles, shaped like spectacles O⌒O, and an arm-ring. The things were deposited in a clay vessel, one meter deep in the earth, beside a great stone.

Sacrificial Find at Møen.

The most interesting find of all is, however, the Møen find from Budsene, west of the Klinteskov, and near the Baltic. Thirty years ago a little winding watercourse was replaced by a straight ditch. While this was being dug part of a log of wood was found, containing within it some bones of animals. Last summer the ditch had to be cleaned out, and during this work they struck upon the log again, but found in it this time, besides the bones of animals, some beautiful bronze things: a "hanging vessel," wherein were deposited three spiral arm-rings, entangled in each other, covered first with a great convex belt-ornament, and over that with another smaller vessel, which was turned bottom up, so that the whole was almost spherical. The bones of animals were mostly those of oxen (three full-grown and two calves); some of sheep (two and one lamb), and a few of swine and horses. None of them bore marks of gnawing by dogs or beasts of prey. The bronze goods, as well as the animals' bones, were found inside the log, which was of alder wood, open above and below like a barrel. It was set round with stones, and was fully two-thirds of a meter broad, and half a meter high, though, since the uppermost part of it had already rotted away, the original height was probably a little more. This log had been in old days sunk through the layer of soil and a layer of clay, together about two-thirds of a meter deep, down to the

surface of a layer of dense, waterbearing quicksand, so that water could collect inside it. The water was unusually rich in mineral salts. The antiquities are reported by the finder to have stood about midway down in the log, and the whole dates from the period B.C. 600-400.

The animals' bones and bronze objects can scarcely be explained in any other way than as a sacrificial deposit, with its two characteristic features, the sacrifice of animals and the votive gift, the same combination that is so well known from the Classic soil as well as from our own less remote antiquity. Moreover, the fact that only the skeleton and selected parts of the animal were offered up answers also to the universal practice. For these there was space in the log of wood. The remaining parts were used for the sacrificial meal. That they bore no trace of burning, in opposition to the practice elsewhere, could also be reconciled with accounts we have of German offerings.

That the horse was known in the Bronze Age has indeed been long admitted; the latest instance is its appearance drawing the sun-disc [1]; nevertheless, its bones are very rare. A couple of teeth were found in the well-known Maglehøj-find, together with the rest of a "wizard's" equipment, weasel-bones, rowan-twigs, etc. In the neighbourhood of the trumpets from Radbjerg Moss, in Falster, mentioned above, among the bones of other domesticated animals, horse-bones were also picked up, though these lay so near the surface that hitherto antiquaries have omitted to take them into account. The find from Budsene has increased the probability of these horse-bones also dating from days of old. In Skaane a horse's skull has been found with a flint dagger embedded in the middle of its forehead. This animal was apparently not slain in the chase, but slaughtered, sacrificed, and must most likely be referred not to the Stone Age, but to a later period, maybe the Bronze Age itself. In several ritual and ceremonial uses the employment of

[1] See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., p. 381.

flint was continued, without doubt, long after the Stone Age had ended, both within and without Europe. Everything points directly to the fact that the horse in the Bronze Age was a new and much valued domestic animal. In later antiquity it was certainly also the animal most esteemed and most generally used for sacrifices. Very much of the material which would enable us to draw a comparison between the practice in the Bronze Age and later periods is still lacking, even though one thing or another points to some continuity between the different periods of antiquity. Yet it is strange to find in a scholiast to Adam of Bremen a statement that there was a spring at the temple of the gods at Upsala, where the offerings of the heathen were made. Besides this, the sacrifice of horses is already known as extending over the whole cycle of Indo-European culture, from India, over Asia Minor, and through the Classical folk to the Germans; in some places it stood in connection with sun-worship.

Now whether the Budsene find can be explained precisely in this direction must remain for the present uncertain. That it is a votive and sacrificial find may be regarded as certain, but in that case it may be possible to conjecture, with regard to a great number of other deposits in fields and turf-mosses, that religious motives may have been contributory to the act of laying them away in the earth. It seems possible that the vast majority of these finds are in reality memorials of religious practices among our Bronze Age folk.

RESEARCH.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By J. G. GARSON, M.D., President.

WHEN contemplating as to what subject I should address you upon this evening, it occurred to me that I could not select a more suitable or appropriate topic than "Research," which may truly be denominated the life-blood of any society having for its aim scientific work of a serious and solid character. I need hardly detain you to explain that by Research I mean the carrying out of investigations on a particular subject with the object of advancing our knowledge of that subject beyond the limits of what was previously known respecting it, just as the geographer does who makes an expedition into a hitherto unknown, or but partially explored country, for the purpose of ascertaining what information he can respecting it, and so advancing the boundary of knowledge with regard to that part of the world.

The analogy between the geographical exploration of a country and the investigation of an anthropological or a biological subject is really closer than may at first sight appear, notwithstanding that the former involves miles of travel, whereas the latter is conducted in the quietude of the laboratory or the study, and the requirements of the one may be used to illustrate those of the other. In the first place, it is essential to success that the Geographer and the Investigator should each be a thorough and exact observer and recorder of everything

that is to be seen or learned while conducting his own particular research. This means that, before they can profitably start on their investigations, each has to prepare himself for his work by previous general, as well as special, training in his particular science. Without this training a man cannot observe aright, or narrate, in a competent manner, the most salient phenomena observable in the course of an investigation or a journey. He requires to serve an apprenticeship, or, in other words, to discipline and educate his mind to the work, a process which requires time and application just as much as the acquisition of a foreign language does. Therefore the geographer must, amongst other things, learn surveying, mapping, and the use of the various instruments required in topography and geodesy, while the anthropologist requires to make himself familiar with the structural and comparative morphology and the embryological development of vertebrate animals, as well as with that of man, his physiology, teratology, pathology, and likewise his handiwork. But before starting on any special quest, each has to mature plans on which to pursue his research. The geographer has to make himself acquainted with the characteristics of the country adjacent to that unknown territory into which he is about to penetrate, so as to enable him, as far as he can, to prepare for the work before him and, to equip his expedition in the best possible manner, he must be able to take advantage of whatever information there may exist to assist him. So the anthropologist or biologist has to make himself acquainted with what is already known of the subject he proposes to investigate up to the frontier beyond which he intends to pursue his investigations, and he has to determine the general principles on which his investigations are to be conducted. Once started on their work, there will be ample opportunities for each to prove his capabilities to meet new and unforeseen experiences by modifying and adapting his plans and procedure to circumstances as they may arise. Indeed his ultimate success in wresting from Nature some new secret

will materially depend upon his skill and ingenuity in this respect.

But research does not end with massing together a large number of accurately made observations and descriptions, or records of experiments from which every source of error has as far as possible been eliminated. These are undoubtedly of the utmost value, and constitute the data from which the completed investigation must be ultimately constructed. Nevertheless they are, for the most part, but little more than the raw materials upon which the investigator must work, notwithstanding the vast amount of labour, time, and money which in many cases it is necessary to expend in procuring them. They have to be critically examined and analysed, and their meaning has to be reasoned out by a well-balanced and discerning mind. Thought and reflection upon the observations are as requisite in scientific research to determine their true significance, and the inferences which may rightly be drawn from them, as accuracy is in making and recording the observations themselves; and this concentration of the mind on the work in hand must be exercised by the investigator throughout the whole course of his research. To embark upon scientific research with any hope of success, therefore, requires much general and special training, as I have previously insisted, and high qualifications which can only be gained by diligent and prolonged study, as the skilled investigator is never born such, but has to work his way to eminence through college and laboratory. These statements apply not only to investigations and investigators in one branch of science, but in all, because, although the number of branches into which Natural Science has become specialised is great, and each has its own particular or specialised method of procedure, the underlying principles on which investigations are conducted are essentially the same in all, however divergent the appliances and special processes used in each may be.

It is only when research is conducted on the lines indicated that we can expect solid progress to be made in the

advancement of scientific knowledge, and the position attained by the investigator will materially depend on the closeness with which he adheres to scientific methods, his powers of improving his armament for observation, and the mental capability which he is able to bring to bear generally upon his work. Preconceived ideas must ever be rigidly and severely excluded from the mind of the investigator, as they have no place in research.

From what I have said it will be obvious that, for anyone to propose to take up research, without possessing previous training in science and scientific methods of work and thought, is to attempt the impossible, and can only end in failure and disappointment. I am constrained to allude to this, because I have known most estimable persons who sometimes, after years of successful engagement in business or other avocation, finding themselves in the position of having more leisure than formerly, and being interested in some field of science, have made attempts to pursue investigations therein. These, when brought forward, after an immense amount of labour has been spent on their production, have, to put it in the mildest form, not met with the success which their authors anticipated. The reason for this is often attributed to the "jealousy of a professional clique," or some similar cause, whereas the unhappy result has entirely arisen from defective methods being employed in the observations, absence of controls to eliminate error, defects in appreciation of the relative significance of phenomena observed, disregard of the general and well-established principles or natural laws dominant throughout the science, unjustifiable deductions and conclusions the result of imperfect knowledge of the subject, and not unfrequently because the so-called investigation has been taken up with a view to *prove* some theory entertained by the author, or to *disprove* the conclusions legitimately arrived at by some other person, but which do not fall in with the preconceived ideas on the subject of the would-be critic—in a word, absence of scientific methods of research, a defect readily

detected by the properly trained expert in science. It may be asked, Is there not a place in the workshop of science for such a man where his energy may be utilised? or must he be content ever to remain only an interested listener and reader of the works of others? Most assuredly room can be found for him in the temple of Athene, provided he will not endeavour to emulate Icarus, but will set aside all preconceived ideas, be content to begin work in the proper way, and to limit his attempts to what is within the reach of his attainment, relying on the fact that his power of doing good work will increase with his progress in knowledge. To this end he will do best for himself to seek and follow the guidance and direction of some experienced friend, who is willing to start him on the way. And although it may be galling to him to feel that his progress is but slow, and that he can do but little at first, he should remember that "discretion is the better part of valour," and that by curbing his own impetuosity he will save himself much useless waste of energy, as well as the bitterness of disappointment. It is as true in research, as in progression, that every one of us has to creep first before we can walk, and walk before we can run.

There is perhaps less need for me to indicate the means by which the young man who has already acquired some scientific training and knowledge should proceed to qualify himself for research work, as the training of promising students willing to take it up is now a recognised part of the business of our Universities, colleges, higher technical schools, and other institutions for the higher education of men and women. But, as one who has been engaged in research for more than a quarter of a century, I would like to counsel my young friend, as I have done my older one, not to attempt a *magnum opus* till he is equal to the task, and has gained some experience. If he can have the benefit of working under and in association with an experienced investigator, who will assign to him some part to do in a research which the

former is conducting, and will supervise his work, he will find that he cannot fit himself for future independent investigation under better or more favourable auspices. But if he has to begin the work by himself, let him do so by endeavouring to clear up some limited and, as far as can be foreseen, circumscribed question, by the examination or preparation of a number of specimens, tabulating as he goes along very thoroughly and carefully the exact conditions which obtain in each instance, or by making a series of carefully designed experiments, noting very exactly the phenomena observable at each stage, and testing the accuracy of the results in every way he can think of. If, without reference to his just completed observations, he will again repeat the experiments, or the examination of his specimens, and, having done so, compare the records of his two sets of observations, he will probably find so many discrepancies, the result of inaccurate work on each occasion, as will astonish him, but certainly teach him an impressive lesson, which will amply repay him in more ways than one for the extra time he has had to spend upon the work, as well as render more reliable the deductions and conclusions he will come to from the corrected data he will thus be able to obtain. In his work let him avoid hurry, always a fruitful source of errors both of omission as well as of commission, and let him ponder much and often on his observations and what they teach him before committing himself, so that the conclusions he arrives at may be the associated work of the several parts of his brain which preside over the functions of his mind, of his eye, and of his hand. *A propos* of this, I may state, incidentally, that, when undertaking an anthropological investigation on a series of skulls of any race, I have always derived the greatest assistance in the work, if, in addition to employing the ordinary methods of craniological research, I place the specimens in front of me, so that they may be continually before my eyes for several days—in fact until I have become thoroughly familiar with each one individually, and can appreciate and deter-

mine the various points and the relative importance of the different morphological characters they present, just as if they were so many persons in the flesh. The use of control experiments, made under a series of varying conditions, is extremely valuable in every research, and not only enables the investigator to arrive at a better understanding of the nature of the phenomena presented to him, and the proper conclusions he should arrive at, but may enable him successfully to defend these conclusions, if subsequently called in question, or assailed by some one else.

The importance of research to scientific societies can readily be appreciated, because it is the source from which the most important communications for their meetings and publications are derived. Every society, therefore, endeavours to foster and encourage it, as far as its circumstances will permit, and very properly assigns to it a high place. Indeed to include among its members as many investigators as it can secure, so that its meetings may be made attractive, the pages of its publications may be enriched by their labours, and a certain amount of prestige may thus be gained for the society by its being the channel through which important discoveries and advances of knowledge are set forth to the world, is a laudable ambition for any society to have.

But the number of persons in any country who are able and competent to undertake research must, for reasons previously stated, ever be limited, and therefore too few to maintain a flourishing society in each of the different branches of science, while the cost of publishing their productions is often very considerable. It is consequently found that the best practical method in which a society can support and encourage research is to enlarge its membership as much as it can, and thereby increase the funds at its disposal for the publication of research work, by electing as many persons as possible who take an interest in the department of science which it is its special object to promote, and who desire, by associating themselves with others more skilled in the science in which they are inter-

ested than themselves, to extend and improve their own knowledge of it. In order to attract persons to become members many societies, in return for a small subscription, besides holding meetings for the reading and discussing of papers of a heavier nature, from time to time, secure the services of capable exponents to give lectures of a more popular character; other societies give facilities to their members to take part in field work; while as many as are able to do so support libraries, for the purpose of placing within the reach of the members books of reference and of study and the publications of other kindred societies.

Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, proffered in every case in return for a very small sum, we have to deplore the fact that scientific societies are not supported in the good work they are doing to the extent they should be by the general public in this country, and the facilities they offer for the extension and improvement of knowledge are not adequately taken advantage of. A gross lack of interest and an appalling amount of ignorance in all scientific matters exists, and unfortunately pervades all classes of the community. The injurious effects which this state of affairs is producing on the country have been and are constantly being pointed out by men of the highest eminence and authority in science, with as yet apparently but little result, unless the demand for "technical education," now on the lips of so many people as a panacea for all our shortcomings, and which in its true sense is more or less synonymous with instruction in scientific methods of work, may be regarded as a promise of better things in future and, when it becomes developed, may awaken in coming generations more interest in science and the work of scientific societies. In the meantime our own society is doing the best it can for its members as far as its means will permit, and it is ever ready to do more as it has the opportunity. Those who attend our regular meetings and who read our publications have provided for them much interesting and instructive information regard-

ing the inhabitants past and present of the northern portions of this kingdom and of Northern Europe, their literature, history, antiquities, and folklore. Some of these communications are of the highest order and importance, while the variety of topics which come before us tend to diffuse more general information than is to be obtained in a society more exclusively confining itself to a single branch of science. To those who can claim the northern counties of the Empire as their birthplace, the topics dealt with in this society should especially appeal, and I in turn would specially appeal to them to support it and the work it is doing by becoming members.

SOME ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES FROM ORKNEY.

By M. M. CHARLESON, F.S.A.Scot.

IT goes without saying that the Orkney Islands present a fine field for the anthropologist, but up to the present time, so far as I know, comparatively little has been done in this area for the science. Hitherto investigation has been confined more or less to the acquisition of industrial relics of the primitive inhabitants of the group, little or no attention having been paid to the discovery of osseous remains, which, if we are to take recent finds as a criterion, must have been plentiful. From my own experience it would not be difficult to point to instances in which valuable material from an anthropological point of view has been entirely disregarded, and that too by investigators of whom one would have expected better things. One can only regret also the wanton destruction of human remains found in tumuli and elsewhere by the agriculturist, who, bent on levelling his land and removing obstructions met with in course of ploughing, has cast aside many relics of great value to the science. In this way the area has to a considerable extent been denuded of valuable material, but, nevertheless, its attractions are still great, and its productiveness beyond question.

Grave mounds are very numerous in the islands, but on the whole they are small, and probably an exhaustive examination of them might not prove as interesting as one would imagine. I have come to this conclusion from the fact that, having a few years ago opened a number of barrows in the parish of Birsay, they were

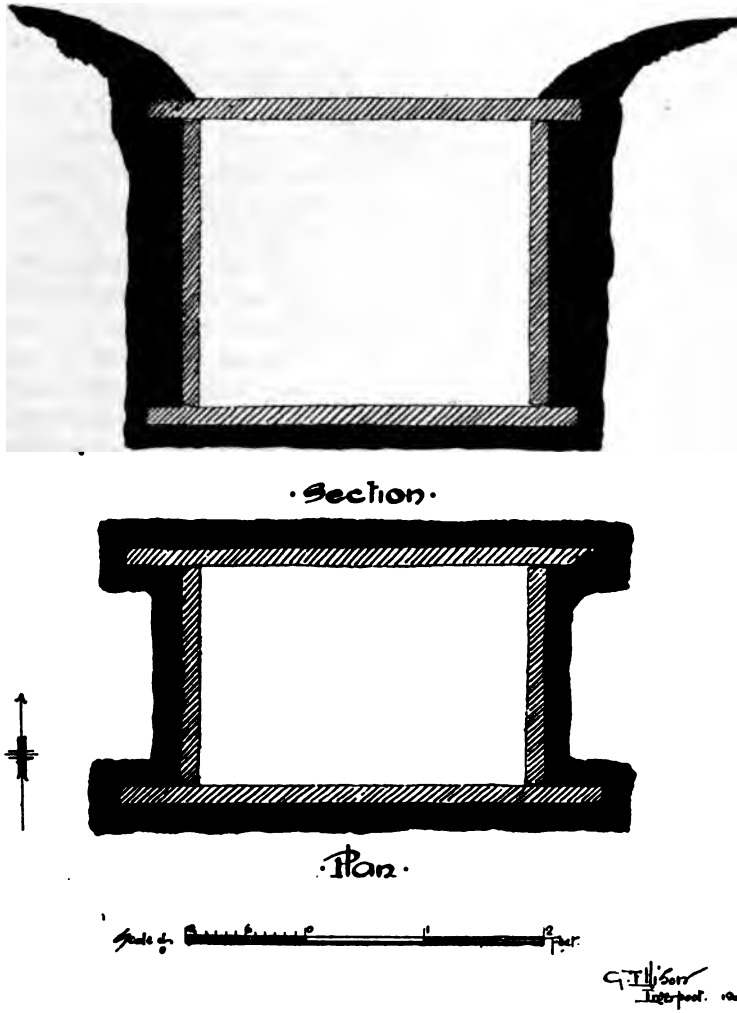


FIG. 1.—CIST AT HARRAY.

found to contain only deposits of incinerated bones with cairns over them or in small cists. Not one of those examined revealed an unburnt burial. The only feature of more than passing interest was the presence in one of the cairns of a rude stone implement, examples of which have been frequently found in the islands, generally on the surface of the ground. This implement runs from 10 or more inches in length, 3 to 4 inches in breadth, and 1 to 2 inches in thickness, the ends being rounded. Hitherto the period to which this implement may belong has been matter for conjecture, but the discovery to which I have alluded would seem to show that it was either contemporaneous with or anterior to the time when burial by cremation was in vogue; in other words, the implement found in the Birsay mound may have been used by the people who erected the barrow, or it was picked up as an ordinary stone, and thrown in along with the debris over the deposit of burnt bones. Here and there, however, throughout the group, burial mounds of considerable size are met with, and these are generally found to be more productive than the smaller variety. About a year ago I investigated a burial in Harray, which consisted of a large cist (Fig. 1), the axis of which ran S.E. and N.W., and which measured 33 inches in length, 22 inches in width, and 28½ inches in depth. When opened, some time before I had an opportunity of examining it, the cist was found to contain a human skeleton in good preservation; but careless handling and subsequent exposure reduced the remains to the very dilapidated state in which I found them. One half of the skull, however, was intact (Fig. 2) and this was submitted to Professor Alexander McAlister, Cambridge, who gave it as his opinion that the cranium was that of a male of advanced age, but its fragmentary state precluded his giving measurements. The index of the skull vault, however, was considered to be about 80, warranting the conclusion that the cranium was referable to the second immigration. The theory of course is, that the early inhabitants of the islands were

of two distinct races, using stone and bronze implements respectively. The skulls of the earlier race, so far as examined, would seem to be dolichocephalic, and those of the later or bronze age people, to which, according to

FIG. 2.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

FIG. 2*a*.—NORMA LATERALIS.

Professor McAlister, the Harray skull belongs, brachycephalic. In this case the only industrial relic accompanying the remains was a whorl (Fig. 3), probably of bone, which lay at the feet of the skeleton. This is the first time, so far as I know, that a whorl has been found

in Orkney in association with a burial, indeed at the present moment I should say the first instance in Scotland in which such a discovery has been made. It has, however,

FIG. 3.—BONE WHORL.

FIG. 4.—STEATITE WHORL INSCRIBED WITH RUNES.

been found with a burial at Weaverthorpe,[1] in England, where a barrow, examined by Canon Greenwell, was

FIGS. 5 AND 6.—BONE ARMLET AND AMBER WHORL.

found to contain a portion of one made out of clay. A whorl is certainly not an object which one would expect

[1] "British Barrows," pp. 116, 196.

to find in association with a male skeleton, and this circumstance only tends to make the discovery more unique.

An equally interesting discovery in the matter of grave-goods was investigated by me in the course of last summer. A large mound in a neighbouring island was opened by

FIG. 7.—BOWL-SHAPED BROOCH.

a farmer, who decided to settle the question whether or not the mound, which he knew to be artificial, contained anything valuable. Unfortunately, I did not hear of the

FIG. 8.—OUTER SHELL OF BROOCH.

excavation while it was being carried out, but I afterwards obtained a general description of the burial, and a view of the grave-goods which accompanied it, and which are of a highly interesting character. The burial was after cremation, and the deposit of bones was found about the

centre of the mound, along with two fine bowl-shaped brooches of Viking type (Fig. 7), a bone armlet (Fig. 5), an amber whorl (Fig. 6), and a portion of a bronze pin. When found the brooches were 9 inches apart, and the other objects were in close proximity to them. In size

FIG. 9.—INNER SHELL OF BROOCH.

and ornamentation the brooches are practically identical, and there can be no doubt that they belonged to one individual, whose body was consumed on the funeral pyre.

FIG. 10.—THE SAME: UNDER SURFACE.

Each brooch, which is convex externally and concave internally, measures 4 inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height in the centre. The body of the brooch is double, consisting of an outer and finely-decorated shell of brass openwork (Fig. 8), placed over

an inner shell of brass, which is plain (Fig. 9), and no doubt originally highly polished on the upper surface, so that the polished surface would appear through the openwork above it. The upper shell is divided into four diamond-shaped spaces, bordered by unpierced bands, which have a slight lineal ornamentation. The angles of each diamond-shaped space have knobs pierced in four places. Each space is pierced throughout, the ornamentation consisting of combinations of straight lines. The border of the inner shell again is spaced and ornamented with alternating crosses and combinations of straight lines. Only one of the brooches had the pin, which is of iron, intact, and seems to have been fastened in much the same way as the modern brooch, a brass catch projecting from the concavity of the shell to receive the point of the pin. (Fig. 10.) Adhering to the pin one could distinctly see a fragment of cloth, which, on examination, I took to be linen, the texture being extremely fine. These brooches are really very fine, and, when in use, must have gone far to enhance the appearance of their owner, who, there can be no doubt, was a woman. In the words of Dr. Anderson, "As the sword is the most characteristic object among the grave-goods of the man, the brooch is also the most characteristic object among the grave-goods of the woman. The brooch, which is constantly found in these interments in Norway, is a most peculiar ornament. It is always of brass, massive, oval, and bowl-shaped in form, and is distinguished from all other brooches that are known, not only of this, but of every other area and every other time, by the fact that it is an article of personal adornment, which (though as capable of being used singly as any other form of fibula might be) is almost never found singly, but constantly occurs in pairs, the one being usually an almost exact duplicate of the other. This singular type of brooch is the special ornament of the female dress which prevailed in Norway during the last three centuries of their heathen period. It differs entirely from the types

that preceded it and succeeded it; and it differs as completely from the types of the later iron age in all other European countries."[1] The bone armlet which accompanied the burial is 2½ inches in inner diameter and ½ inch thick. It is well made, and when polished would make a very presentable ornament. The amber whorl is very pretty, in fact the finest I have seen, and measures 1 inch in diameter, being fully ½ inch thick. I would not say, however, that it is the most interesting specimen I have met with, as I possess a steatite whorl (Fig. 4) with an inscription in runes, which read—"RIST RUNAR"; meaning, "cut the runes," the name of the artist not being decipherable. I do not know whether or not this whorl was found in association with a burial, and refer to it on this occasion merely for comparative purposes.

Ancient inhabited sites have not unfrequently given us human crania, but they have not necessarily any connection with the sites, which may have been, and in many cases were, used as places of interment, the mounds covering the ruins being as serviceable for sepulture as any which could have been raised for the purpose. In this connection I examined in 1898 an ancient inhabited site on the West Mainland, near which a human cranium (Fig. 11) in good preservation was found. There was nothing, however, in the circumstances attending the discovery of the skull which would necessarily associate it with the building brought to light; but that it was of considerable antiquity I have no doubt. The cranium was subsequently submitted to Mr. James Simpson, New University, Edinburgh, who reported as follows:—The cranium is that of a man well advanced in years, for the sutures are almost entirely obliterated. The teeth, except the right first bicuspid, the crown of which is flat and well worn, are absent. The glabello-occipital length is 192 mm., and the basi-bregmatic height 139 mm., giving a vertical index of 72.4. The

[1] "Scotland in Pagan Times—The Iron Age," p. 34.

greatest parieto-squamous breadth is 149 mm., so that the cephalic index is 77.6, bringing the skull under the mesaticephalic group. The horizontal circumstance is 550 mm., and the cubical capacity 1,660 c.c. The supraciliary ridges are very prominent, and one thing is worthy of

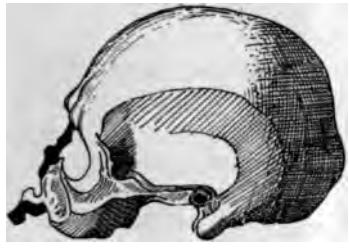


FIG. 11.—NORMA LATERALIS.

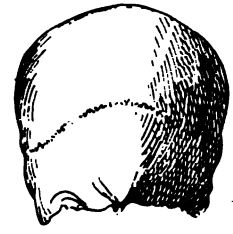


FIG. 11*a*.—NORMA OCCIPITALIS.

note, that in the premaxillary region of the left alveolar border there is a cup-shaped depression, the dimensions of which are 11 mm. antero-posteriorly, and 15 mm. transversely, and from a surgical point of view the question arises as to the cause of this depression, which rather suggests the theory that it may have been the result of

FIG. 11*b*.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

FIG. 11*c*.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

an abscess. In every respect the specimen resembles the typical Scandinavian form.

Some time after the discovery of the skull another cranium (Fig. 12), in capital preservation, was found at the same site, and submitted to me for examination. I

forwarded the skull to Professor McAlister, who favoured me with the following report thereon:—A strongly-built

FIG. 12.—NORMA LATERALIS

FIG. 12*a*.—NORMA OCCIPITALIS.

male skull, longheaded (index $\frac{\text{breadth} \times 100}{\text{length}}$ 70.19). In this it agrees with the older Orcadian skulls described by Garson,[1] and differs from the later ones, which are broader. The

FIG. 12*b*.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

FIG. 12*c*.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

circumference is 550, a measure increased by the thickness of the bone and prominence of the muscular crests, but

[1] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1883, p. 54.

fairly agreeing with Garson's measures. In capacity it is decidedly small, being 1,390 ccm., while the smallest of Garson's males is 1,440. It is thus a mesocephalic skull. In height it exceeds its breadth, so the height index $(\frac{h \times 100}{\text{length}})$ is 73.7. In this respect it differs from Garson's skulls, but agrees with some long barrow skulls from other parts of the kingdom. The brows are unusually projecting, which makes the forehead look lower than it really is. This is due to an enormous frontal sinus (the air space over the nose): the orbits are rugged-bordered, low-browed, the transverse length exceeding the width $(\frac{w \times 100}{l})=80.49$ In this it also agrees with Garson's dolichocephalic older skulls. The nose is shorter and wider than usual, its index $(\frac{w \times 100}{h})$ being 57.14. All the other skulls from Orkney or Shetland hitherto described are a little higher and a little narrower, and so have a lower nasal index. I have, however, got some North Hebridean skulls which resemble it in this respect. The face is uncommonly wide and flat. This somewhat Mongoloid appearance of some of the long skulls from Orkney was noted by Garson.[1] Here, as in his specimens, the two zygomatic arches stand out from the sides of the skull, so that when the head is held out at arm's length a clear space appears between these arches and the side of the skull. This great interzygomatic width, together with the shortness of the face, gives a low superior facial index, but this is always a variable character. The palatine arch is wide, and the teeth moderately large, but when compared with the size of the skull they are not at all disproportional. The length of the five hinder teeth, when compared with the length of the basinasal line (Flower's dental index), gives an index of 37.5, which is well within the microdontal class. The palatine index $(\frac{\text{palatine width} \times 100}{\text{palatine length}})$ is 115, comparable with that in Garson's specimens. Altogether it is a typical specimen of a strong male skull of the older type.

In the summer of 1902 my attention was called to the

[1] *Ibid*, p. 73.

FIG. 13.—NORMA LATERALIS.

FIG. 13*a*.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

FIG. 13*b*.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

discovery of an ancient inhabited site in the parish of Stenness. After investigation, I found that the building brought to light, being in a very dilapidated state, did not present any features of special interest, but I ascertained that immediately above it, about 2 feet from the surface of the ground, an unburnt burial had been brought to light. Unfortunately, however, the cranium (Fig. 13) and long-bones had not been so carefully handled as their fragile state demanded, and, consequently, the skull and other parts of the skeleton had received injuries which would render a full description impossible. I forwarded the cranium and long-bones, however, to Professor McAlister, who subsequently sent me the following report:—The specimen is a very broken thin calvaria, probably of a female, with an index of about 76. Skulls of this index are generally supposed to belong to the second race. The fragments of the long-bones are too imperfect to help us accurately to deduce the stature. As near as can be estimated, the femur, which is most complete, probably belonged to a person of 5 feet 2 inches. It looks as if it belonged to the skull submitted, but it is so much weather-worn that it is impossible to be definite. Along with the skeleton was found a large bronze pin (Fig. 14), which must originally have measured at least 6½ inches in length, but which is now only 5¾ inches, the point having been broken off by the finder, who, I understand, wished to ascertain the metal of which the ornament was constructed, hoping, no doubt, that it would be of more valuable material than bronze. The ring through the top of the pin was also broken when I got the pin, but it was whole when found. The head of the pin is flat and cut into facets. For about three-quarters of its length the pin is round, but towards the point it has been flattened out.

In 1901 I discovered in the parish of Firth a chambered mound situated on the brow of Kewing Hill, and known in the neighbourhood as the "Fairy Knowe." The mound was found to contain a rectangular chamber, the extreme

length of which was 11 feet 10 inches; the greatest width, 5 feet 8 inches, and the greatest height, 7 feet 2 inches. The walls converged towards the top, while, branching off them, on a level with the floor, were four lateral cells, built on the same principle as the main chamber. The cells averaged 6 feet in height and 5 feet in length, with the exception of one, which proved to be 11 feet long. The

FIG. 14.—BRONZE PIN.

FIG. 15.—SKULL OF A DOG.

entrance passage, which pointed due east, was on a level with the floor of the main chamber, and measured 11 feet in length, 2 feet in height and 2 feet 3 inches in breadth.

In carrying out the excavation nothing of any consequence was discovered until I reached a point about a foot from the floor. Here I found a deposit of a somewhat fatty, unctuous appearance, in removing which I

discovered two dozen skulls of the dog (Fig. 15), several human long-bones, and five human skulls, only two of which, however, could be preserved. In clearing out the cells, also, two other human skulls were found,

FIG. 16.—SKULL FOUND IN RECESS.

one of them on a slab (Fig. 16) in a small recess near the entrance to the largest cell, while another human skull was found embedded in the clay which filled the entrance passage. The human crania, unfortunately, were much

17*a*.—NORMA LATERALIS.

FIG. 17*b*.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

decomposed, but I forwarded them to Sir William Turner, some time Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, who reported as follows:—

The human remains consisted of five calvariæ and

portions of three thigh bones. They were from persons in the later stage of life, as the cranial sutures were in process of obliteration, and in two specimens they were almost completely ossified. I cannot speak definitely of the sex, though two were in all probability males. In
). 1 the orbito-nasal region of the frontal bone was
ient, but the parietals and occipital bone, as far as the
ion and superior curved line, were preserved. The actual
igth was 179 mm., but if the glabella had been present somewhat longer diameter would have been obtained.
ie parietal breadth in the squamous region was 145 mm.,
ly represented the widest diameter of the
l length-breadth index, calculated from
se (, would be 81, but the absence of the
..bito-nas region, by subtracting from the length, gave a higher index than if the frontal had been entire. No. 2 (Fig. 17) consisted of the frontal and parietal bones, along with the occipital squama, for a short distance below the inion and superior curved lines. The calvaria was sufficiently preserved to enable me to measure the length, 187 mm., and the breadth in the squamous-parietal, 142 mm., from which a length-breadth index 75.9 was calculated. The glabella and supra-orbital ridges were moderately projecting; the forehead was a little retreating; the vortex was not ridged or highly arched; the post-parietal region was flattened obliquely downwards and backwards; the occipital squama projected behind the lambdoidal suture. The skull was apparently that of a man. No. 3 consisted of portions only of the frontal and two parietal bones, so that neither the length nor the breadth could be measured. The vortex tended to be ridged in the sagittal region. Nos. 4 and 5 were more imperfect even than No. 3, but from the character of the glabella and supra-orbital ridge in No. 5 it is probable that the skull was that of a man.

It is much to be regretted that the skulls were so very imperfect, as the opportunities of studying human remains from chambered cairns have been so few that we

do not possess sufficient data to enable us to generalise as to the cranial characters of the builders. Only No. 2 was sufficiently preserved to enable the arc of the skull to be seen and the cephalic index taken, which was approximately dolichocephalic.

The portions of the thigh bones which reached me consisted of the head, the neck, trochanters and upper fourth of the shaft of two left femora, and of the middle two-thirds of the shaft of a right femur. The upper part of the shaft was somewhat flattened on its anterior surface, and approximated to the condition known as platymery. One specimen was smaller in dimensions than the others, and was probably a female. In the largest specimen the gluteal ridge was raised into a trochanter tertius.

The chambered cairn in question presented no features of special importance beyond being a well-preserved example of a class which, strictly speaking, is peculiar to Orkney, and which is well illustrated by the cairns at Maeshowe in the parish of Stenness, Quoyness in Elsness, in the Island of Sanday, and Quanterness, near Kirkwall, but the contents were unusual in two particulars. It is certainly unusual to find so many skulls of the dog in association with human remains. Their presence in similar circumstances has been noted elsewhere, but I am not aware of any case in which so many have been found associated with human remains. One can only speculate, of course, as to the reason which induced the people who made the interment to bury the dog along with a human being. May it have been that they entertained the belief that the dog would be serviceable to the deceased in the after life? The other feature of importance lay in the fact that one of the skulls, as I have said, was found on a slab in a small recess near the entrance to the largest cell, viz., that branching off the west side of the main chamber. This recess measured 10 inches long, 6 inches broad, and 6 inches high, and the slab with the skull, which lay on its side, fitted into it. I could come to no other conclusion than that the skull was *in situ*, and had

not drifted into that position subsequent to the interment. The head, therefore, must have been squeezed into that position when the interment was made, or else decapitated and placed in the position in which I found it.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the aper Mr. J. Gray said that the number of skulls referred by Mr. Charleson in his paper was so small that no inite conclusions can be drawn from them. We may 'ard the supposition that they show that the races we l associated with relics of the bronze age had reached kney. If this may be admitted the fact is very inter- iting, because the bronze age people are supposed to have come from the South, and their remains are found in connection with chambered tombs. Such tombs were not, he believed, found in Scandinavia, but they occur down the west coast of Scotland, also in Wiltshire and Cornwall, as well as in prehistoric Greece. They may therefore indicate the line of migration followed by this race on its way from the eastern Mediterranean to Orkney. The race was brachycephalic, which would agree in the main with the evidence of the skulls referred to by the lecturer. The ornaments found were interesting, but appeared of somewhat later date than the bronze age, as they were of the same type as the ornaments of the early iron age from Hallstatt. He hoped the paper would be printed, as it contained much valuable evidence which ought to be placed on record.

Dr. J. G. Garson said that his name had been quoted so often in the course of the paper that he felt he would be expected to say something by way of comment upon it. He would point out that interments after cremation occur in the later round barrows, and that those barrows are often found in groups, one of them perhaps being larger than the others. The interment in them consists of a small square chamber, in which are deposited the cremated remains, portions of bone sometimes remaining, but never

sufficient for anthropological purposes. As Mr. Gray remarked, the skulls in the older pre-cremation barrows are brachycephalic, and found associated with bronze implements. The bronze age people in Orkney undoubtedly came from the south, and therefore the bronze age in Orkney was later than in England. The bronze brooch mentioned in the paper certainly belonged to the iron age, as suggested by Mr. Gray. The skull shown in No. 11 was a bronze age type, and a very early one. It has very heavy and prominent brow ridges, but the long narrow form of the head pointed to admixture with the neolithic race. On the other hand, some of the characteristics it presents show it to be later than its general form would imply. In being a very heavy skull, it resembled one that he had seen from near Kirkwall, in which this characteristic also occurs. No. 13 was also of the bronze age from Orkney. The last set of specimens from the chambered cairn show a mixture of races, the skulls being of a recent type. In Dr. Garson's view the chambered cairn of Maeshowe was most probably of a neolithic date, and may be earlier than the other chambered cairns mentioned in the paper. The two races, characteristic of the neolithic and bronze ages respectively, were very distinct in the early part of the bronze period.

ON THE PLACE-NAME WETWANG.

By the Rev. E. MAULE COLE, M.A., F.G.S.

THERE is a village on the Yorkshire Wolds, in the East Riding, which bears this unique name, and of which I have been the Vicar for nearly forty ars. No remark is more common from those who come across it than "What a strange name! What does it mean?" Yes, there is an instinct in men's minds, whether learned or unlearned, that there must somehow have been a reason for a name in the first instance, though in the lapse of ages that reason may be unknown at the present day.

Enquiries frequently addressed to me caused me to investigate the matter, and the result is embodied in what follows. If I cannot succeed in carrying the suffrages of the members of the Viking Club, I can at least invite their criticism.

By way of introduction let me observe that, though the name of Wetwang is, or rather was till late years, an unknown quantity, it is mentioned in Domesday as a manor belonging to the Archbishops of York, containing 13½ carucates of taxable land. At an early date, probably in the twelfth century, the Church and certain lands were given to found a prebend in York Minster; the name is incised on one of the stalls in the choir, and there is still a Canon of Wetwang. Next, let me say what the word is not, before I give my reasons for what it is.

Of course it is a compound word, Wet and Wang. Wang means a field in Norse and in Anglo-Saxon. No

one will dispute this. But what is Wet? One of my critics suggests "Wheat." He says:

> **I am of opinion, drawn from the abundance of place and personal names associated with "wheat," that this grain was in old times cultivated more largely than generally admitted. In the case of "Wetwang," a place in intimate touch with the levels of Holderness, where wheat is known to have been grown at the Domesday Survey time, it might record a rare or isolated instance of a wheat crop being produced.**

My answer to this is that the Wolds are not Holderness. In the latter the soil consists of a stiff clay (boulder clay), which produces excellent crops of wheat, but on the latter there are only a few inches of soil, lying on a hard substratum of chalk rock, which, as in the case of the South Downs and Wiltshire, provide only a meagre pasturage for sheep.

In an interesting report of the manor of Wetwang, presented to Lord Bathurst by his steward in the early part of the eighteenth century, occurs this passage: "Sheep pastures and corn (*i.e.*, spring-corn) are the only product of the place; little or no wheat, the land not being strong enough for that grain." Still, some wheat was grown, but it was sown with rye, and produced a curious compound known in the vernacular as "mashelson," as appears from an overseer's book in 1730. After the Enclosure Act of 1806, turnips were introduced, and the land is now capable of producing a fairly good wheat crop. But if, say in 1750, no wheat could be grown, is it likely that it was so conspicuous here, some 900 years before, that our ancestors, with less appliances, gave the place the name of "Wheat-wang"? To me it seems absurd, and probably to my readers.

I have now to meet another criticism, though happily the occasion for it has passed. I was explaining my views as to the origin of the name "Wetwang" at a meeting of the Yorkshire Dialect Society at York, and had to leave in a hurry to catch my train, when, as I understood afterwards, Professor Skeat, the greatest liv-

ing authority on Anglo-Saxon, and the author of that grand work, "The Etymological Dictionary of the English Language," jumped up and said, "Wet's wet, and Wang's a field, and there you are." A leader in the *Yorkshire Post* expressed the opinion that this was rather a summary method of disposing of the question, and thought that something more might be said on the subject. The fact is the Professor was looking at it with an Anglo-Saxon eye, and I with a Norse eye, and the result was a squint! However, I think that we both see straight now.

I pointed out to him in correspondence that Wetwang was about the last place to be called "wet." It is situated on a ridge of chalk, some 50 feet above the dale bottoms on either side. The rainfall, which is comparatively small, is immediately absorbed by the porous chalk, and there is no wet place about it. To quote again from the agent's report to Lord Bathurst:—

> Water is here much wanted. There is a pond in ye Town supply'd only by rainwater, wch in dry Summers affords none, and then the Inhabitants are obliged to drive their Cattle three miles for water.

The Professor was courteous enough to say that he was unaware of the peculiarity of the place, and that, if it would be any satisfaction to me, he was ready to accept my derivation of the name.

What then is that derivation?

It must be observed, first, that the majority of place-names in this locality are distinctly of Scandinavian origin, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that East Yorkshire was a Danish settlement, and was subsequently exposed to raids of the Vikings, many of whom came to stay. The terminals, "thorpe," "by," "wyke," and "ness," are very frequent on the Yorkshire coast; there are as many as 17 nabs, or nesses, and 16 wykes, or wicks. In the East Riding alone there are 55 townships ending in thorpe, and 35 in by. "Thorpe" in the East Riding is always pronounced "thrup." One naturally therefore turns to Norse for an explanation

of such a unique name as "Wetwang," and what do we find? The actual word itself! Not two words, a substantive with a qualifying adjective, as "a fine day," but a veritable compound, used as a single word, such as "drawing-room."

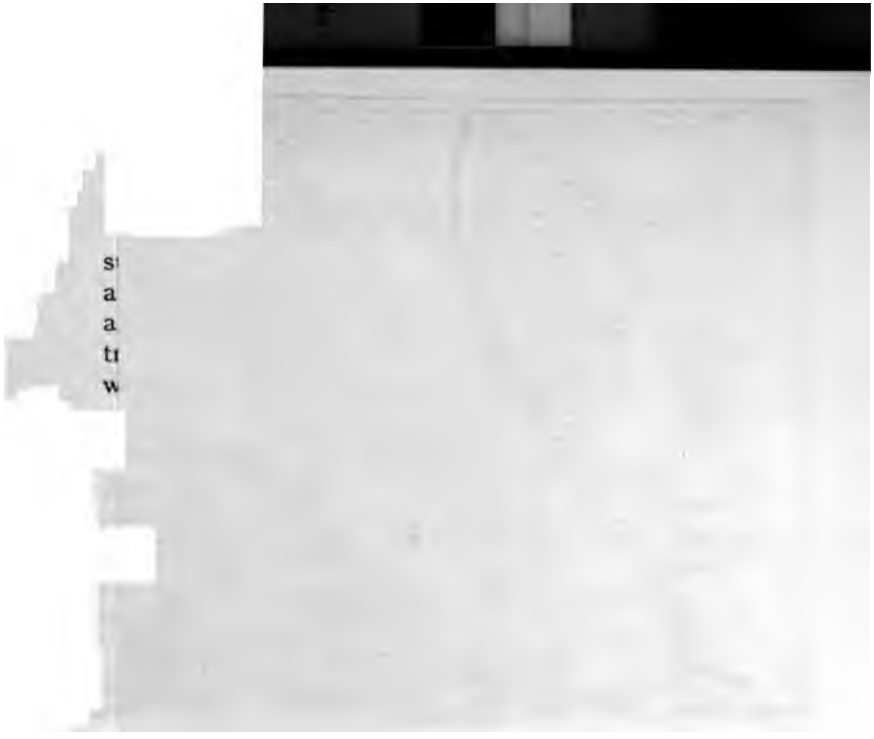
This compounded single word was in use in Iceland a thousand years ago. Let me direct the attention of your readers to Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, edited by Vigfusson (1869), and there, on page 721, under the heading of "Vœtt-vangr, or Vétt-vangr," they will find the authority on which I based my derivation over twenty-five years ago. I quote from a paper of mine written then:

> The former part of the word is from the Icelandic vætti = witness, testimony, or va'ttr = a witness. There is little doubt about this, because the whole word is found in Iceland, as a law term = the place of summons. If an offence or assault had been committed, neighbours were summoned to try the case; they were called "vettvangs-buar," "neighbours to the place of action," to be summoned as "buar." The place itself was called "vettvang" = the space within a bowshot from the place all around.
>
> As an ordinary word, the Icelandic "búi" means a dweller or inhabitant, as in our neighbour; but as a law term it means a neighbour acting as juror. Commonly five jurors were considered sufficient to decide the question, but in grave cases nine were summoned. Their verdict (kridr) was called "búa-krida."
>
> This ancient trial by *neighbour verdict* is the undoubted origin of our Trial by Jury. It is not to be attributed to Alfred the Great or William the Conqueror. Its source is Norse, not Saxon. Though it died out in the mother country, Norway, it found a home in Iceland for 400 years, while the Icelandic Commonwealth lasted, till 1275 A.D.; and, from the Danelagh in England, it spread over the whole country, so that now it is the cherished inheritance of the English nation.
>
> The name "Wetwang" is a standing memorial of the fact.

[There can be little doubt of the accuracy of the derivation suggested for this curious place-name by the author of the paper, but it is not clear how a term, which in Iceland shifted about on each fresh occasion when a

summons was issued, became localized in East Yorkshire at one particular spot. Was it selected for any reason as the general place for issuing summonses in the district? or does the name commemorate the fact that it was the place of summons on some special and well-remembered occasion? The author is unable to throw any light on these points.—ED.]

Cottenham
Roman Wa
Land b
Milton
BOROUGH
of
CAMBRIDGE
Nine Wells
Whittlesford
Duxford



TRACES OF DANISH CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

By E. HAILSTONE, F.R.Hist.S.

THE few following remarks are offered with the greatest diffidence in the hope of helping to construct one more rung in the ladder by means of which we may ascend in the direction of that special branch of knowledge to which the Viking Club aspires. They are purposely confined to the county of Cambridge, and more particularly to the eastern side of it, so as to form a limit, within which, as the region of my birthplace, my antiquarian studies have been directed for some considerable period.

At the outset our subject may be divided roughly into two parts: (I.) That of invasion, and (II.) that of settlement. It is perhaps convenient to touch very briefly on the first point, confining ourselves to acknowledged and well-known facts, with their dates appended.

The historical Danish invasions of England cover, it is stated, a period extending from 790 to 1013 A.D., but it has often been supposed, and apparently with good reason, that their commencement may be considerably antedated as far as regards East Anglia.

However that may be, in 866 A.D. we find Danes landing in East Anglia; in 870 A.D. took place the death of King Edmund; the great abbeys of Peterborough, Crowland, and Ely were wrapt in flames, the monasteries of Soham

and Thorney did not escape, when their defenceless inhabitants were slaughtered; in 875 A.D. the town of Cambridge became the headquarters of the invading army, and during the subsequent fifty years, says Lysons, in his history of the county, was frequently one of its principal litary posts; in 991 A.D. took place the celebrated battle Maldon, noticeable for us as being the date when ıldorman Brihtnoth, as a consideration for the right of ɒurial in Ely, if he should fall therein, bestowed on the monks certain manors, not capital, but in demesne—that is heing held in farm under the king—viz., Fulbourn and eversham, including Westley, as well as those of Impington, Pampeworth=Papworth, Triplow and Hardwick; in 004 A.D. the first Danegeld was imposed; in 1010 A.D. her ravages were committed by an invading army, and ugh the men of Cambridgeshire valiantly defended mselves, they were eventually overpowered, and the ıthen conquerors, besides setting fire to the town of mbridge, burnt to the ground the manor houses belonging to the abbey of Crowland in Cottenham, Oakington, and Dry Drayton. The Danish army, we are told, then betook themselves to their fleet, but, while halting at the village of Balsham, the story runs that the inhabitants were all slaughtered without distinction of age or sex, with the exception of one man, who gallantly defended himself against all comers on the step of the church tower then standing; lastly, in 1013 A.D., occurred Sweyn's great invasion, and in 1016 A.D., by King Canute's victory at Ashdon,[1] England became finally subjugated to the Danish Crown.

The question then arises, What traces, if any, have we left now of these Danes in Cambridgeshire? We naturally turn our attention to names of places and persons. The former are of two kinds: (I.) Dis-

[1] "Inne Eastanglen . . . æt thære dun the man hæt Assandun" (Sax. Chr.)—or most probably Ashingdon, near Canewdon (Cnutsdon), where a church stands erected as a memorial after the victory. But see Author's reply to discussion, pp. 124-5.—ED.

tricts answering for the most part to our names of parishes, and (II.) those of various tracts or landmarks contained within those parishes. Probably in most, if not in all, cases parish names are anterior in date. If it be true, as has been sometimes stated, that the convertibility of the vowels *e* and *a* in a name of Anglo-Saxon etymology bears evidence of both Saxon and Danish pronunciation, then in Cambridgeshire we must remember the convertible forms of Errington and Arrington, Ermingford and Armingford, Berton and Barton, Bergham and Barham, Berghei and Barway, Berklowe and Bartlow, Belesham and Balsham, Bernwell and Barnwell, Esselie and Ashley, Sexton and Saxton or Saxon Street, Herleton and Harleton, Herdeleston and Harston, Herdewick and Hardwick, Heselingfield and Haslingfield, Kirtling and Cartelage or Catlage, and Merc or March in the isle of Ely.

Two entire parish names, however, possibly show Scandinavian forms, viz., Toftes and Stow Quy[1] or Stow-cum-Quy. Of these, Toftes, surviving in the modern Toft, once formed a district taken together with Hardwick, the two names at the time of Domesday Book being often interchanged. Here were lands charged with peculiar customary payments relating to the royal bakery, being mixed up in a certain way with those of the neighbouring parish of Cumberton, where was once a maze, as at Saffron Walden in Essex. There is still a region here which goes under the peculiar name of Cumberton Offal, just as we find Offal end in Haslingfield near by. Duxford, formerly Dokesworth, now divided into two parishes, seems connected with the personal name of Tochi, to which we shall again refer. As to Quy, we have two spellings, viz., Coweye and Quoy; the latter, coming down as such to the eighteenth century, and quite in accordance with modern pronunciation, indicates, it may be, a Scandinavian form, "quoy" meaning an

[1] Heordewic, p. 594, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax." ?=*Heord*, treasure, treasury; *wic*, fenced town; hence treasury-town.—Ed.

enclosure. Attention should be given to the fact that in the earliest times there was no parish church there, but only a free chapel, now long since destroyed, connected with the mother church of Stow, later on written indiscriminately as Stow Quy or Stow-cum-Quy. On the other hand, in Domesday Book the name of Stow does not appear, but Coei or Quy, then as now, is applied to the whole region. This tends to show that by tradition Quy is the earlier and pre-Norman name of a certain settlement which at the time of the Norman Conquest lay in the lands of the two monasteries of Ely and Ramsey, together with a small portion in the hands of the Crown. The Ramsey lands run into Bottisham, the Crown lands into Wilbraham.

Next, as to places lying *within* parishes. We have "holmes" in Quy (the seat of the principal manor is called Holme Hall), as well as in Bottisham and Wilbraham,[1] and it may be reasonably suspected that many "hams" in Cambridgeshire are but corruptions of "holmes," as for instance in the case of Bottisham, and notably in that of Soham and Fordham. In the last there is no trace at any time of more than one parish having existed, and yet in various documents we read of Fordham Magna, as if there once was more than one *ham* or *holme*. Again, from Fordham there runs a road westward to a spot called Burwell "ness," or corruptly nest, a significant name, while on the other side lies Wicken, or Wykes, which may or may not be Scandinavian in form. Nearer Cambridge we come to Denny (= ? Daneeye), whatever the suffix may mean, situated in a district called Beach, now comprising Utbeach or Landbeach and Waterbeach, Denny being in name opposed to Anglesey, the Angles' ey, in the parish of Bottisham.

Worthy of more special notice is the term "Bottom," of which there are three in Cambridgeshire, two of these lying in Westley. Westley itself, from evidence in the

[1] Wilburgeham, see D. B. and Kemble, "Cod. Dipl." IV. 299.

survey of the county, made within a short time after that of Domesday Book, was the western "ley," or "meadow land," carved off from the more important settlement of Burgh,[1] now Burgh Green. These two "bottoms" are called Westley Bottom and Six Mile Bottom, partly in the same parish and with a few houses assigned to it lying in Bottisham and Wilbraham. It is somewhat uncertain whether Six Mile Bottom did not include land lying in the parishes of Wilbraham,[2] Wratting,[2] Brinkley, and Carlton. The boundaries of Westley at the junction of the above-mentioned parishes have been in dispute. Anyway, Carlton oak, within our memory, stood conspicuous for miles as a landmark, and Brinkley Manor appears in Domesday Book under the heading of Carlton, which latter again runs in confusion in the Domesday and early surveys with Weston, now Weston Colville.

To whatever etymology Six Mile Bottom is referred,[3] the mention is significant of the Norse coin *ores* as a render in money or kind, one *ore* being equivalent to 16 denarii. They occur in Domesday Book under the mention of lands situated in Cambridge, Balsham, Pampisford, Babraham, and Ickleton,[4] and nowhere else in the county except in Morden and in Wilbraham,[5] where, on the king's manor, two "*ores*" are reckoned as "toll." Toll for what? Was it for the right of passing through the Fleam Ditch at the gap now called Dungate?

Lastly, in the parish of Wood Ditton there is a tract of land, adjacent to the Devil's Dyke, called Danes Bottom, being so marked on the Ordnance map of 1836. In the same parish also lies Houghton Green, in our boyhood pronounced Hawton or Horton, with a few houses on it lying adjacent to Ditton Green. The name is perhaps suggestive of a Scandinavian "Há-tún," con-

[1] Burgestede, p. 596, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi. Sax."

[2] Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax.," p. 597; Carletune, Wilburgeham, Wrættincge.

[3] See p. 120. [4] Iclelingtune, p. 598, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax."

[5] Wilburgeham, *Ibid*, 597.

sisting of small tenements within or on the land of a manorial, or main estate.

Before reverting to a further consideration of these "bottoms" we would call attention in passing to what has been supposed to indicate Danish traditions in architecture, viz., the round church towers of Cambridgeshire. These are, or were, in Snailwell, Bartlow, Westley, and Burwell St. Andrew. The two last are now non-existent. Westley tower partially fell, and was then entirely pulled down; the entire church of Burwell Andrew, being in ruins in the eighteenth century, shared the same fate. We may add, that, while digging in the gardens of Anglesey Abbey in 1860, foundations were revealed of what appeared to be a round tower; we merely advert to the fact without drawing any conclusions whatever therefrom.

Now as to Danish settlements, in connection with the above-mentioned "bottoms" we may glean some light from the survey of Domesday Book, as well as from the subsequent ones of the county and of the Ely lands which followed within a short time after and, in connection with them, from certain allusions to be found in the "Historia Eliensis." The surveys show clearly that all these lands were at one time in the possession of the monastery of Ely.

The space at our disposal does not admit of proof of the figures given below in this paper, but elsewhere we are prepared to fully prove the results of our interpretation of the above-mentioned Inquisitions. On this point therefore we crave a certain amount of indulgence.

Now in these surveys we find some unusual features with reference to the number of carucæ, indicating land under plough, or capable of being considered as such. We find also, then and subsequently, in Balsham and Wratting, Ely lands taken together in an unusual manner, while in Snailwell, Cheveley, and Wood Ditton there are as regards them many difficulties of interpretation that have to be overcome. Most remarkable is the case of the

king's farm in Wood Ditton, once the property of the monastery of Ely, in which, besides the tenants' carucæ there given, there are "wanting, and that might be made," 13 or 11,[1] a far larger number than occurs anywhere else in Cambridgeshire. Again, observe that these Ely lands, on which we have reason to suspect that Danes were settled, are situated at the ends of the Fleam and Devil's Dykes, as if there was some connection between these Danes and the ward of the above-mentioned earthworks.

Firstly, as to the Fleam Dyke, the Ely lands in Westley, Fulbourn, and Teversham are grouped together in such a way as to form two manors—that is to say, as regards military service, two knights' fees, equal in area to 15 hides or 2,160 acres, exclusive of waste land and roadways. Again, Westley manor is specially described as a demesne vill of the abbot, and the lands are held in demesne farm of the king. So also in Fulbourn the lands are held "ad firmam," that is to say, of the king. Adjoined to the 3 hides of Westley is a tract of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, while in demesne of Fulbourn, and not in it, are $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides, thus making 6 hides to be added to Westley.

The account of Horningsey Manor, including Fen Ditton and Eye, in the "Historia Eliensis," is also very interesting. The upshot of it is as follows. Before the irruption of the heathens, that is to say, Danes or Northmen, a monastery of considerable note existed there under royal patronage. What is now called Biggin Abbey is probably its site. At the death of Cenwold the priest, who presided over its inmates, King Athelstan appointed Herolf the priest to rule in his stead. This monarch must, we think, be taken to mean Guthrum, who was baptised under the name of Athelstan, and who died in 890 A.D. In Cenwold's time, says the history, these heathens flocked to the monastery to baptism, and then the owners of the land, presumably under the king's direction, bestowed it upon the religious house. Reading between the lines

[1] The numbers 13 and 11 are both correct, the jurors in their verdict having regard to Ashley Manor from two different points of view.

we imagine that, in reality, the Danes flocked thither, or were settled down, for the main purpose of defending end of the Fleam Dyke, just as we find them at the r end in Fulbourn and Westley, and in like manner Wood Ditton, adjacent to the Devil's Ditch. At the ıern end of the latter, in Reach and Burwell, in King ard's time, we find a property extending across the ıdary of the two hundreds of Staine and Staplehoe, ıys taken together, held by one Turcus [1] (?=Thorkil) r the convent of Ramsey, which in turn held of the 'n. Yet this land later on seems to have reverted to ıee of Ely.

Fulbourn, at the time of the Conquest, the land of rd's home farm on the Ely estate *might* consist of ..rucæ, *i.e.*, probably 3 large carucæ of 3 hides in area, but for valuation none was reckoned ("nulla ibi habetur"), a phrase peculiar to this estate in the Cambridgeshire survey, while, as we have said, besides the tenants' carucæ, there were within the lordship, but not in Fulbourn, 4½ hides in area, which we take to have lain in Westley, or in Six Mile Bottom.

Now what is the case with reference to Snailwell, Cheveley, and Wood Ditton. Snailwell Manor was also in demesne farm of the king, with its tenants' carucæ wanting at the time of the Domesday survey. Its wood, "ad clausuram," or Snailwell Belt, as the Ordnance map terms it, was connected in customary payments with the adjacent wood of the king's manor in Cheveley. Fulbourn and Teversham, we have said, were given to the monastery of Ely by Duke, or Ealdorman, Brihtnoth, just before the battle of Maldon, on condition of his burial at Ely. Westley, if not included in this gift, for there is some obscurity, had in some way or another become its property, possibly in small parcels, while Brihtnoth's wife, Ælfleda, gave Wood Ditton, together with 1½ hides in area situated in Cheveley, but Ealdorman Brihtnoth's sister had in Ditton a life interest. Yet we

[1] ? Torgils or Torgisl.—Ed.

have no very clear idea of the extent of the Wood Ditton and Cheveley Ely lands until the time of King Canute, whose charter, whether genuine or not, is of peculiar interest. Its date is 1022 A.D. By its tenor the king, instigated no less by his affection for the monastery than by the prayers of its then abbot, Leofric, and those of Ælfwin, Bishop of East Anglia, exchanged his "villa," or manor, or estate, of Ditton with that of Cheveley: so that, as Domesday Book subsequently states, the church of Ely, in the time of King Edward, held that part of Ditton, which is arable and woodland, consisting of 15 hides in area. The signatories to this document are the king and queen, and the two archbishops of York and Canterbury, and then, at the head of bishops and abbots, earls, monks, and sheriffs, come in the words, "Ego Gerbrandus Roscylde Parochiæ Danorum gente confirmavi"—"I, Gerbrand, Bishop of Roskilde, have confirmed the gift on behalf of, or by, the people of the Danish parish."

Here then we see, like as at Horningsey and Westley, Fulbourn and Teversham, Danes had been converted and formed into a settlement, the name of which now survives in "Danes Bottom." Looking at Domesday Book and the county survey, we find by calculation that the whole hundred of Cheveley consisted in wood and arable and meadow of an area of 75 hides, divided into the manors of Alberic de Vere in Silverley, Ashley, and Saxton, of the Countess Judith in Kirtling, of the King in Cheveley, of Earl Alan in Ditton and Cheveley, besides the king's property in Ditton, once belonging to the church and Ely, and now held in farm of the king by William de Nivers. These Ely lands, like those of Snailwell, had been bestowed on Archbishop Stigand, and again passed from him into the hands of the Crown. In subsequent times, taking Ditton as a whole, we find an absorption of the hamlet of Saxton, or Saxon, Street, being part of the manor of Saxton, and the two manors of Ditton held of the fee of Camoys. The seat of the paramount manor is now by corruption called "Canvas Hall," while that

of the manor of Thos. de Valoynes is called "Church Hall." Significant is the fact that in the parish there is but one church, that of the Valence Manor. We should pect, as is the case elsewhere in Cambridgeshire, two rches, one on each manor, but as far as we know there o trace of there having been more than one. Possibly eference to the registers of Norwich, in which diocese ton was, may throw more light on this point.

rom the large number of carucæ wanting on the nts' lands in the royal manor, and which might be plied ("possunt fieri"), we should be inclined to con- le that a considerable number of Danes had left the or, having perhaps returned to their own country with rand of Roskylde, who, as Gams informs us, pre- ided over that diocese from about 1010 or 1020 up to about 1030 A.D., when he died. In working out the areas from the figures given in Domesday Book as to hides, carucæ, and values, we think it more than probable that on the manor of Ditton Camoys we may reckon 6 hides in area, a figure which strangely accords with a similar calculation in the case of Westley and Six Mile Bottom, thus perhaps helping to account for the etymology of the latter name. Space does not avail for presenting the details of our calculation, so that we are compelled to ask for forbearance and a certain modicum of faith in its correctness. As to the woodland in Cheveley hundred, accounted for in Domesday Book, we see a strong probability that the "park of wild beasts," mentioned under Kirtling Manor, may be referred to the Ditton Park wood of our own days, as distinguished from the Hall wood which belonged presumably to the Manor of Ditton Valence.

Now, it may be asked, can we find any trace existing in racial animosity in our own times of a former separate settlement of Danes? In connection with this we may here be permitted to state the following circumstances pointing in that direction. When at School at Wood Ditton, from 1854 to 1857, we remember one day the great

excitement caused by the finding of a supposed offspring of a "man of the woods" in Ditton Park wood. This boy had been seen for some little time before his final capture. He was an idiot, who had subsisted for some time on hazel nuts and other similar food, but nothing could be discovered as to his parentage up to the time of his death, which took place shortly afterwards in the workhouse of the Newmarket Union, whither in due course he had been conveyed. Again, in our boyhood at Bottisham an old soldier named William Mansfield used to tell of the annual games of camping, which he well remembered, when, as he said, the Bottisham players always delighted to play off old scores on the men of the woodlands, meaning therebv the team gathered from the adjacent villages of Borough Green, Westley, Wratting, and Carlton. Further, at Hadstock in Essex, on the borders of Cambridgeshire, we remember about thirty years ago being shown on the outside of the church door sundry nails, which, we were told, once fastened the skin of a Dane; and, again, the tradition is still extant that the *anemone pulsatilla*, so commonly found on the Cambridgeshire dykes, grows only *where Danish blood has been spilt.* Richardson, who lived in the Eastern Counties, refers to this in a note to Omar Khayyám, quatrain xix.:

> I sometimes think that never blows so red
> The Rose as where some buried Cæsar bled;
> That every Hyacinth the garden wears
> Dropt in her lap from some once lovely head.[1]

There is thus some evidence of a survival of Anglo-Saxon hatred of a conquering race of fierce instincts, settled apparently in these woodland parishes, and known perhaps as the "men of the woods."

Next as to personal names, possibly traceable to a Scandinavian source. In default of a thorough examination of parish registers our list is a most meagre one, but yet, as far as it goes, suggestive. From the "Historia

[1] See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iii., part iii., p. 467.

"Eliensis" we have in Fordham, Snailwell, and Beach, those of Grim, Oskitel, Omund, Simund, and Oslac; from Domesday Book, Turkell in Burwell, Anschetil in Barham and Crauden, Tochi in Weston and Wratting, Thurstan in Camps, Torchil in Kennet; from the Feet of Fines, Aki in Haslingfield [1]; while from the other sources up to 1851 A.D., and therefore antecedent to much migration of families, Burling (? Scandinavian) in Burwell, Bottisham, and Wood Ditton; Oslar in Stetchworth; Hacon, Hammond, and Bottom in Newmarket; Danby in Kirtling and Wood Ditton; Palmby in Swaffham; Kettle in Bottisham; Jarvis and Simonds in Wood Ditton; Saggers and Ison in Bottisham, the last on the supposition that the suffix "son" ranks as evidence, and no doubt many more might be added to the above. Furthermore, in the "Historia Eliensis" Edric is called Ædricus Dacus, and the country of the Danes Danubia, thereby indicating a supposition in the author's mind of the ancestors of that race having originally proceeded north-westward from the shores of the Danube.

We leave out of the question any conclusions drawn from anthropological sources, for, so far as we are aware, we have no very reliable statistics on which to found an opinion.

In conclusion, we have attempted to present some few details gained from certain landmarks, as well as place and personal names, bearing on Danes in Cambridgeshire, and with this we leave to wiser heads and the onward march of knowledge a further development of our subject.

In the discussion which followed Mr. E. Sloper said he was of opinion that a large number of the names quoted by the author were of Saxon origin. The old Celtic word "dene" really meant forest, and survives in

[1] In D.B. Barenton "Achi hō Heraldi" answers to Inq. Com. Cant. "Achillus danaus."

nearly the whole of the forest lands of England as well as on a large portion of the Continent. In Anglo-Saxon it seems to have been adopted as "denu," which some etymologists had given as equivalent to the word valley. This appeared to him to be erroneous, the correct term in English for expressing valley being "bottom." It will be readily seen from this how the term Danes-bottom has arisen. Caution was therefore necessary in jumping to the conclusion that such places had anything to do with the Danes who emanated from Denmark, *i.e.*, from the "dene" or forest land. The question of Danish settlements was a very interesting one, and he thought a visit to Cambridge by the Viking Club would be advantageous and instructive. There was no doubt in his mind that the modern town of Cambridge, on the southern side of the river Cam, stood upon the camp of the Danes, which they ditched and walled, as at Wareham, Southampton, Southwark, and many other places.

Mr. E. M. Warburg said that the word "bottom" was not Danish. The nearest tongue in which such a word was found was the Swedish.[1] The Danish equivalent would be "bund." "Toft" was undoubtedly Danish.

Mr. J. Gray thought the personal names given by Mr. Hailstone could not be taken as any evidence of Danish settlement. There were no surnames used in England till the time of Edward I. The remains found showed, however, that there had been settlers belonging to a long-headed race in Cambridgeshire, who might perhaps be Danes.

Mr. F. T. Norris did not agree with the previous speaker as to the late date of the introduction of surnames, as they were found in Anglo-Saxon deeds long before the Norman invasion. He likewise took exception to the statement that Danish names meant nothing. The first occurrence of Danish personal names in the Anglo-

[1] In Swed., *botten*; Icel., *botn*; Dutch, *boden*. The form *bytn* also apparently survives in A.S. documents. See p. 494, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax.," quoted below.—ED.

Saxon Chronicle corresponded with well-known historical events, and it was not only fairly inferable, but also could be proved by documentary evidence, that many modern surnames were direct survivals and descendants from such personal names. It was the same, but in a more special degree, with topographical names, and he thought that great importance was to be attached to identification in any district of Danish names as evidence of former Danish settlement. With regard to the word "Dane" as a suffix, it undoubtedly does occur in many place-names, but a careful distinction should be drawn between it and *den* and *dun*. *Den* or *dean* stands for *dale* or *dell*, and *dun* for *down* (not to be confounded with Gaelic *dun*, fort). In Anglo-Saxon writings the distinction is generally clear. To quote, for example, from the will of Colwin:—

> . . . Thanon . . . on them wege middan on thære *dena* bytnan the liggeth uit on Woddes geat . . . thenne up ofer tha *dune*.[1]

Those responsible for the modern spelling of place-names on our maps had not always observed this distinction. In general, when the particle was found in a dale near a river, it might be equated with *den* and not *Dane*, as witness Denham and Dipden Hill, both in the valley of the Washbourn, near Uxbridge, Middlesex. In this connection he was afraid he must dissent from another speaker, who offered the suggestion that there was a Celtic word *den*, with the meaning of "forest"; while, if there were, certainly such a name could not have survived in so English a district as East Anglia. He approved of the majority of Mr. Hailstone's derivations, but Six Mile Bottom was nothing but a six-mile stretch of river marsh, usually dry in summer, but covered with water in the winter, and the term "bottom" was in general use. It was noteworthy that the German equivalent, *boden*, had the supplementary meaning of *ground*, and the Black Grounds, as an appella-

[1] Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax."

tion, was as common as the Bottoms.[1] On the racial question, he thought the present condition of the population of a district could not be taken as a sample of its former condition, as the migration into this country at various periods since the Norman invasion of Bretons, Flemings, and Huguenots,[2] and in later periods, especially since the building of railways, of Irish and Welsh farm labourers, together with the migration of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish rural populations to the United States, Australia, etc., since the passing of the Corn Laws, had to a large extent modified the earlier Saxon and Danish population bases. The deterioration of the Englishry of the big towns in recent years, through intermarriages with the swarms of nondescript aliens who had been attracted thither, had also been pointed out by Dr. Beddoes and many other observers. For these reasons recent indiscriminate craniological or other sampling of skulls of living individuals in any part of the United Kingdom, as attempted by some persons, was, in his opinion, wholly valueless as showing the condition of the population in the Saxon and Danish periods. Similarly, chronological or other evidence from ancient skulls, unillumined by historical data, was, in his opinion, of small value.

The President said that he regretted the absence of the author, whose paper raised many very interesting points. A number of the old coins and measures mentioned, such as ores, hides, etc., were very curious, and a study of them threw a light on the history of the times from which they dated. The last speaker had raised the question of whether we could see in a mixed population traces of their origin. Undoubtedly this was possible, because the way in which crossing among races takes place is on definite

[1] Compare Higginbottom, Rombottom, Itchenbottom (corrupted to Hitchingbottom), Longbottom, etc., all but the last appended to river names.—Ed.

[2] The presence of so-called "Romano-British" types in the Eastern Counties at the present time is due to the Huguenots, of whom there were settlements at Norwich, Colchester, Maldon, Ipswich, etc.—Ed.

and known lines. It is always possible to trace backwards the presence of earlier races. Cambridgeshire shows a very great mixture of races, one evidence of which was the number of different types that are to be seen in the town on market days.

In reply, Mr. Hailstone writes:—

We can find no early trace of the name Six Mile Bottom. That it was so styled from being six miles from Newmarket is perhaps possible, as a place of call by carriers along the high road, or pilgrims to Newmarket race meetings. In this case it must be subsequent to the thirteenth century. The new English dictionary informs us that bottom means a valley.[1] The configuration of the ground as shown in the maps hardly accounts for more than one bottom, whence we must suppose that Westley Bottom applies to that part situate in Westley, while Six Mile Bottom to that in Wilbraham and Bottisham. The farm in Wratting, close by, is called the "Valley" farm. It is by no means clear why in all Cambridgeshire we should only find the word Bottom applied to the above-mentioned sites, viz., in Ditton, Wilbraham, and Westley. That it is so is in favour of thinking the term an early one, handed down by local tradition, given to land in the hands of a distinct nationality from that of the surrounding country. If this is so the evidence seems to be in favour of this land having been occupied by Danes and attributed to them, even in Anglo-Saxon times, and we still think that in the case of Wood Ditton this view is supported by the valley being called Danes Bottom.

Since the above paper was written we have found, in the "Catalogue of Antient Deeds" (Record Series) of the time of Edward III., a tract of land in Haslingfield named *Danelond towards Holegateweye*. Is not this another evidence of land allotted to Danes at some period?

[1] See footnote, p. 119.—Ed.

As to Quoy (now Quy), the fact that the name is so spelt in Bottisham parish register, taken with the traditional pronunciation Quoy, tends to show that possibly this was the original form of the word. Prof. Skeat tells us that Coeia of Domesday Book means cow-island, and that "Norman popular etymology" accounts for the *Qu*. The island no doubt accounts for the name of the Ely Manor, viz., Holme Hall in Quy. Domesday Book, in the whole parish, knows only of Coeia, but the Inq. C.C., of Choeie et Stoua. Now, the *parish* church lies in Stow, to which the owners of the Ramsey and Holme Hall Manors presented alternately, the free chapel in Quy being in the hands of the Lord of the Manor of Holme Hall, and we have in the catalogue of the Feet of Fines mention in more than one instance of both Stow and Quy *juxta Anglesey*. May we then be forgiven for assuming that the Anglo-Saxon name of Stow was applied not only to what is now called Stow End, but also to Quy, while Quy, or Quoy, as a name, is of a different origin incorporated with the former, and becoming in Anglo-Saxon, together with its Holme, Coeia, with the meaning of fold, or pen-island? If this could once be proved we might go on to establish a similar origin to such cases as Coefen, perhaps Hoefen, Cow Common, Cowbridge, in Cambridge, Quy, Rampton, and Swaffham respectively. As a modern surname Coe and Penfold are well known, both occurring in Cambridgeshire, particularly the former, but we do not meet with a Mr. Horse, Sheep, or Cow. Before leaving the subject we would call special attention to the repeated mention in documents of the name Stow-quy, as distinguished from Stow-cum-Quy, which is more rarely used.

Again, as to the importance or otherwise of surnames, although until Edward I.'s time they were not general, we find plenty of instances of such in the Cambridgeshire Domesday Book and nearly contemporary inquisitions, and though most people in a dependent condition, as even now in many cases, were generally called by their

Christian names, it by no means follows that there were not in existence many surnames handed down by tradition, though unrecorded.

Whether the site of the battle of Assandun is to be located at Ashingdon by Canewdon in Essex, or at Ashdon by Bartlow and Camps on the borders of Cambridgeshire, is perhaps still a moot point. The account of Thomas, the monk of Ely, in the "Liber Eliensis," points strongly to the latter place, for the following reasons, which are here briefly stated, mostly, we believe, for the first time:—

I. The writer in this portion of the book devotes his attention to events which more immediately concern the church of *Ely*, while giving a history of its temporalities.

II. Ednoth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Wlsi, Abbot of Ely, acted, we are told, so to speak, as chaplains to the forces, proceeding towards Ashdon to pray for the soldiers. Note, Bartlow was in the then diocese of Lincoln, and afterwards in that of Ely. The brethren of Ely were of the party, carrying with them the relics of the church, and soon after, it is stated, those of Wendreda the Virgin were stolen and lost.

III. Just previous to the notice of the battle, the church of Ely, we are told, acquired possession of 19 hides in area, lying in Stretley (and Pampisford), Cadenho, and the two Lintons, including Hadstock by Ashdon.

IV. The relics were presumably conveyed to lands belonging to the church on which its tenants lived.

V. The acquisition of property in Fambridge,[1] not far from Ashingdon, is not mentioned in the history until *after* the notice of the battle.

VI. Bartlow church has a *round* tower. As a place-name it lies partly in Cambridgeshire and partly in Ashdon, Essex. The Essex portion of lands paid tithes to Bartlow church in Cambridgeshire, and the whole is hidated in *Magna* Camps (*cf.* the Barnwell Register).

VII. In Domesday Book the names of Nostrefield,

[1] Fambridge is about 9 miles from Canewdon.—Ed.

Cadenho, Bartlow, and Hadstock do not occur, though the details of hides in figures are found under the names of Camps, Linton, Pampisford, Horseheath, and Hildersham.

VIII. In the Inq. temp. John, noted in the "Liber Rubeus," the amount of hides enumerated by the "Liber Eliensis" are accounted for *exactly* under Linton and Dilinton (= ? Duo Linton).

IX. Nostrefield, now called a hamlet of Shudy Camps, in etymology may be conjectured to be a shortening of "Paternoster" field, *i.e.*, a battle field, where people were made "to say their prayers," or (?) where the above-mentioned ecclesiastics prayed for the soldiery; but of course it may be said that Nostrefield might stand for the site of an earlier battle.

X. The author mentions the fact that Wulstan, Archbishop of York, who was deputed to dedicate the church built by King Canute and Earl Thorkill, paid *quodam tempore* a visit to Ely in order to pray there, and that on the occasion a miracle was performed. This may indicate that the Archbishop had been previously staying in the vicinity.

XI. As in modern times, the name of a battle may cover places lying near by, particularly in this case where the forces engaged were numerous.

For the above reasons, we are inclined to believe that it is Bartlow church which commemorates the battle of Ashdon, or Assandun, and the "mons" which the writer of the "Liber Eliensis" mentions, and which he assumes to be well known, is one or more of the Bartlow hills lying in the parish of Ashdon. The word "mons," used as an adjunct to a place-name, occurs in English as mount or mound—*e.g.*, Mount Bures, Theydon Mount, by Theydon Bois in Essex.[1]

[1] Walton's, a manor in Ashdon parish. Holders, T.R.E., Oslac, Alwin, and Orderic; D.B., Tihel, Brito and Alb. de Ver. Named Steuitune and Stauintun, now Stevington End, or Stenton End: perhaps anciently a distinct village. The inhabitants support their own poor and keep their

Our thanks are due to Mr. W. G. Collingwood for his kind help in preparing the map which accompanies this paper, and which, we are quite sure, will greatly add to any value it may possess.

accounts distinct from the rest of Ashdon, and, though they apply on all necessary occasions to the Justices of Essex and to the Quarter Sessions at Chelmsford, yet usually resort to Bartlow Church, to which they pay churchwarden's rates and are generally reckoned to be in the spiritual jurisdiction of that parish. The place is also named Bartlow End.—See Wright's "Essex," vol. ii.

THE DANES IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

By the Rev. J. W. E. CONYBEARE, M.A.

THE Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that in the year 875 "Three [Danish] kings, Guthrum and Oscytel and Anwynd,[1] fared unto Grantebrycge[2] with a great host, and sat them down there one year." All the other early chroniclers repeat the statement. This occupation of Cambridge was evidently felt an important development in the sanguinary drama of the Viking attacks upon England. It marked the subjection to their influence of a new district, hitherto unreached, and henceforward to be theirs almost continuously.

For over forty years (ever since 832) the Northmen had made England the special object of their raids. At first these were intermittent, mere plundering "summer-leads"; but in 1851 they for the first time wintered in the land, and after 860 they never left it. Their object now was not merely plunder, but settlement. Starting from the Humber they made their desolating way to and fro throughout the land. York fell, and Nottingham, and Crowland, and Peterborough and Ely. The Kings of Northumbria and East Anglia were slain, the King of Mercia fled to Rome, and the heroic resistance of Wessex, under Ethelred and Alfred, barely sufficed to expel the invaders who swarmed across her borders. This was in 872, and on their retirement they shared up amongst their leaders the country north of Thames; one division of the host lording it in Northumbria, and another, under

[1] This name is also spelt in the early chroniclers Annuth, Hammond, Asmund, and Osmund.

[2] Also found as Grantanbrycge, Grantabric, and Grantabryge.

the kings above-named, overawing East Anglia and Mercia from their strategic position at Cambridge.

The draining of the fenland makes it hard to-day to realise how important of old that position was. Here and here alone was it possible for an army to cross the river, whose banks along its entire course, from the Hertfordshire uplands to the sea, were on one side, or both, too swampy for the passage of troops. At Cambridge alone the firm ground reached both sides of the petty stream, and here accordingly was, from the earliest ages, the recognised crossing-place, to which a British trackway and a Roman street successively ran, as the modern roads run still, from either side. To hold this passage was to be able to prevent any foe from passing the river line without a wide detour southwards.[1] And thus we find successive conquerors, Romans, English, Danes, and Normans, occupying the rising ground, which on the western bank of the Cam slopes steeply upward from the passage.

The Romans placed there a small fortified town (probably on the site of an earlier British village), which at some time between the date of Bede, who speaks of it as still "a waste chester," and that of Egbert, who had a mint in the place, became an English settlement. The centre of this town marked the intersection of two Roman roads, the "Via Devana," running from east to west, and the "Akeman Street," from north to south. (Like nearly all other names by which Roman roads are now known in England, these designations were imposed by antiquarians, and have no ancient authority.) The former still remains in use; the latter is now repre-

[1] King John, whom the occupation of Cambridge by the Barons checked in his march from the Eastern Counties upon the Midland, tried to pass to the northwards, but could find no passage till he reached the sea, and was driven to that disastrous march across the sands of the Wash, which lost him his last army. Charles I., when wishing to pass in the other direction, tried going southward, but found the distance too great and was fain to retreat at Oxford.

sented by a parallel track nearer the river, but its ancient course was still traceable within the last century. The square of the Roman rampart was also traceable, though obliterated at several points, even then, by buildings, and by the remains of the Cromwellian fortifications crossing and recrossing it. From these, however, it was clearly distinguishable. This Roman town appears to be that called in the Notitia *Camboritum;* but the name has probably no etymological connection, in spite of the similarity of sound, with *Cambridge.*[1]

Here, then, these three Viking leaders established themselves. The traditions embodied in the "Chronicle of Crowland" record all three as concerned in the sack of that famous abbey (870,) and mention Oscytel as the actual slayer of the Abbot "at the very altar." Of him and Anwynd we hear no more, but Guthrum lived to be the most renowned of all the Danish chieftains—the momentary conqueror of Wessex itself, the convert and godson of Alfred, the concluder of the Peace of Wedmore, the ruler of the Danelagh till his death. What they exactly did at Cambridge is largely conjectural. Gaimar declares that they only besieged the town.

> Counsel they took that they should to Granta-brige and beset the city. So did they: quickly from Repton led they their great host. Almost a year endured the siege; like fools they left it in the end; much they lost and little gained. Then away they rode by stealth, straight to Wareham.

If this is true, then the theory that the Danish host encamped on the site of modern Cambridge (a peninsula surrounded on three sides by the Cam and *east* of that river), and protected their camp by a ditch across the isthmus (used afterwards by Henry III., and since known as "the King's Ditch"), may be true also. But Gaimar

[1] *Cam* may be a British name for the river, and Camboritum = Cam-Rhydd (*i.e.*, the ford of the Cam). But in mediæval times the place is always known as Granta-bridge, and Professor Skeats thinks that *Cambridge* is a sixteenth century derivative from *Camboritum*, the name *Cam* for the stream being subsequently evolved from *Cam-bridge*.

stands alone; all the other chroniclers speaking only of an *occupation* of the town. This would presumably involve (like the Norman occupation afterwards) an expulsion of the English inhabitants, whose settlement on the lower ground across the river may perhaps account for the Saxon tower of St. Benet's Church.

The termination of this first Danish occupation of Cambridge by a stealthy and swift march straight on Wareham is recorded by all the chroniclers. That so distant an objective should have been chosen seems at first puzzling. But it was evidently part of a deep laid plan of campaign (which all but proved successful) for the final destruction of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy by the subjugation of Wessex. By seizing Wareham, and thus securing Poole Harbour, the three kings hoped to co-operate with the great Viking fleet already on its way to that port. Nothing but Alfred's extraordinary vigour and celerity foiled the plot, and enabled him to drive them from Wareham before the fleet arrived and, when it did arrive, to crush it in the great sea-fight off Swanage—the first triumph of the English navy. The host from Cambridge, however, remained a thorn in his side. For two years they successfully maintained themselves in Exeter (which they had captured by treachery), and then once more "stole away" to take part in that mid-winter invasion which overran the whole of his kingdom, and drove him to seek refuge in the marshes of Athelney. This was in 878. The next year saw him finally victorious at Ethandune, and Guthrum turned from a treacherous heathen foe to a loyal Christian friend, who for the rest of his life never failed his royal godfather in aiding to keep the peace made by the Treaty of Wedmore.

By that treaty the Northern and Eastern districts of England were made over to the Danes, the boundary line being the River Lea to its source, and north of that the Watling Street. Beyond this line all was under Danish law, and much of the soil under actual Danish ownership.

Cambridge became a Danish centre, and the neighbourhood was occupied by Danish warriors, under something very like a feudal tenure. When in the next generation Edward the Elder, the worthy son of the great Alfred, completed his father's life-work by reconquering the Danelagh, we read that (in 921)

> all the host amongst the East Anglians swore to be at one with King Edward, that they would all that he would, and would hold peace toward all to whom the King should grant his peace both by land and sea. And in especial did the host which owed fealty to Cambridge choose him to Father and to Lord, and thereto sware oaths even as he bade them.

It was out of the district thus "commended" to him (to use a phrase of later date) that Edward formed his new county of Cambridge. The inhabitants became noted for their military prowess against later Scandinavian invaders, and at the fatal battle of Ringmere (1010) were the only troops in the English army to stand fast against the Danish onset. This brought upon the district a harrying, ferocious even beyond the Danish wont, in which its villages were destroyed far and wide, and Cambridge itself was sacked and burnt.

The town, however, must have speedily risen again from its ashes, and doubtless shared in the prosperity which Canute's special favour for the monks of Ely would bring to the Cam valley. In Doomsday we find that in the reign of Edward the Confessor it had consisted of 400 dwelling-houses ("masuræ"), divided into ten wards, each under a "lawman," a name which shows that the organisation of the town was still predominantly Danish. The Norman Conquest, however, brought the place to desolation. When Doomsday was compiled (1086) nearly a quarter of the town was in ruins, the inhabitants had been driven across the river, new Cambridge had begun to arise, the lawmen were no more, and all that was distinctively Danish in the town and its municipal officers had come to an end for ever.

FIG 1.—CROSS AT BAKEWELL, DERBYSHIRE (SOUTH-EAST SIDE).

FIG. 2.—CROSS AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE (SOUTH-EAST SIDE).

(From *Journal of British Archæological Association*).

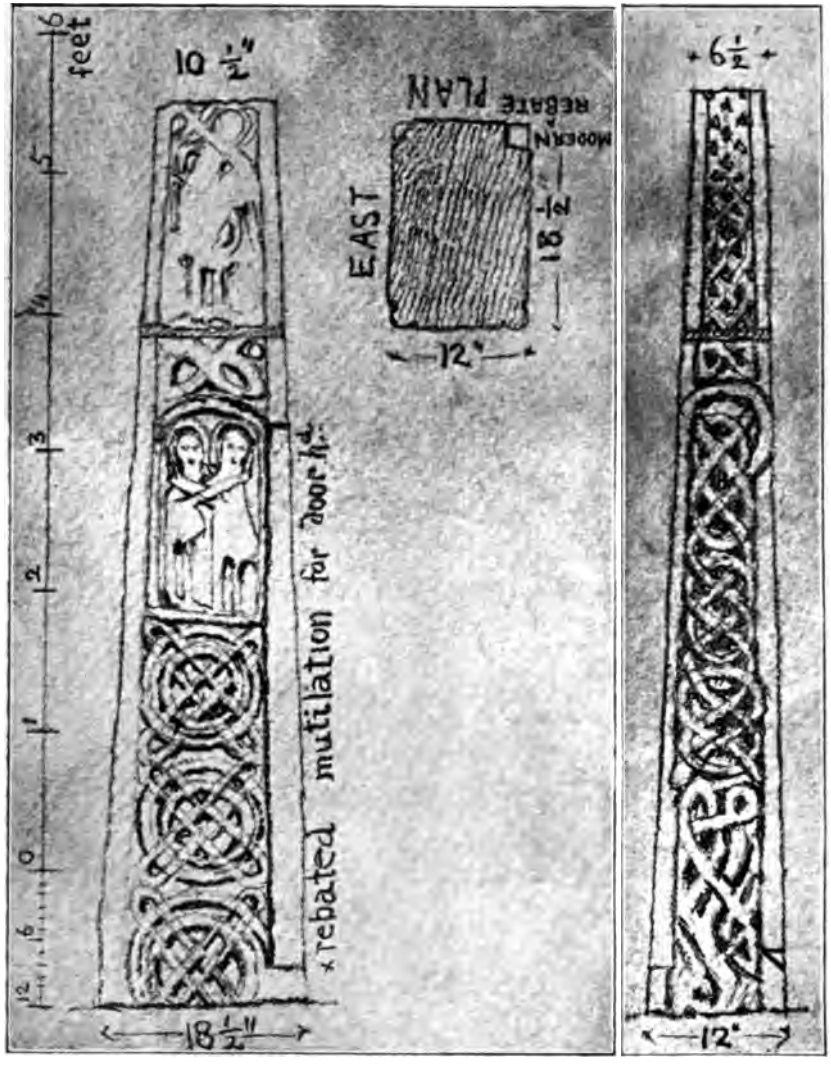
SCANDINAVIAN *MOTIFS* IN ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN ORNAMENTATION.

By Rev. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S L.

THE study of *origins* has always appeared to me one of the most fascinating of human pursuits, and one, moreover, which, while it throws light upon the past, has a direct present interest as a guide and stimulus to effort, and as a means of securing progress in the right direction. We are all of us familiar with the general outlines and characteristics of Anglo-Saxon and Norman ornamentation, whether in architecture or the arts, particularly those of sculpture and illumination. Whence was it derived? From what sources must its inspiration be sought? In a general way, I suppose we should answer, From Byzantine and Saracenic sources; and some might add, from Late-Celtic, through its derivatives in Christianised Ireland.

These are perfectly correct answers as far as they go. But the object of this paper is to show that more of it owes its origin to Scandinavian and later "Viking" *motifs* than we should at first sight be prepared to admit, and that these may be carried back to the art of Halstatt and La Têne, and perhaps to earlier days still.

Speaking broadly, what are the main characteristics of the art under consideration? It would be impossible and inadvisable within the limits of this paper to specify individually the examples of the art of our Anglo-Saxon and Norman forefathers which have come down to us, though examples will be mentioned as we proceed. All

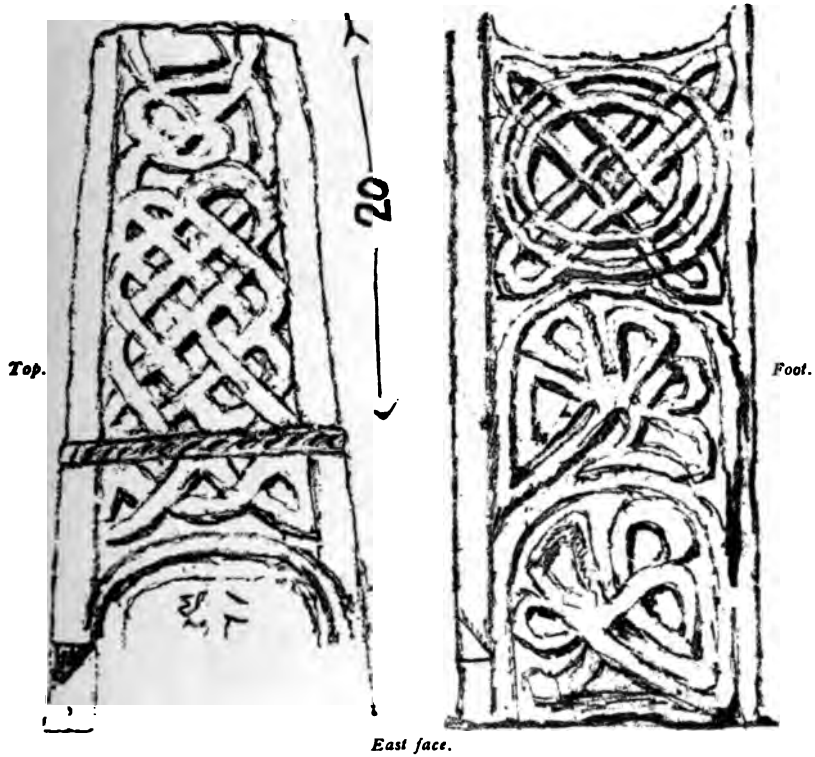


West face. *South face.*

FIG. 3.—CROSS AT HOPE, DERBYSHIRE.

(From the Journal of the British Archæological Asscciation.)

that we can attempt, from a rapid survey of the field, is to form a general idea of the *motifs* of ornamentation employed by them, and to seek, if possible, to throw some further light upon their origin. The architecture of the Anglo-Saxons has been lately dealt with in a manner



East face.

FIG. 4.—CROSS AT HOPE, DERBYSHIRE.
(From Journal of British Archæological Association.)

both interesting and exhaustive by Professor Baldwin Brown, of Edinburgh,[1] and he promises a further treatise on what may, perhaps, be more properly called their art. This latter includes everything artistic in stone, in manu-

[1] "The Arts in Early England." 2 vols. Murray, 1903.

FIG. 5.—HIGH CROSS AT DURROW.

(By kind permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

scripts, and in metal-work. Their architecture, grand in its simplicity, did not lend itself readily to the lighter forms of ornament.

Norman ornamentation is found in architecture, as well as in art, not only on the façades of churches and cathedrals, but in the details of the buildings, in pier, in capital, in arch, on the pillars and in the tympana of doorways, in corbels and on fonts; here the art of the

FIG. 6.—FONT AT DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
(By kind permission of the Rev. Canon Greenwell.)

sculptor finds its richest and most luxuriant expression. In the art of illumination and metal-work they did not excel.

Leaving these two latter arts, therefore, on one side for the present, except so far as they serve for illustration, the most characteristic examples of ornamentation with which we shall deal are to be found in the stone-work

of both Anglo-Saxons and Normans; of the former, in those pre-Norman crosses, of which so many beautiful examples are to be met with, and in one or two fonts, of which those at Bridekirk and Deerhurst are the most striking specimens; and of the latter, in those various details of buildings, including fonts, already mentioned.

Taking these into consideration in one large view, the

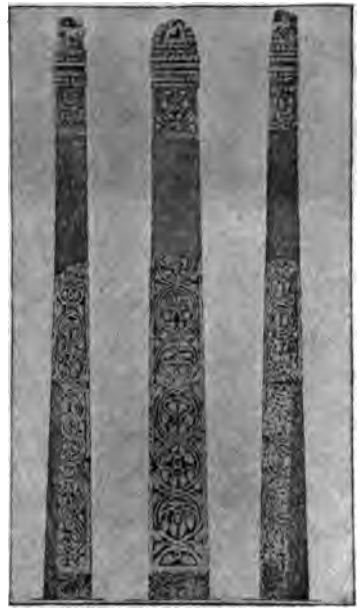


FIG. 7.—ACCA'S CROSS, HEXHAM.

(By kind permission of Mr. Henry Frowde.)

most characteristic ornamentation we perceive is a series of variously interlacing patterns in scroll or cable-work and spirals, along with rude sculptures of men and animals, and grotesques.

Have we any reason for seeking the origin of this mode of ornamentation in Scandinavia? As is well known, the Normans were largely of Norse blood and of Norse

descent, while for more than two centuries the coasts of our own islands were exposed to the ravages of Norse invaders, the Vikings and Berserkers from heathen Norway and Sweden and Denmark, who overran the country, established themselves in East Anglia, Northumbria, and great part of Mercia, forming the Danelagh, and finally placed themselves, in the persons of Knut and his sons, upon the throne of Alfred. At the same time they established their dominion over Western Scotland, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, and Eastern Ireland. Surely it is no matter for surprise if they should have impressed their ideas upon the people they conquered, and transmitted them to their descendants, the Normans, who thus brought with them a second wave of influence at the Conquest. The wonder would be were it otherwise! On the other hand, these, no doubt, were also influenced by the peoples whose lands they overran and conquered.

Passing by for the moment the "Celtic interlacing, often more distressing than a Chinese puzzle, and in some instances barbarous in the extreme," which is to be seen on Irish and pre-Norman crosses, and in Irish manuscripts, such as the Books of Kells, and of Armagh, and in the Lindisfarne manuscript of the Gospels, as being a distinct Christian derivation from Late-Celtic art, the question before us is whether we can derive the writhing serpent and animal forms, or the animal attacked by plaited-thong or twisted fibre, which penetrated all the art of our Saxon and Norman forefathers, and of which examples too numerous to mention have come down to us, from distinct and definite Scandinavian sources. The question is an important one, and all the more interesting to us as members of the Viking Club, because attempts have been made to answer it in the contrary sense.

Professor Hans Hildebrand, for example, traces the development of patterns from lion-forms to the twisted snake ornament, and speaks of the latter as being Scandinavian copies or adaptations of the Roman design of two lions couchant, and says, "It is quite possible that

the peculiar interlacings of Scandinavian ornament may have been the result of copying imperfectly lion and bird forms," in much the same way as we can trace on British coins the gradual degradation of the chariot and horses of the Macedonian stater to meaningless circles and dots. *(Vide infra.)* And he continues:

> They were never intended for snake-forms, as many of them have legs and feet, and snakes were unknown in the North. When the Gothlandic artist had reduced his lion forms to snakes, he carried his work to the verge of monotony with interminable interlacings.

This work, so characteristic of Saxon and Norman ornament, Professor Hildebrand, it will be seen, acknowledges to be Scandinavian, but he denies its originality, and reduces it to a mere degradation of classic models. In this we are persuaded that he is at fault. Whether snakes were as unknown in the North as they were, after St. Patrick's days, in Ireland, there is no doubt whatever that the snake or dragon played a very large part in Norse mythology *(vide infra)*, and it is from this source, and not from degraded classic models, that I would derive the Scandinavian snake-forms, which were brought over-sea by the Vikings, and adopted by Saxon and Norman artists. That is to say, the original home of this style of ornament is to be sought in the North.

In this connection we must not forget that the first Saxon invaders came from the same district, and, as being themselves Vikings of the first flight, brought with them a style of ornament already largely penetrated with the same idea. As Mr. John Ward says:

> After the age of the Constantines, the intercourse of the Germanic peoples with the Romans was broken, owing to the invasion of the Huns, and for long after they were left to themselves . . . and enabled to develop their national art on the foundation of Roman culture, substituting their own emblems, and thus the Hunnic invasion of the Roman Empire was the indirect means of giving to Northern Europe a distinct national style of art.[1]

[1] "Principles of Historic Ornament."

The early Pagan Anglo-Saxons have left us no memorials of their art beyond what may be gathered from the bracteates, fibulæ, and other jewellery deposited in their graves. In these we see patterns composed of corrupted animal forms, or rather of interlacing animal forms, much debased, in which the snake or dragon largely predominates. Among the pagan Anglo-Saxons cremation long remained a formal rite, and it is precisely in cases of urn-burial that objects betraying Scandinavian influence are most commonly found. From the specimens which have come down to us we can quite well understand how it was that the later Anglo-Saxons became celebrated throughout Europe for the beauty of their jewellery, and that this fame was not undeserved it is sufficient to point to the "Alfred Jewel," now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Anglo-Saxon fibulæ are unapproachable; many of them are extremely tasteful in design and decoration, and give evidence of most careful workmanship.

Surely this is also proof of a high degree of civilisation, which some have too lightly denied to our Saxon forefathers. It may not have been according to our standards, but wherever a taste for true ornament, particularly in gold-work and jewellery, has been developed, there barbarism has emerged, or is emerging, into civilisation.[1]

[1] "Though Rome was the undisputed mistress of Europe in all that concerns the arts of building, this was not the case in the domain of ornament and decoration. In the decorative arts barbarism is least barbaric, *i.e.*, the connotation of 'rude' or 'clumsy,' which clings to the adjective, does not apply when the reference is to a piece of gold-work or painted enrichment. Such a thing wrought by Saxon smith or Irish monk may be as tasteful and delicate as if it had been worked at Byzantium itself. It is barbaric only in the sense that it is non-classical. When the countrymen of Polybius or Cæsar noted the shape and enrichment of the arms of the Gallic warrior, and his taste in the adornment of his person or his steed, they had before them evidence of an artistic skill that, within certain well-defined limits, equalled that of the Greek or Roman craftsman.

"The opening of innumerable sepulchres of Celt and Teuton and Scandinavian has enabled archæologists to recover sufficient remains of this pre-Roman decorative art of Central and North-Western Europe to show that, in the main, its productions possess a family likeness, and may, as a

The same thing is seen in Ireland, where the most beautiful examples of the goldsmith's art testify to the real status of the people from very early times.

To mention only some of the Anglo-Saxon examples. There are the fine bronze parcel-gilt cruciform fibulæ from Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, bearing the *swastika* in the centre—here a true mark of Scandinavian origin. There is the equally fine gold annular fibula, set with garnets, and adorned with interlaced cable-work, from Stamford, in Lincolnshire, and there is the cloisonné jewellery, a purely Northern art, though derived from the East, modified by the Etruscans, and carried along the ancient trade-routes by the amber merchants on their return journeys in prehistoric times, which entirely superseded the Roman art of enamelling. This has been described as the first æsthetic manifestation of the Gothic nations, and this art was apparently localised in Kent by the first Saxon invaders. The highest type of cloisonné jewellery is to be seen on a fibula found at Kingston, adorned with dragons and grotesque animals, and this is a sure indication of Gothic workmanship. As Baron de Baye says:

> Time produced its inevitable effect, and types were modified by contact with other peoples, and much was borrowed to increase artistic resource. Anglo-Saxon art, particularly goldsmith's work, is deeply penetrated by the influence of Scandinavia, and thence a new art was developed.[1]

There is no doubt some truth in Miss Stokes' remark as to the Byzantine origin of much of the interlaced patterns and knot-work seen on pre-Norman crosses, and on Norman fonts and tympana, as well as in Irish MSS. and in the Saxon Gospels of Lindisfarne (derived from Irish sources), which have been transmitted to us from

mass, be opposed to those of the classical peoples. As a whole, it is opposed to classical art in its essentially decorative character.

"To diversify a surface is the first instinct of the barbaric artist, to turn nature to an artistic purpose that of the classical." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. i., pp. 38, 39.

[1] "Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons," p. 10.

the early Christian centuries in these islands. Her words are:

> Interlaced patterns and knot-work, strongly resembling Irish designs, are commonly met with at Ravenna, in the older churches of Lombardy, and at Sant. Abbondio at Como, and not unfrequently appear in Byzantine MSS., while in the carvings on the Syrian churches of the second and third centuries, as well as the early churches of Georgia, such interlaced ornament is constantly used.[1]

With this harmonises what Sir Coutts Lindsay says as to the earliest form of Christian church in the West:

> The basilica seems to have taken its perfect form at once. Some of the most beautiful in Italy were the work of Lombard architects,[2] who, it is worthy of remark, have suppressed the passion for exuberant grotesque imagery in which they usually indulge so freely; and similarly in England, the churches built during the Heptarchy, and indeed, as late as the Norman conquest, in the style commonly, but erroneously, styled "Saxon" seem all to have been basilicas—*more Romano*; the proper Lombard architecture was first introduced by the Normans.[3]

This was written sixty years ago, and since then we have learnt that we have no remains of churches built "during the Heptarchy." The first Saxon churches were of wood, of which we have one most interesting, though late, relic in the little wooden church at Greenstead, in Essex, and the earliest remains of a Saxon stone church are to be seen in Benedict Biscop's church at Monk Wearmouth, A.D. 680, while the great majority of the Saxon churches, or churches containing Saxon workmanship still remaining, of which Mr. Brown enumerates nearly 200, date from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.[4]

But the basilican style, *i.e.*, the church with simple nave, either with or without aisles, and with apsidal or square termination to the choir, modified by the addition of a tower at the west end, a Saxon improvement derived from the Austrasian architecture of the later Carolingian empire, continued right through the Norman period until

[1] "Early Christian Art in Ireland," p. 33.
[2] *i.e.*, Gothic. [3] "Sketches of Christian Art," vol. i., p. 216.
[4] "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., p. 272, *seq.*

the square termination to the choir, in place of the apse, finally triumphed with the Early English style.[1] Whence architecture was derived, thence, doubtless, ornament would be derived also, and the basilican style of architecture introduced by the first Christian builders would no doubt bring with it Byzantine *motifs* in ornament.[2]

But having conceded this much, we revert to our original theme, and maintain that all these interminable interlacings and knot-work, and writhing animals, and wriggling snakes, and grotesque forms derive their ultimate

[1] "In any case, whether the rectangular presbytery be a natural growth or an importation from Ireland it is no criterion of date or period, as it occurs in the indubitably early Escomb, and in the certainly late Repton and Boarhunt. So with the apsidal presbytery. The early Kentish group and Brixworth exhibit the apse, but so also do Worth and Wing, which are late. No chronological or geographical principle is involved in the presence or absence of an apse. . . . Taking the comparatively few Saxon churches of which the Eastern termination is assured, we can count a score of square ends to set against ten apses." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., pp. 280, 281.

[2] "To the influence of the Lombard-Byzantine art may be attributed the perfection of design and execution found in the earliest specimens of stone crosses mainly existing in the north of England, and this is due to the fact that they are the work of the Italian artists brought over by Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop. The characteristics of that work are interlaced patterns of the Byzantine type, and bands of conventional foliage, which are purely Byzantine. The earliest is that at Bewcastle, A.D. 670, and the masterly design of its conventionalised vine-foliage, and the dignity of pose and effective drapery of the figures, give a high idea of the powers of the sculptor. To a later generation belongs the sepulchral cross of Acca (740), Bishop of Hexham, preserved in the Cathedral library at Durham. Here the interlacing scrolls are designed with even greater decorative skill than in the earlier examples, and prove that the school founded in the first instance by Wilfrid's Italian sculptors at Hexham rivalled and even surpassed its masters." This was in all probability due to the native strain of Scandinavian art-*motif* in the north. Later on, with the arrival of the Norsemen, the influence of this Scandinavian art-*motif* becomes more marked and more direct. "It is then that the stories from the Edda," adapted to Christian symbolism, "appear on the crosses, of which that at Gosforth (Cumberland) is the most notable instance." See Barnard's "Companion to English History" (Middle Ages), pp. 330, 331.

FIG. 8.—CLONMACNOIS CROZIER.

(By kind permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

source from the pre-Christian Northern art of Scandinavia and the Gothic peoples, blended, no doubt, with *motifs* drawn from Christianised Ireland, which were derived from the Bronze Age, as exhibited in the Late-Celtic art of Halstatt and La Têne. These very Byzantine inter-cings and twistings and grotesques are themselves, in the st instance, of Gothic origin, and were imposed upon e art of the decaying empire by the northern ıvaders. They are themselves the outcome of Scandi-ian *motifs*, and in the re-conquest of the north by the ts and architects of the Carolingian empire, they were merely returning to the lands of their birth, where they ere met by the advancing waves of a fresh invasion of ırbaric art in the wake of the Viking incursions, and ere thus re-invigorated and restored to something of ıeir pristine excellence.

Dr. Haddon, in his book on the "Evolution of Art," has shown once for all that the origin of all ornament must be sought in the everyday life of the primitive peoples. Thus the ornamentation on Norman capitals is seen on primitive axe heads and spear heads. It is seen to-day on these same articles as used by savage races, and is derived from the imitative representation of binding. This same ornament appears in Neolithic pottery of all ages. In this way the billet-ends, for example, on the Norman capitals of Peterborough Cathedral ascend in a straight line to the Neolithic age of the Scandinavian forefathers of the Norman builders. In the same way, the ornament to be seen on the pottery and other articles from the Terre Mare of Northern Italy and Switzerland is an imitation of the wattle-work of their inhabitants.

So we may conclude that the special ornament which characterises the Anglo-Saxon and Norman art of which we are treating in this paper is derived in the first instance from the basket-work and withy-band of the early Scandinavians. These people, from whose loins sprang the first Gothic invaders of the Roman Empire and the later Viking brood, were adepts in the art of basket-weaving,

as is proved by their monuments. Wattle-work and the use of the withy-band was also familiar to them. The pliant bark of birch and the willow-twig were ever at hand. The Norwegian still makes hinges for his gates and doors out of twisted fibre. The Viking sea-rover spoke of "the rudder withy." The original device of this pattern is formed of a withy wound upon itself.

This device, wrongly called "the rope pattern," gained such an ascendancy over the Northern mind that in later times it was employed as a symbol, and became the *triskelé*, or "triquetral knot," the well-known Saxon emblem of the Holy Trinity. Like the cross, however, it had its origin, as we see, in Pagan antiquity; it is the same thing as the reefing knot, which was carved on Roman altars, and has been found on the monuments of the Hittites. This only shows that the same ideas occur to all nations at the same stage of culture and using the same or corresponding materials. For the source of its use in England we look to the Scandinavian North.

Dr. Colly March, in his "Meaning of Ornament," even derives the spiral and the guilloche from this basket-work pattern, and, if so, we have here not only the origin of the interlacings and twistings of the so-called rope-pattern, but also of the spirals of Late-Celtic and Irish art, including the splendid divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern of the Irish MSS. But this was probably not universally the case, and these latter may have been evolved naturally from the simple spiral.

The patterns which Miss Stokes enumerates as being characteristic of Irish MSS., and which appear also in rich profusion in the Lindisfarne (Saxon) Gospels, are, to take the linear designs: the divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern; the triquetra; interlaced bands; knot-work; eight varieties of gammadion; and chevron and rectilinear patterns. Of these, every one are, in this case, directly traceable to Late-Celtic origin, modified and reintroduced as a result of the Viking invasions, and the first four are distinctly derived from the basket-work or

withy-band pattern; the last two from the binding pattern, as old as Neolithic days. Of the natural forms treated in Irish MSS., the reptiles and bird and animal rms are, as clearly, of northern origin, although, like the ıventional foliage and fishes, they may have reached Irish scribes through Christianised Romanesque ırces.[1]

'With regard to the circles which appear on some Saxon l Norman monuments, Dr. Colly March would derive from the spiral, and says "the sequence is one of ıdence," "spirals are never evolved from circles," while intermediate stage has been called by Dr. Montelius e bastard spiral." This statement must, however, be ified in the light of later research, for it is well known circles are among the oldest form of ornament, and are characteristic of the Neolithic stage of culture, as witness the cup-and-ring marks found on the rocks all the world over; and among the natives of Central Australia Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have marked the actual evolution of the circle into the spiral, the circle being the older and original form of ornament, and the spiral being formed by the joining together of unfinished circles. However this may be, the spiral seems to have been indigenous to, and of independent origin in, Northern Europe, and to have no direct connection with the magnificent spiral ornamentation of ancient Egypt and of the Mycenean age of the Greek world. This latter, like the triquetral knot of the Hittites, was probably equally

[1] "The designs that prevailed in Ireland at the time of the introduction of Christianity can only be studied on her bronzes, and on the walls of such monuments as her tumuli, like New Grange and Douth. They consist of spirals, zigzags, lozenges, circles, dots, etc., such as are common to all primitive peoples. In addition to these, we have the divergent spiral or trumpet pattern, which design seems peculiar to the late-Celtic inhabitants of these Islands. . . . Interlacings (knotted animal and vegetable forms) are always confined to Christian antiquities in Ireland, and were introduced with Christianity." "Early Christian Art in Ireland," p. 31.

derived from the basket pattern of the pre-historic peoples.[1]

In his new work entitled "Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa," the first part of which is all that has yet been published, Dr. Oscar Montelius opens up a comparatively unexplored field of research, in which he shows how the old Neolithic types of ornamentation are carried on into the Bronze Age, and these into the earliest Mycenean and Etruscan art, and compares these latter with the earlier or contemporary or later products of Egypt, Assyria, Middle Europe, and Scandinavia. In the text, and in the copious illustrations which adorn it, we can trace the spread and modification of the older types, and note how, for example, the horizontal lines on Later Bronze celts are derived from the thong-bindings of the Neolithic and Earlier Bronze forms; and how the swastika, the spiral, and the cup-and-ring ornament

[1] Some indeed would see in the spiral ornament which appears on the Saxon font at Deerhurst, and which is so characteristic of the Irish MSS., and manuscripts derived from them, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, evidence of direct descent from Mycenean ornamentation, and, therefore, it may be added, from Egyptian, which is older than the Mycenean, and, in all probability, the source of it. For example, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, in describing Mr. Arthur Evans' "Cretan Exhibition" at Burlington House in the *Cornhill Magazine* for March, 1903, writes thus:—

> Moreover, on Knossian walls and ceilings there was much decoration of a purely geometrical character wherever spiral motives attained great perfection. High up on the south wall (*i.e.*, at Burlington House) is hung the finest of these wall-patterns, one that would be most welcome in a stately modern room. It seems that very many centuries ago our islands indirectly derived their first knowledge of spiral decoration from its use in the Egean. For it has been shown how Egean art-motives passed into Northern Europe by the great Baltic trade-routes which the southern taste for amber had called into being. From Scandinavia and Denmark they reached Ireland, and from Ireland, England, to meet these similar traditions carried by western Kelts along other routes from the same original source. The spirals, therefore, on the Saxon font at Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury, are descended in lineal succession from spirals on the walls at Knossus.

There is a great deal to be said for this view; but we may still include the spiral as among the Scandinavian *motifs* treated of in this paper, even though it were not indigenous to Scandinavia, but derived. Its use by Anglo-Saxons, as by Irish, springs from Scandinavia.

are universal—these latter probably indigenous to many independent peoples, but borne onward in ever-widening embrace through the influence of migrations, of commerce, of religion, and of art. This great work should be in the hands of every student of the subject.

It now falls to us to connect the interlacing and twist-patterns, derived from the basket-work and withy-d, with the writhing snake-forms so characteristic of on and Norman art, and those with Scandinavia. "It ident," says Dr. Colly March, "that the withy skeuo-ph, the Scandinavian worm-knot, established itself as cessity of the mind before those men who were domi-d by it had discarded a covering of skins for cloth, use its type is antagonistic to the regular intersection stepped designs of textile fabrics, and there is no trace of it on their pottery."

Here Dr. Colly March identifies the withy skeuomorph, or pattern, with the Scandinavian worm-knot, and takes it for granted that the latter is an ornament indigenous to Scandinavia, and must therefore have been brought over-sea from the Gothic fatherland to the lands overrun by the Saxon and Norman invaders. He continues:—

> **Weaving and metal work were probably introduced together, but for a while the use of metal only increased the number of twisted things. Gold, being eminently pliable and ductile, lent itself at once to the delicate filagree of which so much ancient gold-work consists. It is noticeable that "wire," "wicker," "withy," are all from the root *WI*, to plait, and "wire" originally signified filagree or ornaments of twisted filaments of metal; and as the simplest manner of ending a wire is to coil the end, the earliest filagree work was preponderantly spiral. Thus the way was prepared for the serpent-skeuomorph of the Scandinavian and Teutonic peoples.**

But if Dr. Hildebrand is right in saying that, because snakes were unknown in Scandinavia, the writhing snake-forms of Scandinavian art must be derived from debased and broken-down animal forms, such as lions rampant or couchant, and so on, there is nothing to account for the prevalence, one might say the universality, of this form of ornament in Scandinavia, and in lands influenced

by Scandinavian art. The twisted, intertwining wire may have suggested the serpentine form, but does not explain why the animal forms should have been broken down in that particular way, nor why it should have become so marked a characteristic of Scandinavian ornamentation as it undoubtedly is. As a matter of fact, the serpent of the north is symbolic of the sea, the all-embracing ocean which encircles the earth as the serpent enwraps its prey, an idea as old as Homer, who speaks of "the all-embracing Okeanos." This serpent emblem, so far from being derived by Gothic artists from broken-down classic animal forms, is indigenous to Scandinavian mythology, and hence we argue that the partiality for this form of ornament, accompanied by grotesques, displayed by Anglo-Saxon and Norman artists, is due to Scandinavian influence, and that these, with the interlacing and intertwining so-called rope, or cable-work, into which serpentine and animal and human forms all broke down, are purely Scandinavian *motifs*, modified after the introduction of Christianity, by the Late-Celtic influences transmitted through Irish artists, themselves deeply influenced by ideas derived from Scandinavia.

The "worm" or dragon-serpent is found long ago on prehistoric rock sculptures, and is to be seen on King Gorm's stone in Denmark, where also the stag appears broken down into the prevailing interlacing pattern, and as Eikthyrnir, the sun-stag of Freya, is strangled by the "laidly worm" of Scandinavia.[1] The dominance of this idea of the serpent as symbolical of the sea is shown, for example, by the Saxon place-names for promontories, such as "The Worm's Head," in the peninsula of Gower, near Swansea, and the Great and Little Orme's Head in Carnarvonshire.

This idea of the all-embracing ocean dragon-serpent lent itself easily to Christianised symbolism, and thus the explanation of its prevalence in the lands colonised by the Norsemen must be sought in the Pagan-Christian over-

[1] See footnote, p. 167—ED.

FIG. 9.—STONE IN THE GUILDHALL LIBRARY.

being harmonized with those of the Christian faith. The story of Sigurd and Fafnir tells how the latter, in the shape of a dragon, took possession of and guarded the "shining hoard" hanging on the branches of the sacred tree, and how he was slain by the sword of Sigurd.

This legend is continually referred to by Cormac, the Irish-Scandinavian Saga-poet or skald of the tenth century, and by the poets of the Eddas, and forms one of the most beautiful portions of the Nibelungen Lied. Indeed, the imperial city of Worms, the city of Brunhild and Sigurd, derives its name from the Lind-worm, the Dragon Fafnir, slain by the latter. Cormac's most impassioned addresses to his false love Steingerd are evoked by the sight of her golden tresses, which hang over her shoulders like the golden hoard on the dragon-guarded tree:—

> "A stranger was I when I sought her
> Sweet stem with the dragon's hoard shining—
> With gold like the sea dazzle gleaming—
> The girl I shall never forget."

And again, referring to the tenacity with which Thorvald the Tinker guarded her, Cormac sings:—

> "There's one they call Wielder of Thunder
> I would were as chill and as cold,
> But he leaves not the side of his lady,
> As the lind-worm forsakes not its gold."

Besides Fafnir there are two other serpents in the Norse mythology, one called Jormungandr, already referred to, the emblem of the sea, and Nidhogg, the serpent that gnaws at the roots of the world-ash, Yggdrasil. Jormungandr is the world-snake (Midgardsorm), who at the last will rise from the sea, where he lies coiled round the world, to slay and be slain by Thor. The dragon's writhing in the waves is one of the tokens to herald Ragnarok, the Day of Doom, when Fenrir the Wolf, bound long before by Tyr's help, will be freed, and will swallow the sun and Odin, and the battle of Jormungandr with Thor is

the fiercest combat of that day. "Then comes the glorious son of Hlodyn, Odin's son goes to meet the serpent," says Vølüspa.

In the story of Yggdrasil's Ash, whose roots were gnawed by the serpent Nidhøgg, we have one of the most interesting survivals of Tree-worship, as I have shown elsewhere. The snake and the tree are familiar in most mythologies, though the snake is usually, like Fafnir, the protector, and not the destroyer. Jørmungandr and Nidhøgg bring in other elements in being examples of the destroying dragon rather than of the treasure-guardian. Again, in the story of Loki there is the poisonous serpent fastened over his face so that the poison dropped down, which shows that the serpent *per se* was not so unfamiliar to the North as to necessitate the explanation put forward by Dr. Hildebrand for its universal prevalence. In all these examples we have the relics or survivals of primitive nature worship, combined with later attempts to account for tempests and earthquakes and other abnormal phenomena on mythological principles. For example, we are told that when the poison dropped on Loki he struggled so hard that all the earth shook, and the narrator naïvely adds, "These are called earthquakes now."

The same ideas are to be found in the earliest and greatest of the Old English poems, the epic of Beowulf. This poem has a partly mythical and partly historical basis. The mythical Saga of the conquest over Grendel, and the slaughter of the dragon by Beowa, represents the constant struggle of the Germanic coast tribes with the storms of the North Sea. The legendary element does not concern us. The poem tells how Beowulf sails from Sweden to rid Heorot, the hall of Hrothgar, king in Jutland, from the scourge of the mere-fiend Grendel. Beowulf wrestles with the monster, who is slain.

These things are of course all very familiar to students of Norse mythology, but, if we bear them in mind, we shall the more readily understand how naturally they lent themselves to the purposes of Christian adaptation, and hence

to Christian art in the North, and wherever the influence of that art extended. How easily could the early Christian preachers adapt the stories of Jørmungandr and Nidhøgg to "the Dragon, that old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan," transmitted to the Christian religion from the Hebrew mythology. Like them, he is a destroying monster, the sovereign of the kingdom of darkness, but holding the earth enwrapped in his baneful coils; like the former, he waits to devour the sun, *i.e.*, the powers of light and goodness; like the latter, he gnaws at the Tree of Life, and brings death in his train. Like Fafnir, on the other hand, he guards the "shining hoard." To his wiles Adam indeed succumbed, but a greater than Sigurd has destroyed him, through whose might every Christian warrior may also overcome. The details of the legends, the filling in of the mythological data, are no doubt different, for the one is derived from primitive animism, through an Oriental Semitic environment, the other through a northern Aryan one, but the similarities are sufficient for the one to be merged in the other without difficulty.

Thus it follows that those *motifs* which we have shown to be specially characteristic of Anglo-Saxon and Norman art are in all probability derived from Scandinavia, and are the survivals and adaptations of Christianised pagan ideas.

By the fourteenth century the legend of Sigurd and Fafnir had been consciously thus adapted in Scandinavia, as it had been long before unconsciously, wherever Scandinavian influence was felt. On the wooden portals of churches, on pillars, on fonts, and on crosses the dragon Fafnir, slain by the sword of Sigurd, is to be seen in Sweden and Norway, and in England, as at Hatton's Cross, Lancaster. Fafnir, it is true, passes into a maze of beautiful scroll-work, and at Hatton's Cross there is nothing left of him but a twisted knot.

So the animal fades away, and the ghost alone remains in what to ordinary eyes is only an entwisted fibre, as, for

instance in the detail on Hatton's Cross; that on a stone coffin in Cambridge Castle; on the Saxon fonts at Deerhurst (Fig. 6), and Bridekirk (Fig. 10), and on many a Norman font, of which those at Tofttrees (Fig. 11), Shernborne, Burnham Deepdale (Fig. 12), Ingoldisthorpe

FIG. 10.—FONT AT BRIDEKIRK, CUMBERLAND.
(By kind permission of Mr. Henry Frowde.)

(Fig. 13), and Sculthorpe (Figs. 14 and 15), in North-west Norfolk, are among the most perfect examples.

As we study these and other monuments we see, as Mr. Haddon says, that "the result was enrichment and not degradation." The best illustrations of this, because

capable of the highest and most minute development owing to the material on which the art is displayed, are found in the Irish manuscripts; but nothing more minute or more beautiful in stonework can be imagined than the

FIG. 11.—TOFTTREES FONT.

designs on the Saxon and Norman monuments mentioned above.

To pass to the details of architectural ornament. The tympana of Norman doorways and Romanesque corbels usually consisted of masks or grotesque figures, animals,

FIG. 12.—BURNHAM DEEPDALE FONT (WEST SIDE).

FIG. 13.—INGOLDISTHORPE FONT.

FIG. 14.—SCULTHORPE FONT.

FIG. 15.—SCULTHORPE FONT.

dragons, or twisted snakes.[1] Now, although it is true that Romanesque architecture, and especially its decorative ornamentation, was never quite free from Byzantine and Saracenic influences, and was of itself an incongruous mixture, out of which, when the pointed arch of the Saracens was adopted, and the ornamentation modified accordingly, the new Gothic style arose, yet here again the dominant influence of Scandinavian *motifs saute aux yeux*. These forms of decoration were used also in the capitals and cornices, both in the Romanesque transitional and Gothic periods; and in Lombardic Gothic architecture grotesque forms were much used as sculptural decorations. In Scandinavia and in Ireland this kind of ornament assumed the forms of snakes, and of the interlacings developed from them.

To show the connection of this Scandinavian school of ornament with the Late-Celtic art of Halstatt and La Têne, we must remember that in both, and especially in La Têne, which was the later and more important of these two main sources of our knowledge of prehistoric Late-Celtic art, there are to be found the usual sacred decorations, sun and moon signs, wheel crosses, half

[1] Examples of corbels will occur to everyone who knows anything of Norman architecture. The remaining examples of Norman Tympana in England have been collected in a series of magnificent photographs, and published in a book, with Introduction, by Mr. Chas. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., of Aldermaston Court, Reading.

These number no less than 200, of which, by the kind permission of the author, we are permitted to reproduce three examples, specially illustrative of the subject of this paper.

As will be seen by all into whose hands this fine work comes, Norman Tympana are peculiar to no particular districts, but are to be found in all parts of England.

Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., has also made a special study of the subject, and his paper on the Norman Tympana of Derbyshire, with illustrations, will be found in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. lvi., pp. 241-270.

In vol. lvii., p. 170, of the same publication, there is an account of a lecture given by Mr. Keyser before the Association on the subject, which he has since developed in the book above mentioned.

FIG. 16.—TYMPANUM AT LATHBURY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.
(By kind permission of Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A.)

FIG. 17.—TYMPANUM AT RIDLINGTON CHURCH, RUTLAND.
(By kind permission of Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A.)

moons, the sacred ship, the swastika, triskelé, etc., and also crude representations of men and animals, all of them symbolic, and all of them characteristic of the Scandinavian ornamentation both of Pagan and Christian times. Now, although we have some reason to believe that this style of art was indigenous to the North, and that it was derived thence by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, yet it is not impossible that it may have been largely helped in its progress by the cognate art of the Celts.

Inter-communication between the Greeks and Etruscans and the peoples of Central Europe is proved by the coins, vases, and objects of personal ornament, and by the imitations of Greek and Macedonian coins found in great quantities in Middle and Western Europe, and in Britain, that belong to the Late-Celtic period. This particular culture wave, which may very possibly, as we have admitted above, have introduced to the western and northern peoples the use of the spiral, which is so marked a feature of Egyptian and Mycenean ornamentation, if it did not bring with it the beginnings (as Dr. Ward is inclined to believe), yet conduced largely to the development, of that method of ornamentation which we have had under consideration in this paper. And it is this art, enriched from many sources, and modified in the process, which in later centuries manifested itself in the peculiar Celtic and Runic twistings and interlacings that are so common to Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman phases of decorative art, and which was practised [1] so largely from the first to the twelfth

[1] "The intercourse thus carried on along various routes has been established by discoveries of Etruscan bronzes in Central Europe, but its most striking result is in the sphere of numismatics. A coinage of gold pieces, based on Greek patterns, was in use among the Gallic and British tribes long before the Roman period, and is a proof of their openness to Mediterranean influences. The characteristic tendencies of barbaric art show themselves in the gradual degeneration of the type in successive issues, till all resemblance to nature is lost, and what was once on the Greek coin, a horseman or a helmeted head, becomes on that of Gaul or Britain a mere decorative play of lines. . . . The resemblance between the

centuries of our era. As we study its progress all along the line we see more and more reason to agree with Dr. Ward, when he says: "In the development of nearly all historic art the religious aspirations of man were the chief factors."

I have not dwelt much in this paper upon the direct influence on Anglo-Saxon and Norman art of the Viking invasions, for the reason that the origin of the larger part of the Scandinavian *motifs* which I detect in that art date from times previous to the Viking period. Mr. Baldwin Brown [1] divides the Saxon era into two epochs, in the first of which there was a mixture of Roman and Celtic influences, modified, but only slightly, if at all, by native Teutonic traditions. I think we have seen sufficient cause for the opinion that these native Teutonic traditions played a larger part in Anglo-Saxon art than he is willing to allow, and that they were themselves derived from and modified by Scandinavian influences. Of the art of this epoch few specimens survive, but these few are sufficient to bear out our contention. Professor Brown himself says:

> The Scandinavian *motifs* were there, ingrained in the hearts of the people, living in their mythology and folklore, and only waiting to be called forth. This call came during the second epoch, that of the Viking invasions, and though it is a question whether we can point to any architectural feature for which such a derivation can reasonably be claimed, yet in decorative art the influence of the Northmen may be detected, or at any rate discussed.

This is no doubt a very guarded statement, but it refers only to the direct influence of the Viking invaders themselves. That direct influence may, however, be clearly seen in the crosses and other monuments referred to above;

different manifestations of this barbaric art among Scandinavians, Teutons, Gauls, or Irish does not preclude the existence of differences that open up questions, no less difficult than interesting, about the early intercourse of these peoples and their reciprocal influence in the sphere of culture." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. i., pp. 40, 41.

[1] "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., pp. 35, 36.

but its indirect influence in calling out the latent artistic instincts of the people, which, as we have seen, were predominantly Scandinavian, is undoubted. In two instances, however, Professor Brown detects a distinct and direct influence on the details of Anglo-Saxon architecture belonging to the Viking period, and with these examples we will conclude:—

> "The most advanced feature of the Saxon church at Deerhurst, one that occurs also in the tower, is the square-sectioned hood-mould which we find over the wide arch leading towards the apse. This, like the hood-moulds in the tower, springs from projecting corbels in the shape of animals' heads. Such carved grotesques suggest a Scandinavian influence that might easily have been exercised in this period, and this suggestion is borne out by the appearance at a later date of similar sculptured heads on the Norman church at Kilpeck in Herefordshire, in proximity to ornamental pilasters carved with intertwined serpents of a pronounced Scandinavian type."[1]

These words are to be noted, but they deal only with two concrete examples, which are possibly due to direct Viking influence. Our contention throughout this paper, and we trust it has been made good, has been that Scandinavian *motifs* are to be sought as the inspiration of Anglo-Saxon and Norman ornamentation, and that such search is neither futile nor in vain.[2]

APPENDIX.

Notes on the Illustrations to the Paper.

Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4. These are good examples of pre-Norman Crosses from Derbyshire, and a full description of them will be found in an inter-

[1] "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., p. 302.

[2] This "Viking" art *par excellence* is marked by the absence of the Byzantine scroll-work, by the peculiar forms of interlacing which we have so fully described and accounted for, and by the characteristic dragon-monsters. These latter appear in all their magnificence upon the font at Bridekirk, referred to above, which, although it probably belongs to the twelfth century, yet, like many of the examples we have mentioned, must be assigned to the direct influence of the Viking age, and may, as such, be added to the two examples which are all that Mr. Brown allows as belonging to, or drawing their inspiration from, that period.

esting paper by Mr. Chas. Lynam, F.S.A., in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, Vol. LVI., pp. 305-314. The Crosses at Eyam and Bakewell exhibit the spiral form of ornamentation, and the Cross at Hope shows interlaced knot-work and foliage, with concentric circles intersected with diagonal bands.

Fig. 5. This is a fine example of one of the Irish so-called High Crosses, and shows interlacing ornament, with ecclesiastical figures in the panels.

Figs. 6 and 7. The font at Deerhurst exhibits a series of spirals in small panels. Acca's Cross, now at Durham, is fully described in the text, and shows the influence of Scandinavian art on the Byzantine *motifs* introduced by Wilfrid's Italian sculptors.

Fig. 8. This is one of the finest as well as the best preserved Irish croziers in existence, that of the Abbots of Clonmacnois, and is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. On it we observe a series of intricate interlacings and in the first panel a triquetral knot.

Fig. 10. This is an example of a late survival of the Northern school of sculpture, and belongs probably to the 12th century. On it we see the dragon-monsters so characteristic of "Viking" art, and, as Dr. Geo. Stephens says, "A strange intermixture of Old-Northern and Scandinavian and Old-English staves and bind-runes." The lower panel shows "Richard," the sculptor, at work. If he was the Richard who was Master of the Works to Bishop Pudsey, the date is 1150-1170.

Figs. 11-15. These five illustrations give a good idea of the ornamentation to be seen on a remarkable series of Norman fonts still existing in North-west Norfolk. They are only a selection out of nearly a dozen examples. The font at Burnham shows on three sides a representation of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar, and on the remaining side, that reproduced here, foliage like that on the tympana. Lions, with interlacing tails, run round the top edge of the font. The font at Tofttrees is perhaps the finest example shown, with its intricate patterns of cable-work, and its grotesques. Similar patterns are seen on the fonts at Shernborne and Sculthorpe, which latter contains, on the East side, the representation of the Magi bringing their offerings to the infant Saviour. The character of this mode of decorative ornamentation has been sufficiently discussed in the text, and need not be further entered upon here; but an interesting question arises as to how it is that so many specimens of this style should remain in an outlying corner of Norfolk. Were they peculiar to this district, or is it possible that they were equally numerous in other parts and have survived here owing to the comparative isolation of the county, and the fact that it seems to have escaped the ravages of the civil wars of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries? The fact remains, that in seeking for illustrations to my paper, I had no less than a dozen examples to select from in this particular district, while only Deerhurst and Bridekirk (Figs. 6 and 10) could be found in the rest of England! This is not, of course, to say that other examples do not exist elsewhere, but none, I am persuaded, that would so fully answer my purpose. I am hoping to publish a complete monograph on all these

fonts shortly, with illustrations, in the *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.*

Figs. 9, 16 and 17. These are taken from Mr. Keyser's recently published and most valuable monograph on the remaining Norman Tympana in England, and are thus described by the author:

Fig. 9. "London: Guildhall Library. Stone dug up in St. Paul's Churchyard. A stag with serpents twined round it, possibly typifying virtue hampered by the vices. On one side is an inscription in Runes, to the effect that Konal and Tuki caused this stone to be laid. It is nearly square with tassels in the corners, and is of pre-Norman date." In the text Mr. Keyser says: "On the stone in the Guildhall Library is a large stag with a serpent coiled round and round its body, the intention being apparently to demonstrate the constant difficulties with which a virtuous man has to contend through the allurements and entanglements of the vices inherent to our nature. (On the Norman font at Melbury Bubb, Dorset, is a stag with other animals, all having serpents similarly twined about them.)" The author may be right in his allegorical interpretation, but I think the mythological idea is the older, and that in this stone we have an interesting reminiscence of Eikthyrnir, the sun-stag of Freya, strangled by the dragon-serpent of Scandinavia.[1]

Fig. 16. "Lathbury Church, Bucks. Let into the arch below the roodloft staircase—the tree of spiritual life and knowledge, with a lion on one side and (?) a horse on the other." The author's description in the text is as follows: "An early example, with a conventional tree having a beaded guilloche pattern for a stem, with quite different foliage on the right and left; a lion is devouring a shoot on the right, while another animal, perhaps a horse, is biting through a beaded branch, encircling its head and shoulders on the left."

Fig. 17. "Ridlington Church, Rutland. Over the vestry door, interior, at the west end of the south aisle—two animals, a lion and a griffin, and below them an eight-spoked wheel within a circle. Above the lion is some lettering, perhaps the name 'John.' A band of the guilloche ornament runs round the tympanum." "This represents," says the author in the text, "the eternal conflict between good and evil."

I had hoped to include an illustration of a page from the Book of Durrow, from Miss M. Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, but this I have not been able to do. It offers a fine example of the so-called trumpet pattern or divergent spiral. To judge, however, of these patterns in all their beauty they must be seen in their original colours, of which a specimen is given in Joyce's *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 547.

In bringing these notes, and with them this paper, to a conclusion, I desire once more to express my grateful acknowledgments to all those who have made it possible to render the paper more attractive than, from the nature of the subject, it would otherwise be, by allowing me the use of many of the illustrations. The source of each is mentioned in its place.

[1] Eikthyrnir may possibly be a sun-stag, though the account of him in the Eddas gives no evidence of this, but we know of no authority for connecting him with Freya, nor for a myth in which he appears as attacked by a serpent.—ED.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that the old proverb, "Nothing comes from nothing," held good in ornamentation as in other things, and he did not quite agree with the theories of the writer of the paper as to the origin of certain forms of ornament. It was almost impossible to say definitely where any form of art arose. People talked as if Keltic art began in Ireland, and gave Ireland all he credit of it, but the art of the Kelts began and existed before their migrations brought them into Ireland. origin of ornament was always traceable, generally some simple source, such as the plaiting of straw by hich many forms of ornament had originated. not agree as to the Norse origin ascribed by Mr. Astley to certain ornaments in the illuminated MSS. The Durham Book forms of ornament could be traced back as far as Egypt and Nineveh. He himself had studied various forms of serpent ornamentation, and had found, to take one instance, namely, the caduceus, the winged rod, with serpents twined round it, that the wings originally belonged to the serpent. The Alfred Jewel he believed to be Byzantine work. The oldest Celtic enamels he knew that show the trumpet pattern were on some horse trappings. He thought there was no doubt that the basilica form of church was the earliest. He could not agree to the author's theory as to the origin of the rope ornament, for he had found that that form of ornament came from Egyptian Propylæon pillars. The spiral forms which were found in so much early ornament, in his view, were all traceable to a very simple source in nature, the snail and shells. Theories as to the origin of certain forms were liable to be upset by the discovery of similar forms elsewhere: for instance, at Kilpeck there occurred in the tympana ornament exactly comparable with some to be seen at Ely. Whence did the likeness come? He should be glad to know Mr. Astley's authority for the statement that the Bewcastle Cross was the work of Italian

artificers. Dr. Montelius, in his paper on the route of the amber trade from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, shows how easy it was to establish an intercourse between distant peoples.

Dr. J. G. Garson said that he agreed with what the last speaker said as to going to Ireland for the development of Keltic art. The Keltic people brought their arts with them into Ireland. They may have developed special forms of it there, but the art dates back before they came. The subject of Crosses had been very fully dealt with in a monograph published in "Archæologia," by General Pitt-Rivers, "On the Evolution of the Cross." After referring to the course taken by Viking invasions, the speaker endorsed the statement made in the paper that the Normans would bring over into England from Normandy forms of art which had been brought there originally by their forefathers, and which had become modified by contact with that of the other races in France. Dr. Garson asked if there were any instances of undoubted Anglo-Saxon cremation. Cremation was a bronze age rite, and, as far as he knew, was not practised by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, though the Romans cremated their dead. As regards ornament on neolithic pottery, to the best of his knowledge, neolithic pottery was not ornamented, or at any rate was only incised with simple lines, not even forming a pattern. Neolithic urns found in this country usually had no true base, their under surface being rounded. The art of weaving is found to have existed in neolithic times, long before there is any trace of metal-work. It was very probable that there had been an adaptation of Scandinavian ornamentation in churches built in the Norman period, and he incidentally mentioned the church of Barfriston, near Dover, as being a very beautifully ornamented specimen of Norman work well worth a visit. He was doubtful, however, whether we ought to follow the author of the paper in seeing actual Scandinavian motifs at work in such cases, to the extent that he invites us to do.

In reply, Dr. Astley writes:—

I have carefully read the remarks made by Mr. Atkinson and Dr. Garson, and can only say that, so far as they are criticisms, they appear to be based on a misprehension of the drift of the paper, for many of the nions expressed are those which I have put forth: *e.g.*, ı regard to Ireland, I distinctly say that its art is not ıgenous, and I derive its Christianised art from Pagan ces of the Late-Celtic period, and those from Hal- and La Tène, as well as from the Bronze Age of Grange; but here also there is a Scandinavian adure. The rope ornament is no doubt found in Egypt, e also spirals, but neither the one nor the other "came " Egypt to the lands of the North. I cannot agree the spiral ornament is due to the snail shell. With regard to the tympana at Kilpeck and Ely, the ornament in both cases was probably derived from an identical source. In my paper I enlarge on the facilities of intercourse due to commercial necessities. For the authority as to Bewcastle Cross, see page 144, Note 2. So far Mr. Atkinson. Now as to Dr. Garson. I have carefully expressed the opinion that the "Keltic people brought their arts with them into Ireland," but these were modified by later Scandinavian influence, as in England. With respect to the Normans, I am glad that Dr. Garson finds himself in agreement with the statements contained in the paper. For the fact of Pagan Anglo-Saxon cremation, I would refer him to "Life in Early Britain," by Dr. Windle, page 179; "Celt. Roman and Saxon," by Thos. Wright, pages 401 *seq.*, 421. In a *seventh*-century Pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery, excavated by Dr. Jessopp in 1891 at Castleacre, Norfolk, "a large number of more or less perfect sepulchral urns of rude workmanship, containing charred human bones and crudely wrought ornaments, were unearthed."

KING WILLIAM THE WANDERER.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A

THIS old romance ought to have an especial interest for the Viking Club for two reasons: first, because it is one of the sagas of the Viking Age in Britain, and, second, because it gives us accounts of life and manners in the two great Viking colonies of Caithness and Galloway at a time when there is hardly any other information on the subject. These accounts are slight and indirect; the story is fantastic; its date and authorship unknown; but still it has all the value of a novel dealing with the world as the writer knew it.

The volume recently published [1] is a translation, with very little in the way of note or comment, from two Norman-French poems of the twelfth century. These poems were published by Francisque Michel in the third volume of his "Chroniques Anglo-Normands." [2] He described one of the poems as copied from a manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century, a small folio vellum in the Bibliothèque du Roy (Nationale) at Paris, (No. 198, Notre Dame, with 483 leaves,) written in two columns, this piece standing first of eighty-two pieces of verse. The poem is anonymous, in Alexandrine verses, rhymed in quatrains, and running to more than 900 lines. It tells the story crisply, though sometimes rather baldly, but with much reality and dignity. The other poem is described as in MS. No. 6,987

[1] "King William the Wanderer; an old British Saga from old French Versions"; by W. G. Collingwood. (London: S. S. Brown Langham & Co., 1904.)

[2] Rouen, Ed. Frère. 1840.

of the same library, a large vellum folio of 346 leaves, in fourteenth century writing, in two, three, or four columns, containing thirty-four pieces of prose and verse, of which this is the twelfth, beginning on fol. 240 *verso*, 2. It is in octosyllabic rhymed couplets, running about 3,300 lines. The author gives his name, Chrestwice at the beginning of the story, and says at end that he got the tale from Roger "li cointes" *charming*):—

La matere si me conta
.J. [Un] miens compains, Rogiers li cointes,
Qui de moult prodome est acointes.

: tale is interspersed with reflections, diffuse and y told, with a trick of repetition in slightly different ases. Chrestien, whom Francisque Michel identifies with the well-known Chrestien de Troyes, the most famous French poet of the twelfth century, and author of the Arthurian tales known as "Le Chevalier au Lion" and "Erec," and part author of "Le Conte del Graal," here insists that he is not inventing a romance, but only versifying history. He does not say, like the poet of the other version, that his King William was also Duke of Normandy; but he declares that anyone who searches the history of England will find this tale, "which compels belief because it is pleasant and true," at a place called St. Esmoing:—

Qui les estoires d'Engleterre
Vauroit bien cerkier et enquerre,
Une, qui molt bien fait à croire
Por çou que plaisans est et voire,
On trouveroit à Saint-Esmoing.
Se nus en demande tesmoing
Là le voise querre, s'il veut.

If, as I suppose, St. Esmoing is the Norman way of writing Bury St. Edmunds, he must be referring to a book in the great English abbey at the shrine of St. Edmund the Martyr.

We know that legends from Britain supplied plenty of subjects for mediæval French poetry, though it has been debated by scholars how much Chrestien de Troyes was indebted in this way. (Some notes on the views of Prof. Foerster and M. Gaston Paris are given by Mr. Alfred Nutt in his popular edition of the Mabinogion.) Even if the Lays of Marie de France and other Arthurian stories came from Brittany, there are several which must have been originally English or British. Geoffrey Gaimar, who wrote between 1141 and 1151, introduced into his Norman-French rhyming chronicle the old English saga of Buern Buzecarle, which professes to tell how and why the Danes invaded Northumbria in 866. A long story of Berne the Huntsman and Lothbrok (our old friend Ragnar) is given in Roger of Wendover's early thirteenth century "Flowers of History," and supplies a widely differing variant of this popular tale, just as we have two legends of King William. Gaimar also tells the tale of Havelok, which reappears in a French poem founded upon his version; though the thirteenth century English poem of Havelok the Dane is again a variant, independently derived from the native saga. "Horn" also is found in various forms; the fourteenth century "Child Horn and Maiden Rimnild"[1] differs from "King Horn,"[2] which occurs in French versions, one of which tells us that the Norman poet who wrote it was named Thomas, and lived under Richard Cœur de Lion. Other scraps of sagas appear to be embodied in Henry of Huntingdon's "History" (published about 1135), such as the death of Earl Siward and the deeds of Earl Tosti (book vi.).

Now these, omitting the Arthurian cycle, are all Northumbrian or Cumbrian tales. They deal with the clash of interests between Anglian, Briton, and Scandinavian in the Viking Age. They are the product, like the vast quantities of monumental sculpture still awaiting re-

[1] Ritson's "Metrical Romances."
[2] Ed. J. R. Lumby, E.E.T.S., vol. xiv.

search and classification, of the busy tenth and eleventh centuries in what is now the North of England. The Norman Conquest closed that period and Norman culture almost wiped it out; but, just as the carved stones are being recovered, one by one, from the foundations of Norman buildings, so the literature of the age may be quarried out of the remains of Norman poets and chroniclers.

In my translation of King William, which is simply literary, I have combined the two versions, using the erty of taking from either what seemed most to my rpose; which was to tell the old romance in a readable v. At the same time I have added nothing. The plot, character drawing, the pathos and the humour are all the originals.

King William himself is, of course, imaginary. There was no pre-Norman king of that name, which seems to have come in with the Conqueror, or a little earlier with Edward the Confessor's Norman favourites. But it soon became common. In "Havelok" one of the sons of Grim of Grimsby, who fostered Havelok Cuheran, was "William, Wendut hight"; William *Wendwood* or *Wendout*, the Wanderer. So early "Wandering Willie" became a stock figure in folklore. The character of the king might have been more or less modelled on that of Edward himself, saintly and pious, and in youth a wanderer; married to a beautiful and pious girl, and having no children. The example may have made the story credible, though the allusion was disguised to suit the times, by giving the Norman name to the hero. But kings in disguise, and in exile, or on pilgrimage, are plentiful in our early history.

He is warned by a vision to forsake all for twenty-four years; and after the vision has come for the third time he obeys it—or partly obeys, for his queen, Gratiana, insists upon going with him. There is a story in Wendover (*sub anno* 604) of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, similarly warned and similarly half-obeying. He too

fled to a wood by the seashore, but there he was killed with his wife and sons. Gibbon's "variant" may be read in the "Decline and Fall," chapter xlvi., with Gibbon's weak sarcasms on the pious king; but the legend may be one of the sources of our story.

After the flight the servants of the household ransack the palace, an incident essential to the plot, and not likely to be the invention of the French poet. In the eleventh century, and among people who knew the Viking Age at first hand, this custom of *Polotasvarf* would be familiar. Modern English readers have the word from Kingsley's "Hereward," where it is used as equivalent to loot, or booty; but it was properly the "palace-scouring" of the Warengs, who had the right of pillaging when the Greek Emperor died; an Oriental custom, I imagine, brought north from Byzantium.

The king and queen find shelter easily in the forest, and when they come out after a month's wandering it is at Gernemue, *i.e.*, Yarmouth, in Norfolk.[1] Here the queen bears twins, and in her hunger begs for one of them to eat. The king offers to cut her a slice of his thigh, like Brian in the story of King Cadwalla at Garnareia (Guernsey) in Geoffrey of Monmouth ("Hist. Brit.," xii., chap. iv.). This might suggest a Celtic origin for the episode, but the hungering of a mother for her baby is also told among the Norse, though of a *huldre* or mountain-fairy married to a human husband.[2]

Yarmouth was already something of a port. While the adventurers are there in the cave, chapmen arrive in a ship; half merchants, half pirates, like the regular Norse rovers of the Viking Age. They carry off the queen with violence; and yet the writer does not represent them as wholly wicked, for, though one of them plays the bully throughout, the skipper tosses a purse of gold to the poor belaboured king.

[1] See, for examples, "The Chronicles of the Mayors, etc., of London," ed. H. T. Riley, 1863, *sub. ann.* 1256, 1259, 1265.

[2] See Mr. W. A. Craigie's "Scandinavian Folk-Lore," p. 168.

These rovers sail away north and, not being acquainted with the coast, arrive at a bad port. This is called Sorlinc or Surclin, evidently the miswritten name of some place up the east coast of Scotland. Struthlinn, the "river-pool," on the Toe (Tay) is mentioned in the so-called Prophecy of St. Berchan, written about 1094-1097, and nearly contemporary with the original of our story of King William. This name, with *c* for *t*, a frequent error in black-letter, and with the *ru* transposed to suit Norman eas of euphony, would make Surclin. The name Struthlinn was also Gaelic for Stirling, which may have suggested the variant form of Sorlinc. The Lord of Sorlinc is described as less than an earl, by name Glioalis, Cleoalis, or Gliolas, obviously a French attempt at giving one of the many Gaelic names in "Gille," which came into fashion in the middle of the tenth century. The name Gilechrist or Gilleandres might easily have been corrupted into the French form, just as Lincoln became Nicole, a word which occurs in this story. The Gaelic maormor is shown in a very favourable light, both as the rescuer of the captive lady and later as her wooer and nominal husband. This seems to me one of the curious and interesting points in our tale—the way in which aliens and enemies are treated with the "Humani nihil a me alienum puto" of the Classic. It cannot be foisted on the original by the courteous Frenchman; the attitude is part of the plot, and seems to show far more kindly commixture of races than the bald monkish chronicles record.

Meanwhile at Yarmouth the twin babies are also lost to the king. A wolf carries off one, and he is rescued by a second company of chapmen, who also find the other, not knowing that the two are brothers. These chapmen sail home to Catanasse, Catanaise, or Catenaise, obviously Caithness (Catenesse in Reginald of Durham), where they live with their own people as merchants dealing chiefly in furs, not without business in the way of money-lending. They are Christians, and have the boys baptised, one as Lovel, Louvet, Loviax, or Loviaus, because he was

rescued from the wolf, and the other as Marins (Marinus), because they had found him in a boat on the sea. These are, of course, translations of the names to show their meaning. In the Celto-Norse colony of Caithness one would have been Ulf or Faolan, and the other perhaps Sæmund or something like Muirceartach ; and the parallel names of (Olaf) Feilan and Kjartan (Muircheartach) might have been used in my translation, if it had not seemed simpler to call one Wolfling and the other Sea-born. The Caithness merchants who adopt them are Foukiers, Fokiers, Fouquiers, or Foucier (*i.e.*, Folkwar, found a little later in Cumberland as Fulcher) and Gonselins or Gosselins, who are kind foster-fathers until the boys refuse to learn a trade, when they are sent out into the world to shift for themselves.

They wander through the forest of Caithness, slay the earl's deer, and are brought before him by a blustering but venal forester, who speaks as a heathen of "the God in whom he believes." The earl receives them kindly, brings them up like gentlefolk, and eventually makes them his knights. Their chief business then is to fight the men of the lady of Sorlinc, their own mother, though they did not know her, who, having succeeded to the lands of old Glioalis after a nominal marriage, refuses to marry the earl of Caithness.

This earl is drawn as a very great lord, courteous to his equals, dignified toward inferiors, ambitious and grasping, but kindly to his young guests ; with a great retinue and army, a great hunter and warrior, but in the end owning some sort of homage to the King of England. This last touch is a recollection of the Commendation of 924 ; the forest laws were already working under Edward the Confessor ; there is nothing here but what a writer of the later half of the eleventh century might set down, but he must have had considerable knowledge of the North to treat it, as he does, with more than conventional description. I cannot help thinking that he had in mind the great earl of Caithness, Thorfinn, who plays so large

a part in the Orkneyinga Saga, and corresponds so closely to the character here portrayed. Everything in the story suggests a well thought-out romance, describing the earlier half of the eleventh century, and written towards the close of the century; and Earl Thorfinn's rule covers a long period down to his death in 1064. He was a very well-known person in the North; but who would expect an English story-teller to know much about him, or the Caithness colony?—unless the Englishman was a Northumbrian, and more in touch with the North than we sometimes imagine was possible.

What happened to King William after losing wife and children at Yarmouth is differently told in the two French versions. The one makes him go into hermitage, and a good deal later to another coast, and thence to Spain. Chrestien represents him as meeting a third party of chapmen, who take him to Galinde or Gavaide. No doubt the unfamiliarity of the place to a Frenchman suggested Spain as a likely refuge; but in Galinde or Gavaide the scribe has certainly been trying to write one and the same name. Anyone who reads black-letter MSS. knows how easily Galinde might be written for Galuide; and Galuide or Galuaide are French forms of Gallovidia or Gallweithia, the Latinised name of Galloway. Here there was another Viking colony in the eleventh century; indeed Earl Thorfinn is said to have spent much time in "Gallgedlar, where Scotland and England meet," which Skene thought, criticising Dr. Anderson's note to the place in the Orkneyinga Saga, to mean Galloway.

When King William met the Galloway merchants, after wandering across the country, he prayed help "for love of the true God," and it is added that they believed on Him, as though it were by no means certain beforehand. The Galloway Norse were somewhat newly Christianised in the earlier half of the eleventh century, and here again we have evidence of knowledge on the part of the author. Very kindly and human is the portrait of King William's new protector, the merchant and shipowner, who sends

his cargoes of Galloway nags to England, Flanders, and France, and trades in grain, alum, wax, embroideries, and all manner of luxuries. Under him the king is set first to feed hens and skin eels, and gradually rises to be the trusted steward. After a while he is sent as agent to distant ports, and at last becomes his employer's partner.

It should not be ungrateful to us English, as a nation of chapmen, going in ships to the ends of the earth, and still hoping that our dealings are found just by men and pleasing to God, to find that one of our most ancient tales has for its hero a royal and saintly tradesman, true to his employer, courteous to his customers, but in no wise to be cheated, "for he knew what everything was worth, asked the right price, and got it." And if corroboration is needed, we have only to turn to the life of St. Godric, as told by Wendover, for the picture of a pious merchant, painted with curious realism—"plaisans et voire."

No name is given to the good merchant of Galloway, but the skipper of his ship, in which King William sails for Bristol (or Dover, as the variant has it), is Terfès, Tressès, or Tiesses; the confusion between *f* and *s* accounts for the difference of spelling, and the original name may well have been Tjörvi (Torfi).

So they come to Bristot or Bistot (Bristow, Bristol), where they land their Galloway nags and other cargo at the harbour and go up to the great fair. King William's nephew, who rules in his absence, meets him, and takes to him on account of the resemblance, as he supposes, to the lost king. Here too the incident of the *polotasvarf* turns up again; a young man who found the king's hunting-horn appears, and sells the old horn for the big price of five shillings. The young king is so pressing in his friendship that King William is glad to escape unnoticed, and puts out to sea again for the return voyage.

Then a storm rises, one of those southerly gales which blow for three days, with the wind veering into the north. The ship is driven up the west coast of Scotland, some-

times so near the crags that they fear their yards will be broken on the rocks. At last, and quite naturally and possibly, they are becalmed on the north-east coast, off the harbour of Sorlinc.

The lady, once queen of England, comes aboard to "take weel of the wares," sees the horn, claims her ring from King William's hand, invites him up to the castle, entertains him royally, but always with her veil on. Gradually he comes to be sure that it is she, but still he cannot hope that she is still his own. They go hunting, and the story comes out as they ride together; it is all delightfully told. Then he rides after the stag; crosses the river which parts Sorlinc and Caithness, and is set upon by two knights. In danger of his life he remembers that the four and twenty years are past, and he may speak. He finds his sons again in his enemies, and they learn that the Cruel Lady is their mother. They take him to the earl, who does not (as one might expect) seize him as hostage, but owns the superior state of the King of England, as defined by the Commendation, and accompanies him to Sorlinc and thence home.

This rough sketch of the action, from which all the picturesque detail is omitted, shows how many varied scenes and situations are included in the story, and how the plot touches so many points of interest in connection with the Viking Age. If Chrestien de Troyes wrote his French version in the twelfth century, it must have been in the eleventh, or at least very early in the twelfth, that the English original was composed. It could hardly have been earlier than the Conquest, because of the name William, and the references to settled commercial life in Caithness and Galloway, though the period is thrown vaguely back into "the good old days," which have always existed in imagination—indeed in this very tale Master Gonselin talks of them with regret, just as an old man might in this twentieth century. That the story was English, rather than Cumbrian-British, seems to be indicated by its distinctly English tone, as in the superiority,

just mentioned, of the King of England over the minor rulers of the North. But it must have been composed by a Northumbrian, even if the book in which it was written was found at Bury St. Edmunds; by a Northumbrian in touch with Scandinavian traders and travellers, if not by one who knew personally the scenes he described, and himself perhaps Danish or Norse in parentage. It is not a tradition, but a composition, embodying motives from folk-lore, and woven into a carefully elaborated plot. It differs in its more artificial construction from an Icelandic saga, but the resemblances are greater than the differences; it is the same literary growth on our own soil.

That there must have been saga-tellers and even story-writers in the highly cultivated Anglo-Scandinavian Northumbria of the eleventh century might have been inferred; but here we seem to see it proved. And yet who would have expected a complete novel of almost modern type, and a sympathetic picture of the Viking Age sea-rovers?

animals whose fatality it was to rejoice in life within his environment. Some were too strong for him to fight at close quarters, others too swift for him to get to close quarters with. In both cases he had to improve upon his disabilities by the artificial means to which he gave a name that, probably, had a meaning similar to that originally implied in the word weapon, which possibly may be radically related to the Sanskrit root *vap*, to strew, to sow. If the stone-age man was able to form a collective term for the means of attack at his disposal, some term indicative of throwing was the most natural to employ, for most of his weapons, the bow, the sling, even the club, etc., were calculated for the action of throwing. Among the objects most eminently suitable for this purpose that his environment supplied him with none, probably, was more common or more readily at hand than the stone.

Of all the kinds of stone that man made use of for weapon, evidently the flint was the one to which he gave his most intelligent attention. This is amply proved by the fact that the flint industry, that is to say, the manufacture of a great variety of objects of flint usefully answering a corresponding variety of practical purposes, was really the one universal industry of the stone age.[1] All the stones that man made use of fell into two groups: the brakeable and the flakeable, the latter peculiarity being the exclusive property of the flint. He had been making use of the flint as weapon for no great length of time when he observed, not only that it did flake, but also that its flakeability had something interestingly curious about it. By knocking two nodules of flint together in

[1] I may mention that in Norwegian dialects the root *flin-* in "flin-t," the raw material, seems to assume the syncopated form *fli*, whenever the manufacture of the raw material is in question. We have thus: "Fli," f., a thin chip, a plate; "fli," n., implements, tools; "fli," wv., to manipulate, to make by hand, put to rights, put in order, ornament, adorn. I mention this, because, in my opinion, we have the same stem to deal with in the common modern Scandinavian term "fli-d," "fli-t" = industry, originally flint-industry, M.H.G. "vli-z," O.H.G. "fli-z," mod. H.G. "fleiss."

particular manner, he observed that one or both would
ke in converging planes. Two such planes would
netimes meet in so acute an angle as to leave the line
wnere they met as sharp as that of a razor's edge. No
doubt our rash, unwary savage cut himself in the course
his first inexperienced handling of his new curiosity.
first cut was pregnant with progressive evolution.
he savage had, ages before this, ascertained the fact
t the material objects he was thrown into contact with
d was in the habit of handling, fell into two classes:
hard and the not hard. He was intelligent enough
conclude that his flesh was cut by the flint, not only
use to his startled mind it was miraculously endowed
harpness, and pre-eminently suitable for wounding
killing, but especially because the material it was made
of was evidently much harder than the substance of which
his own flesh was tissued together. This set him thinking, and he was led to the further conclusion that, as the sharp flint had cut his flesh, so, probably, it would cut to pieces any material composed of a substance softer than that of which itself consisted, and thus might be turned to other uses than the invaluable one of shedding life-blood and causing death.

He put his theory to practical test; he tried his flint on a piece of bone, horn, or green wood, and found that what he had imagined came true. As he went on experimenting with the new wonder he realized with delight that in his manipulating hand it lent itself to fashioning certain forms and figures, which from life and nature were reflected in the mirror of his imitative mind. I am not romancing, I am stating a plain fact, when I say that now the primitive savage had come upon the most epoch-making technical discovery that man ever made. He had discovered the EDGE; that no less astoundingly simple than almost magically effective agent for good and evil in the practical affairs of life. For on the edge, ever since its discovery, has depended, and probably will depend to the end of time, the whole artistic and artificial

environment of human existence, in all its infinitely varied complexity. Look wherever we may upon the artificial surroundings of our life, their direct or indirect descent from the edge is a fact that stares any observant beholder in the face. By this discovery was broken down a wall that for untold ages had dammed up a stagnant, unprogressive past, and through the breach were let loose all the potentialities of the future civilization of mankind. It was entirely owing to the discovery of the edge that man was enabled in the course of time to invent the art of shipbuilding.

Directly, however, the discovery of the edge was not inductive to the invention of this great art. The experiences that, step by step, led primitive man to the conception of that invention proceeded from causes probably in the main independent of the agency of the edge, but intimately and vitally associated with the alimentary conditions of his environment—with his struggle for existence. By briefly surveying this environment we shall be able the more clearly to realize the under-current causation which ultimately brought reasoning man to the solution of the problem before him.

The stone-age man, generally speaking, was confined to a narrow strip of land, bounded in front of him by waters—rivers, lakes, straits, or open ocean —and in his rear by primeval woods standing deep in matted impenetrable jungle. He was ignorant of the kindly bounteousness of cultivated earth. He knew nothing of the sources of sweet nurture and comfort supplied by domestic animals; of these latter he knew only the dog, an invaluable ally on account of its capacity for hunting. In these circumstances he had to devote his whole energy to the pursuits of hunting, to fishing from bank and shore, and to the catch of what marine mollusks and crustacea the ebb-tide left within his reach in shallow foreshore waters. In proportion as man multiplied the supplies of his very limited dominion were bound to diminish. With his weapons,

the club, the spear, and above all the stone, and the hunting dogs, he destroyed the land animals, or frightened them away; fishing and the catch of crustacea were mostly confined to the warm season; clearing the ebb-shallows of mollusks was, in each case, only a matter of time. When one haunt was exhausted of supplies to such an extent that the community was reduced to short commons, the only chance of avoiding the impending famine was for the tribe to break up and thread its way along the water until a virgin tract was reached, where a halt was made, and a new temporary abode selected, or, which comes to the same thing, a certain spot was fixed upon where, it was agreed, the community should consume in common the proceeds of the hunter's and fisherman's daily toil. This was a matter of necessity in a communistic society. The provider of food must know for certain where to take the proceeds of each day's labour; the whole community must be witness to the equal distribution of those proceeds among all its members. This process of intermittent migration is very clearly illustrated by the "køkkenmøddinge"—huge offal-heaps—in Denmark, which contain the remnants of the meals of the early stone-age folk, and are found at considerable, but varying, distances along the sea-shore. Here are found heaped together prodigious quantities of shells, bones of fish, and of a large variety of wild mammals, such as bear, wild boar, red-deer, roe, beaver, seal, urochs, fox, wolf, lynx, marten, etc., besides charcoal remains and rudely flaked objects of flint. In these heaps are stored, if I may be allowed the expression, the archives of the earliest history of man in the North.

Now we have seen enough of the environment of primitive man to come to the conclusion that existence within it must have been one of a very precarious character. Seasons then, as now, were good, bad, or indifferent. But a bad season then was an infinitely more serious matter than a bad season is now; and the stone-age man must, at times, have experienced famines so appalling that we

can form no adequate idea of their destructiveness. We can easily imagine how, in hard and hungry seasons, he must have taken desperately to heart the limitations of his capacities. The uninhabited river-bank, or island shore, opposite the one he himself was occupying, with the sources of livelihood running dry, he knew would in all probability supply him with means for saving the lives of his starving relatives and dependents. In spite of all the incentives wherewith self-preservation, cupidity, and the delights of the chase stimulated his mind, he was in most cases effectively debarred from the objects of his yearning by intervening waters. Here he stood helpless, face to face with a problem, probably the most hopeless of solution of all that presented themselves to primitive man. By what means could man turn the surface of the waters into a thoroughfare?

The myriads of water-fowl the savage saw swimming over the waters in front of him had solved the problem to perfection, and could go in quest of their food wheresoever it suited them, while he, helpless and hunger-stricken, could only stand by the water's edge and gaze. No matter to what pitch of perfection he carried his expertness in swimming, he could only swim in, not on, the water; across it he could carry or convey nothing of any bulk, least of all anything with a tendency to sink; besides, he was prevented from deriving full advantage of his mastery in swimming by changing temperatures, insidious under-currents, rapids, water-enemies, etc. The solution of this tremendous problem must have exercised the searching mind of man for a very long time. Ultimately his intelligent observation of certain manifestations within his own environment opened to him the path by which he was enabled to surmount the stupendous difficulty he was coping with.

To the sea-shore he roamed along, winds and ocean currents would carry logs of wood, trunks of trees; the river, along the bank of which he fished, bore down, when in flood, similar materials from unknown hinterlands.

The children of nature are sportive and venturesome above all things. Merely for the fun of the thing the stone-age man must have mounted many a log that he found drifted into shallow water. He could not fail to observe that the larger it was the less tendency it had to sink under the weight of his body. It stands to reason that this kind of acquaintance with the floating properties of tree-trunks led to tying two or more together. On top of them, so joined together, man could take up position dry-shod and dry-skinned. The dream of long s was realized; the formidable problem was solved, ovisionally at all events—the first RAFT carried man the water. The invention was rude and very imperfect, ause it was, except in the most favourable circum- ances, beyond the control of man, being otherwise holly subject to that of wind and current. Yet by a punting pole and roughly-fashioned paddle he could—weather and current permitting—take the raft out to sea for fishing purposes further than he could get by any other means. On lakes and languid streams it could, probably, be paddled to advantage, thus facilitating, in a manner heretofore unknown, the migratory efforts of primitive man.

Through a long course of observation it became evident to the primitive natural philosopher that a trunk that had lost some of its inside substance floated more lightly on the water than one wholly solid. With the experience thus gained of floating logs, it was but natural that this ardent observer should reason to himself somehow to this effect: Since hollow trunks float more lightly on the water than solid ones, they must do it because they have lost the inside substance, while the others retain theirs; if, then, I can manage to hollow one by removing from it the greater part of its inside wood, will it float with me if I put myself in the hollow of it? He set about the experiment. He now had the edge to fall back upon; he wielded his flint-axe and other edged flint implements. The texture of the wood was very destructive of the sharp-

ness of the edge, and wasteful of the implements. But he called to his aid an effective agent to lighten and quicken his work. He set fire to the inside of the trunk, and kept it burning under proper control until the tree was hollowed to his satisfaction. The charred masses he scooped out with his flint-axe. Both ends were rounded off on the pattern of the breast of the bird that swims. The builder now launched his craft, stepped inside it, and it floated, with the joyfully surprised maker on board. The dark problem of ages was solved; the surface of the water was turned into a thoroughfare for man. An era of vastly increased happiness was inaugurated. The unknown day when this craft was launched for the first time was the birthday of the great art of SHIPBUILDING.

From the raft our ship-builder took with him the paddle, and adjusted it to the proportions and properties of the new craft, which yielded to this means of propulsion as ready an obedience as the raft had yielded a cumbrously reluctant one, or none at all. The first product, then, of the new invention was a monoxylous craft. I have presumed all along that the invention dates from the stone age. It is a fact, however, that with none of the monoxyla which Scandinavian bogs and lakes have given up have there been found objects hailing from the manufactories of the stone age. This evidence, besides being negative, loses a good deal of the importance one might be inclined to attach to it, when we consider that, firstly, the stone-age populations crossed water too broad to make it at all likely that the transit took place by means of rafts; secondly, that the charred insides of some monoxyla bear witness to their having been hollowed out by means of fire, a device for which there could have been no need in a metallic age; thirdly, that the "køkkenmøddinge" contain remains of fish which only live in deep water, consequently further out at sea than rafts can be supposed to have been taken; fourthly, that canoes of this description have been found in the lake dwellings at Robenhausen in Switzerland which, un-

doubtedly, are of the stone age; and, fifthly, that in Scotland one monoxylon with a stone-wedge within it has been found. On this evidence, partly inferential, partly positive, it seems quite safe to conclude that the stone-age man was actually the first boat-builder.

This monoxylous family of craft must have been in general vogue for a very long time, and in certain localities people must have taken a very rigid conservative fancy to it. This is to be inferred from the fact that, even up to the present, stray specimens of it are found still alive. On the inland waters of Wärend, in Sörmanland, in Sweden, and on the Orkdale river in the countryside of Rennebo, in Norway, these cranky craft still do ferry service, as they did thousands of years ago. They are called: in Norway "ege," in Sweden "eka" and "ekestock," both forms being derived from the old Scandinavian "eikja," oakie, a feminine derivative of "eik," oak. The name points clearly to the fact that, originally, monoxylous canoes were made out of oak-trunks, the obvious reason being that the oak-trunk was the thickest to be found in the wood, and, consequently, when hollowed out, made the most capacious hull. On the evidence of this name I think we are warranted in concluding that it was in an oak-growing country that shipbuilding originated. That the name "oakie" should stick to the craft even when it was made of other kinds of wood was but natural. In the North, Denmark, which was densely wooded in the stone period, was probably the country where "oakies" were first made.[1]

[1] The existence of the "eikja" goes back even to mythic times, as we learn from "Hárbarðsljóð," v. 7, where, in charge of Odin, it figures as a ferry-boat belonging to Hildolf of Ráðseyjarsund. In Norwegian Laws it only does ferry service; cf. Frostaþings lög xiii. 10. Sigvat's much-abused "eikju-karfi," Heimskringla, Olafs saga helga, ch. 91 (F. Jónsson's ed.), was also a river-boat, and evidently the same as, or at least very similar to, the "eikja." Sigvat's experience of it dates from 1018. In 1177 King Sverrir ferried his men across the river Orka in Rennabú by means of "eikjur." Monoxyla, not only in the North, but wherever we find them mentioned elsewhere (see below), are in most cases river-ferries.

In connection with this family of craft I must call attention to an exceedingly old name for ship which is found, and that rarely, only in poetry and in one compound proper name from mythic times. This name is "nór." About its meaning there can be no doubt. Thiodolf from Hvin, a Norwegian poet of the ninth century, uses the word in his Ynglingatal to effect a *kenning*, or poetical periphrase, for a house, which he calls "brandnór," or "hearth-fire's ship."[1] In the poetical glossary of the younger Edda it is also entered among the appellatives for ship.[2] But it is in its mythic setting that it demands particular attention.

In the morning of time there befell a feud between Odin's divine tribe, the Æsir, and the people whom our mythographers call Vanir, and frequently designate as the *wise* Vanir. The feud came ultimately to an end, and both sides exchanged hostages to ensure a lasting peace. The Vanir gave to the Æsir him who was called Niord (Njörðr); he was admitted to divine honours by the Æsir, with whom he remained for good. He was worshipped as the Lord ruling the course of the winds, having in his power to still the sea and to control fire. It was profitable to make vows to him for sea-faring and fishing; and he was so wealthy and so gainsome of riches that he would bestow lands or loose wealth on those who approached him with vows to that end. He abode at the place called NÓA-TÚN, the town of ships.[3]

It seems clear that the "nóar," from which Niord's residence derived its name, were the ships he brought with him from his people, who were a sea-faring and trading community, but whose locality is as yet uncertain. In the dialect, then, of the Vanir, the name for a ship was "nór." Now, it is obvious that this form is closely related to Greek "ναῦς," Latin "navis." But a still closer

[1] It is a kenning of the same type as "arin-kjóll," navis foci, "knörr legvers," navis lecti, "nökkvi toptar," navis parietum, etc.

[2] Snorri's Edda I. 581 [11].

[3] Völuspá 23, 24, Skirnismál 17, 18; Snorri's Edda I. 92 [10,16].

affinity presents itself in the Irish "noe," "noi," one of the oldest words for ship in the Irish language, as an Irish scholar at Cambridge informs me. The word occurs several times in the oldest tractates of the ancient Laws of Ireland, the Senchus Mór, and the Lebar Aicle. What sort of a craft it was does not appear with full certainty; it might be monoxylous, or of the currach or coracle type. Now, considering the great age which, no doubt rightly, is claimed by Irish scholars for the Brehon Laws, I think we must take it, if not for granted, at least as very probable, that this nór of the Vanir-dialect is a Celtic loan-word of a very high antiquity. If such should be the case, it follows that the Vanir must have been closer neighbours of the *continental* (or the Irish?) Celts than the Odinic community; if, indeed, they were not a Celtic tribe. Properly speaking, in the North this word is an exclusively Norwegian term, which migrated, of course, from Norway to Iceland with other ancestral traditions. No trace of the word is found in Denmark or Sweden. I am inclined to think that Niord's "nóar" were monoxylous craft. This I infer from the fact that in the Norwegian "landsmål," rural speech, the word "no" or "nu" signifies a mug, or small vessel made out of a solid piece of wood, and that in Iceland "nói" in the peasant speech, means a wooden vessel in which liquid food is doled out to children.

The son of Niord was Frey, the dispenser of rain and sunshine, and therewithal of the fertility of the earth, "and it is well to make vows to him for plenteous seasons and peace; he also rules man's luck in gaining wealth."[1] Frey, too, is lord of a famous ship called "Skíðblaðnir." The name is composed of *skíð*, possibly the stem of "skíðe" (German *scheide*, English *sheath*, a case, covering, *fourreau*), and "blaðnir" from "blað," blade—but in the sense of thin leaf, folium, lamina, anything that is distinguished by great thinness, and some width,—and *nir*, a suffix indicative of

[1] Snorri's Edda, I. 96 1-6.

the thing signified by the term it is attached to being prominently present, so that "blaðnir" should mean: "that is of (many) leaves." Thus "Skíðblaðnir" should mean the boat sheathed or covered with many patches. The mythographers describe the craft as the bravest of all ships. It was so big that all the gods could be accommodated on board it with all their war-like equipment; when the sail was hoisted a fair wind sprang up, bearing it wheresoever it was required to go. But the most striking peculiarity about it was that it could be folded up like a piece of cloth and put into a knapsack.[1] Here, of course, we see mythic folklore once more at work on its labour of love: the illogical hyperbole. The size is an absurd sort of exaggeration. That ships in the North were provided with mast and sail in the early mythic times of Frey we may fairly doubt, and mast and sail could not very reasonably be supposed to go into a knapsack. A wind blowing up when up goes the sail on board is a well-known legend of nautical witchcraft possessed by the Finns of northern Halogaland in Norway. But the statement that the boat could be folded up seems to be the one point in the myth which can stand examination. It seems to class "Skíðblaðnir" with craft of the coracle type, and the name itself seems even to point in the same direction. We have then, it would seem, in Frey's "Skiðblaðnir" a sea-going craft, while in his father's boats we, apparently, had only the river ferry-type.

References to monoxylous craft used outside the North for the navigation of rivers and for crossing inlets of the sea, or for coastal navigation, are very numerous. Already as early as 401 B.C. Xenophon made acquaintance with the Mossynoikoi on the Black Sea, who, apparently, knew only the use of "one-beam" canoes ("an-byme scip," as the Anglo-Saxons translated monoxylon). These Mossynoikoi lived in wooden towers, μόσσυν, apparently a sort of habitation similar to the pile-dwellings of

[1] Snorri's Edda I. 138^{21}—140^{1}.

the lakes on the Continent in the stone age, and to those of the Veneti as described by Cæsar, as well as to the crannoge, lake and foreshore dwellings, in ancient Ireland. The canoes of the Mossynoikoi carried only three men on board.[1] Polybius refers to monoxyla on the Rhone when Hannibal crossed that river B.C. 218.[2] Arrian mentions them in use in great number on the Ister about 336 B.C.[3] The author of the Periplus of the Erythrean, or Red Sea, in the second century of our era, refers to monoxyla as employed in fishing and transport service along the coasts of those waters.[4] Isidore, reviewing the evolution of shipbuilding, says: "Rafts were the first and the most ancient kind of craft joined together of rough logs and timber. After its fashion were made the ships which were called log-ships, *naves ratariæ*." He also mentions the "naves litorariæ," bank-boats, and "naves caudicæ," stock-boats, being hollowed out of one single "caudex," and capable of carrying from four to ten persons.[5] A large number of Byzantine writers, from the fifth down to the twelfth century, refer to monoxylous water conveyances, and particularly in connection with the many rivers traversing the continental dominions of the Eastern Emperors and their Northern neighbours.

Thus far the one-beam craft has chiefly been the object of our attention. But another family or type of floating craft in the North comes into existence, if not as early as the one-beam boat, at any rate at a very early period. This is the kind of craft which in the literature goes under the name of "húð-keipr," or hide-boat, a name which the Icelanders, on coming into contact with the Esquimaux of Greenland and North America, gave to their kaiaks, made of some sort of inner framework with skins, sewed together, stretched over them for a cover-

[1] ἦκον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας. Anab. V. 4, 11.

[2] Polyb. Hist. ed. Hultsch III. 42, 2; 43, 3. [3] Arr. I. 3.

[4] Plin. VI. 26. Periplus, ed. Fabricius, § 15, 60.

[5] Isid. Etymologiae, lib. xix. 1.

ing. We come across the object and the name in only three late Sagas, that of Eric the Red (ch. 3), of Thorfinn Karlsefni (ch. 9, 10), and of the Flóamenn (ch. 23). The only instance of boat-building of this description by Scandinavians is that recorded by the last mentioned saga of Thorgils, the stepson of Thorgrim Scarry-Bone, who, having lost his own boat in Greenland, made a "húðkeipr" in order to maintain himself and his company alive by fishing. But this is an isolated case in exceptional circumstances, and represents only Esquimaux tradition. In Scandinavia this sort of boat-building, to judge from the literature on record, is utterly unknown in historical times. True, there is a case mentioned, which shows that on the Scandinavian continent boat-making of this kind must have been known; that case, however, is not Scandinavian, but Lap. Snorri says that when Sigurd Wretched Deacon spent in northern Halogaland the winter of 1138-39, he had two cutters built for himself by Laps, "and they were sinew-bound and no nails therein, withes serving for knees; twelve men rowed aside on each of them. These cutters were so swift that no ship might overtake them." [1] Evidently we have here a survival of an ancient tradition, which among the non-Finnish Scandinavians had passed into total oblivion in historical times; for speech survivals exist which suffice to prove that once upon a time it was a general fashion of shipbuilding in Scandinavia first to put together the wooden or wattled framework of the boat, and then to cover it with skins sewed together. Moreover, this method of boat-making must have been in vogue at least before the culture of a metallic age had taught man the full use of THE NAIL. This I shall now endeavour to make plain.

In the rich vocabulary relating to Northern ship-building we meet with two standing technical terms of especial interest, which at first sight seem as strange as, on closer examination, they become not only natural, but clearly

[1] Heimskringla (ed. F. Jónsson) III., 358 [18]—359 [3].

and convincingly illustrative of a method of ship-building which must have been universal before the era of nail manufacture began in the North. These terms are "súð" and "saumr."

"Súð" signifies the line that is formed by the overlapping of any two planks, or boards, nailed or riveted together through the laps, no matter what purpose such planks or boards may serve. But specially is it applied to what in boat-building is known as the clincher-build, the clench, or strake-lap. In seamen's language "súð" becomes a collective term, meaning all the clincher-joined strakes of a boat, or what English boat-builders call the "skin," or "case" of it. Lastly, "súð" is used, in a restricted sense, to signify ship, but mostly as first or second element in compound proper names, as "Súða-vík," Ships'-wick, "Bækisúð" Beech-hull, name of a special ship. So much for the application of the term. But what is the original sense of it? Etymologically "súð" covers the Latin *sut-* in "sutura" from "suo," "suere" to sew, exactly as "húð" covers *cut-* in "cutis," skin, hide; obviously its original meaning is "suture," a sewed together jointure.

The correctness of this interpretation is clearly borne out by the boat-building term "saum-för" (now "saum-far"), seam-fare, seam-line, which takes off exactly the special sense of "suð," strake-lap, adduced above. "Saum-för" is clearly a gloss on "súð," made when its primitive meaning, suture, was becoming obsolete and obscure to the living generation.

"Saumr" is the standing collective term for all the varieties of nails which are required for the building of a ship. Etymologically it corresponds exactly to the English word *seam*, and, in its general acceptation, means exactly the same: a sewed jointure. But in the technical application here in question it means *sewing material*. It is an interesting fact that, in the commercial language of the Scandinavians, including that of the Icelanders, all nails of any size, at least up to six inches

long, go to this day under the collective denomination of "saumr" (Norwegian saum, Danish, Swedish, söm).

The facts I have now drawn attention to obviously warrant the deduction that there was a time when boats in the North generally had round their frame a covering, consisting of a material that could be sewed together; that material could only be *skin*. Only on this supposition is it possible to account for the use of the technical ship-building terms we are here dealing with. Now we have the testimony of Roman writers to the effect that in the first century of our era the Britanni, Celts of Britain, did their sea-faring in wicker-vessels, which they did round with a covering of ox-hides.[1] The words "súð" and "saumr" prove clearly, though indirectly, that the same description of Scandinavian ship-building, at a certain early period, would have been a correct one. I think we are warranted in assigning that period to some time on the other side of the nearer limit of the stone age. With the metallic age, and not before, the manufacture of nails came in, and the nail evidently effected a revolution in the method of ship-building, in that the sewed-together ox-hide covering of the frame of ships gave place to nail-joined, board-strake covering of the same, and wind-dried sinews of large animals, the old sewing material, to rivets and driven nails. Now, whatever name the manufacturers gave to their nails and nail-produce, the ship-building industry, realizing that the nail answered in an eminently suitable manner the purpose of the old material in joining, or sewing together, watertightly the overlapping edges of the wooden board-covering of a boat's frame, gave to the new rivetting material the name of the old sewing one. The transference of the name of the old to the new binding material was, really, a most natural one: what were nails after all but disjointed stitches, effecting the same thing

[1] Vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare. Pliny, Hist. Nat., IV. 30. Etiam nunc Britannico oceano vitiles corio circumsutæ fiunt. VII. 57.

as connected thread-stitches, namely the tight jointure of things otherwise disjointed.

The hide-bound family of craft goes, therefore, I think we may safely assume, back to the stone age. If "Skíðblaðnir" could be classed with this family, it would be the earliest specimen of it mentioned in Northern literature. But on that point nothing can be positively asserted. ancient specimens of this craft have been found, or e likely to be discovered, on account of the perishable material the covering was made of, and the slender scant-

g of the framework. But I think I can make it probe that the principle on which the building of this skinered craft proceeded was perpetuated in the further olution of ship-building, at any rate during the iron e, and is really the principle of naval construction to this day.

But I have not stated yet expressly on what principle these craft were made. Northern sources afford us no information. Whether the oldest Celtic literature does so, or not, I am unable to say. But we have an excellent Roman writer who gives us a sufficiently explicit hint of the method of their construction. In his first Spanish campaign during the civil war, Cæsar was brought to very great straits on the bank of the river Sicoris, which, on account of want of boats, he could not cross, and thus was foiled for a time in effecting an important strategic movement. So, in his own words, "he ordered the soldiers to make boats of the build that British usage had taught him in former years. *First*, the keel and the ribs were made of light timber: the rest of the body of the boats was woven together of osiers and covered by hides."[1] To this description Lucanus supplies a valuable addition in his "Pharsalia": "First," he says, "the white willow is

[1] Imperat militibus Cæsar, ut naves faciant, cuius generis eum superioribus annis usus Britanniæ docuerat. Carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materia fiebant; reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum coriis integebatur. Cæs. Bell. Civil., I. 54.

woven together into a little craft by soaked osiers, and then, clothed in the hide of a felled young bullock, it swims out on the swollen river obedient to the passenger. Thus sails the Venetian on the sluggish Po and the Briton over the broad ocean." [1] Here, then, it is clear that the construction of the coracle type of boat was effected by two operations. First, by putting together of the wooden frame, strengthened by plaited wicker-work, which constituted the form of the craft; secondly, when this was done, by adjusting the water-tight outer case, consisting of neats' leather.

That monoxyla were propelled by means of a paddle, single or double-bladed, is certain. At Viborg, in Jutland, there is exhibited a specimen of this craft, with the double-bladed paddle, some three feet in length, belonging to it, both having been found together in a bog some sixty years ago. As to the coracle, it is a paddled craft to this day. This was obviously the most natural method of propulsion for an utterly untrained navigator to hit upon. When he was on board his craft he wanted to propel it towards the goal he had chosen; he must therefore face the prow of it, in order to be able to exercise proper command over its gyrations and to correct deviations caused by winds and currents. But long experience of paddling must have exercised his faculty of observation in many ways. In the nature of man there is hidden an impulse which constantly urges him on to throw into locomotion, artificial locomotion especially, as much speed as is consistent with feasibility and prudence. To reach a given goal in the quickest way, *i.e.*, by the least loss of time, has all through its history been the tendency of man's sea-faring activity.

The primitive paddler was probably quite as impulsive

[1] **Primum cana salix madefacto vimine parvam**
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque inducta juvenco
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat oceano. Pharsalia, IV. 130-136.

as any of us, perhaps a good deal more so. He could not have failed to observe in the long run that it was impossible to put the same strength into a paddle stroke, which was produced by one arm pulling the paddle-blade towards the person, while the other arm guided the handle in a direction opposite to that of the blade, as would be put into it, if it were produced by the united strength of both arms, aided by the muscular force of the whole body, properly poised. Until a mode of propulsion on this principle was adopted, there was no art of *rowing*, in the proper sense, yet known. The introduction of that reform into nautical practice, however, must have been a very slow process, because it depended on auxiliary inventions, which were far from obvious. Rowing involved the invention of the thole-pin, "keipr," against which the oar could be pulled. That invention again necessitated the contrivance of the oar-strap, "hamla," to keep the oar in its place against the thole-pin, and to enable the rowers to back-water when necessary.

But abandoning paddling for rowing meant really that the propelling force on board turned blind, in that the rowers had to occupy on the benches a position the reverse of that of the paddlers, and thus turned their back upon their own goal. This had to be remedied, and an eye had to be provided for the craft gone blind; a man was told off to take in hand the steering; he was provided for the purpose with a steering oar; and a loop, through which the handle of that oar was taken, was fixed to the gunwale of the craft at a suitable distance from the stern, on the right-hand side. Out of this primitive steering contrivance grew the steering apparatus, fixed to the right-hand side buttock of boats, which we find in the Viking ships that have been unearthed in Norway, and to which I shall allude again. In that position the rudder remained, according to the authority of Jal ("Archéologie navale") till the beginning of the fourteenth century. Nicholaysen, the able Norwegian antiquary, has found no instance of a rudder hinged on the stern-post earlier

than that of the dragon-ship seal of Bergen of 1299. The earliest instance of rudder so fitted in England seems to be that of the man-of-war "La Félipe," built for Edward III. at Lynn, 1336. In the seal of Dover dating from 1335 the rudder is in the old position; but that may simply be a matter of sphragistic tradition.

When rowing at length had been mastered, all the main difficulties of the problem, "how to make a highway of the surface of the water," had been solved. There remained, of course, the crowning accomplishment: the mast and the sail. But the inventor rested for a long time on his oars before reaching that climax.

I may remark here that in the old language of Scandinavia the terms for mast are "vöndr," a wand, "viða," pole of wood, "viðr," "tré," tree, and most commonly, "sigla," perhaps, the bendable, pliable thing; all names apparently indicative of the bending effect the wind-weighted sail has upon the pole it is attached to. But "mast(r)" is a term utterly foreign to the Scandinavian idioms, never occurring in any song, saga, or law-code of the old time. It is confined to the West Germanic idioms, O.H.G., M.H.G., L.G., Du, and A.S. The commercial predominance of the Hansa in the Baltic from the middle of the twelfth century probably brought the term to the North, where it is now in universal use, even in Iceland, though the purists are endeavouring to keep "sigla" alive.

What "segl" *may* mean originally is very doubtful. It is a common Teutonic word, and may possibly, as a philologist has suggested, be radically allied to Latin "*sec*" in "secare," with a primitive meaning of "the cut out piece" (of cloth). If it could be connected with the old Scandinavian stem, *sig*, in "segi," "sigi," a strip, a torn out piece, it would mean collectively the thing made of strips or sections of skin, which presumably was the material out of which sails were made in the North before the culture of flax was known.

Passing now over to the consideration of the strake-built boat, I take the earliest type of it to be represented by

the rock-carvings of Sweden and Norway. The shape, as well as the size of the originals copied here preclude their having been monoxylous or of the coracle kind. On board some of the craft there are shown as many as thirty rowers, or presumably such.

A point that strikes at first sight is the fact that the ships are represented *in groups*. This seems to show that we have not to do with the work of artists merely amusing themselves by practising naval drawing; we seem to have before us representations of fleets, or, in other words, records of *events*, of naval actions, ***history*** written in picture language.

These carvings present to us two distinct types of craft: one with stem and stern-posts raised to an abnormal height, taking, at some distance from the gunwale, an inward bend, and terminating in an outward turn, meant, perhaps, for some animal's head; the other distinguished by the absence of any prominently high stem and stern-posts. Some of the boats of the former type look as if they had two keels; the lower of the two extends beyond the upper or inner at both ends, and takes an upward bend clear above the water-line, and sometimes as high as the stem and stern-posts of the inner boat. We may perhaps here have to deal with a protective outer case and a ramming arrangement. This is rendered probable by the fact that, exceptionally, the prolonged lower keel takes a downward bend into the water at one end of the boat. Exclusively with this type goes an object which seems roughly to resemble the form of a pair of bellows standing on the pipe end; on the larger boats two of these objects are seen placed where, roughly, the length of the craft divides by three. An almost identical object may be observed on an Egyptian boat (sixth dynasty), copied from a carving on the walls of the tomb of Api at Saggâra,[1] apparently connected with the apparatus for steering. No other objects of attributive nature are shown in connection with these

[1] G. Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," 1901, p. 393.

rock-carved ships: no oars, rudders, row-locks, masts, or sails.

These carvings show not only two types of ships, but also two types of men: the one somewhat stout and stunted of leg, the other tall, slender, in a tight vest and trousers. The former is mostly associated with rural scenes, ploughing and the like[1]; the latter principally with the high-prow ships. One is tempted to see in this type the *miles bracatus* of Gaul.

Archæologists are mostly agreed that these carvings probably date from the bronze age. They represent a weapon, the sword, which did not yet exist in the stone age, and in a form not used in the iron age, but quite typical for the bronze age. The originals copied by the rock-carver must have been without a guard, but two-edged, and rather broader about the middle than up by the grip; these are the typical peculiarities by which the sword of the bronze age distinguishes itself from the guard-hilted, one-edged, mostly straight-bladed sword of the iron age.

Opinions are divided as to the nationality of the type of the high stem and stern-posts—the other, of which a whole fleet, apparently drawn up in line of battle, is seen on a rock-face at Tegneby, Bohuslän, Sweden, seems a genuine Northern type. From the fact that Phenician ships, as represented on ancient coins of Tyre and Sidon, show a striking similarity to the former type, some archæologists have concluded that Phenecians once upon a time established themselves on the Baltic. Professor Montelius discountenances the idea on the ground that the bronze culture found its way up to the North overland from the shores of the Mediterranean, particularly the Adriatic.

But perhaps the culture of bronze found its way north

[1] I exclude from this type the nine oddities by which one boat is manned, five of which seem to be engaged in the act of fanning. They seem to have an air of magic about them. All, but the excessively thickset animal-headed foreman, seem to be meant for females.

both by land and sea. We do not know how the ships were built which brought Pytheas of Marseilles up to the Baltic and Norway in the fourth century B.C. But his journey was undertaken in the interest of the commercial community of Marseilles,[1] who must have learnt from somewhere that the Baltic trade was worth the cost of such an expedition; that means that, before the days of Pytheas, Gauls and Scandinavians met on trading terms presumably on the Baltic shores.

Here I should like to draw attention to Cæsar's highly teresting account of the most advanced people he came contact with in Gaul—the Veneti, whose chief city was riorigum, now Vannes, in Morbihan. First he de-ibes their towns and habitations. This was about the nner in which their towns were situated:

> They were placed at the outermost edge of tongues of land and nesses, and neither was there access to them on foot when the flood-tide had arisen, which happens twice in the space of every twelve (twenty-four) hours, nor by ships, since with the tide ebbing they might come to grief on the shallows.[2]

About the sea power of these people Cæsar says:

> This state exercises by far the most extensive influence of any throughout the whole sea-board of these regions, both because the Veneti have a large number of ships in which they are in the habit of sailing to Britain, and because they excel all the rest as to knowledge and skill in matters nautical, and because, in consequence of the great violence of the vast and open sea with harbours few and far between which they control themselves, they hold as tributaries almost all those who resort to making use of this water-way.[3]

[1] Elton, "Origins of Engl. History," p. 12 ff.

[2] Erant eius modi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promontoriisque neque pedibus aditum haberent cum ex alto se æstus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum xii spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minuente æstu naves in vadis afflictarentur. Cæsar, B.G. III. 12.

[3] Huius est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu rerum nauticarum ceteros antecedunt et in magno impetu maris vasti atque aperti, paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. l.c. III. 8.

Lastly, he gives the following account of their ships:—

> For their ships were built and fitted out in this way: their keels were somewhat flatter than those of our own ships, that they might the more easily encounter shallows and the ebbing of the tide; the prows, being *very much raised and the sterns in a like manner*, were adapted to heavy seas and high gales; the ships were wholly made of oak, so as to be able to bear any strain and buffeting; the thwarts were made of planks a foot broad, and were fastened by iron bolts an inch thick; the anchors were attached by iron chains instead of cables; for sails they had skins and soft-tanned thin leather, either because of want of flax and ignorance of the use of it, or, which is more probable, because they thought ordinary sails could not stand the great tempests of the ocean and the stress of high winds, nor could such heavy ships be quite conveniently manœuvred by means of them.[1]

This, then, is the state of things on the western coast of France in the century immediately preceding the Christian era. This eminence in ship-building and sea-power must have been attained by a very long process of evolution. Improvement in ship-building invariably means extension of sea-voyaging. It stands to reason that the Veneti must have known how to thread their way along the shores of their own continent practically to any distance to which prospect of commercial gain was ready to pilot them, seeing that from the Bay of Morbihan (which presumably was their chief base) they were in the habit of sailing over to Britain across the northern waters of the broad and boisterous Bay of Biscay. In view of the impetus given to commercial enterprise by

[1] Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factæ armatæque erant: Carinæ aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, qno facilius vada ac decessum æstus excipere possent; proræ admodum erectæ atque item puppes, ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatæ; naves totæ factæ ex robore ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam; transtra ex pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus, confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; anchoræ pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctæ; pelles pro velis alutæque tenuiter confectæ, hæc sive propter inopiam lini atque eius usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. l.c. III. 13.

the journey of Pytheas to the amber-bearing tracts of the coasts of the North Sea, to the Baltic, and further up to Norway, I do not see what cogent reasons can be urged against the assumption that the Veneti may have been in communication with the North even for a very long time previous to their disastrous acquaintance with the ruthless conqueror of Gaul. The peculiarity in the build of their ships which he considered so noteworthy, the *proæ admodum erectæ atque item puppes*, is just the most striking feature of the rock-carved vessels. As hinted above, the opinion prevails among Northern archæologists that the high-posted, rock-carved ships must be foreign. Considering the information supplied by Cæsar, and the evidence of probability at present available, the Veneti seem to possess as good a title to them as any other foreigner.

By way of digression I feel tempted to ask:—Is it at all likely that the Veneti have anything to do with the Vanir of Northern mythology? To this no positive answer can be given at present. The stems of the two names are identical. I have shown already that probably the rock-carvings represent sea-fights, and two types of men, as well as two types of ships. According to Vøluspá, 23, 24, the *casus belli* between Odin's folk, the Æsir, and the Vanir was "afráð," vectigal, tribute. On the stone of Tjängvide, in Gotland, we find on the lower panel represented, as I think, a foreign ship,[1] with stem and stern posts enormously high; on the upper, Odin, seated on Sleipnir with his right arm raised for a throw (of a spear); this seems to remind one of: "Odin hurled, into the host he shot," that being his answer to the question of paying the "afráð." Freyja, Niord's daughter, was a sacrificial priestess, "hofgyðja" (among the Vanir), and the first to teach among the Æsir enchant-

[1] The whole sail is covered with network. Does that, by chance, represent a sail of skin on to which, in the form of a net, are stitched cords for the purpose of giving additional strength to a material that never could have served its purpose very effectively?

ments after the wont of the Vanir. With this may be compared the following from Pomponius Mela:—

> Sena in the British sea, opposite to the shores of the Ossismii, is famous for the oracle of a Gallic divinity, the priestesses of which, sacred to a perpetual state of virginity, are said to be *nine in number*. They are called *Gallicenæ*, and are supposed to be endowed with singular genius; to put in commotion sea and winds by means of incantations; and to change themselves into whatever animal they please; and to cure disorders that to others are incurable; and to know and to predict things yet to come; but that they only devote themselves to sea-faring people and those who have journeyed solely for the purpose of consulting them.[1]

It seems clear that this "Gallicum numen" must have been a guardian divinity of the interests of sailors *(navigantes)*, to whom only the wizard "antistites" of its oracle were "devotae." By their "carmina" these priestesses controlled wind and sea, the empire of the divinity they served. We have seen above (page 191) that NIORD, the god the Æsir adopted from the Vanir, was worshipped as the swayer of wind and sea, and as the propitious dispenser of favours to sailors and fishermen. In their functions, therefore, Niord and the "numen" here in question would seem to cover each other. This is not all: Niord had *nine* daughters who were skilled in runes, *i.e.*, in magic: "*Hér 'ro rúnar, er ristit hafa Njarðar dætr nío.*" "Here are runes written in by daughters nine of Niord," Sólarljóð, 79. The relation between Niord's and Ægir's, obviously late, nine daughters cannot be discussed here. The shape-changing power recalls strikingly not only Odin's skill in that respect

[1] Sena in Britannico mari, Ossismicis adversa litoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est: cuius antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur. *Gallicenas* vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas; maria ac ventos concitare carminibus; seque in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et prædicare, sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent, profectis.—Chorogr. iii. 6.

"Ossismii" was the name of the people who occupied territory north-west of that which in Cæsar's time was held by the Veneti. "Galli Senas vocant" is a conjectural reading adopted by some editors without MS. authority.

(taught him by Freyja, who first introduced among the Æsir the science of wizardry),[1] but especially the sorcery of the Finns up in northernmost Norway, with whom shape-changing was a speciality of magic. Are we to take it that *gall* in "Gallicenae" is allied to or identical with the Celt. stem *gal* in "galô,"[2] I call; Ir. "gall," cygnus, whooping swan; Cymr. "galw," vocare; Bret. "galvaden," cri d'appel; "gàlu," appel.[3] If so, are we not warranted in assuming that the common Teutonic stem *gal-* (Scand. "gala," cantare; "galdr," carmen, incantatio) is a very ancient Celtic immigrant, like, *e.g.*, *rik, rig, reich*. As to "cen-a," is that a term of Vulgar Latin formed from the stem of Celt.-Ir. "can-im," I sing, in analogy with the classical *cen* in "tibi-cen"? If so, "cenæ" would mean "cantantes," or "cantatrices," presumably of that which *gall-* in Galli implied=incantatio, "Gallicenæ" therefore=carminum, incantationum cantatrices?

I have to content myself at present with thus far drawing attention to these points.

The earliest *literary* account of Northern ships, so far as I know, was penned in Rome, probably in the course of the latter half of the first century of our era. In the 44th chapter of his "Germania" Tacitus (ob. A.D. 108), passing from the account of the various nations who inhabited the southern littoral of the Baltic, goes on to that of the states of the Suiones "in the very ocean." "Besides in men and arms," he says, "they are powerful in fleets. The build of the ships differs (from that of Roman ships) in this, that at either end there is a prow so shaped as always to be ready for landing; they neither make use of sails nor adjust the oars in a row to the sides; as in certain river boats, the rowing is loose and changes either way as necessity demands."[4]

[1] Ynglinga Saga, Heimskringla (F. Jónsson), ch. 4.

[2] W. Stokes, "Urkeltischer Sprachschatz," p. 107.

[3] Victor Henry, "Dict. étymologique du Breton moderne."

[4] Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam semper

The Suionum civitates, say the commentators of Tacitus, probably truly, are the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula. At the time of Tacitus the ships of these people, then, had two prows, but no stern. The real meaning of Tacitus' statement that both stems were equally suited for landing must be that the ships were not steered by a rudder, but were kept in their course by means of paddling, and this Tacitus himself proves by his description of the "remigium solutum et mutabile ut res poscit hinc vel illinc," and by adding that it is a method of rowing followed on certain river-boats. When the course of ships of this description was reversed there was no need for turning round the craft; the only thing that turned round were the paddling crew on their seats. It was but natural that such ships should carry no sail, and Tacitus' description of the "*remigium*" proves that his statement in respect of the sail is perfectly true; for without a rudder the sail is impossible. Here the steering was done by the paddlers themselves, who had their eyes constantly fixed on their goal, and plied their paddles accordingly. The expression "*classibus valent*" clearly indicates that Tacitus was thinking of war vessels, and seems to preclude the idea that he had monoxylous craft in his mind; nor, if that had been the case, is it likely that he would have omitted to mention the fact, seeing that he evidently had his eye on the points

adpulsui frontem agit, nec velis ministrant, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium.

It is not quite obvious what the exact meaning may be of one or two points in this statement. "Solutum remigium" seems to be explained by "nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt," which points to the ships as unprovided with both row-locks and oar-straps; hence the rowing was free-handed, the oar being independent of any attachment to the gunwale. This, I think, is tolerably certain. But "mutabile hinc vel illinc" can mean either: changeable "from side to side," according as gyrations should call for correction, or: "in this or that direction," when reversion of course was in question, or, it may mean both. Perhaps the second sense has most in its favour. Cf. "mille naves sufficere visæ . . . plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, *converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent*." Tacitus, Ann. II. 6.

wherein the build of the "naves Suionum" differed from that of Roman ships. It seems therefore safe to assume that he himself thought he was describing strake-built vessels. These ships, being war vessels, would be too broad for a single row of paddlers, seated in the middle of the thwarts, to ply each his double-bladed paddle on either side of the boat, an arrangement which would have made a sea-battle next to impossible. Therefore, I take it, the paddlers were seated along either side, each with a one-bladed paddle, leaving the middle of the boat free for the fighters to move in. As yet, then, rowing, rudder, mast, and sail would seem to have been unknown in the North.

From the time of Tacitus till the rise of Icelandic literature, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, I am not aware that anything in the way of real description in writing exists relating to the construction of Northern ships.

But chance has favoured us at different dates in modern times with finds of remains of boats built during the long period that intervenes between Tacitus and the literary era of the North, and these finds give us the best information possible about the state of naval architecture at the time from which they date.

Leaving out of account the many instances of discoveries of faint traces of buried ships which have been made in various localities about Scandinavia, I shall confine myself to the finds of Nydam, Tune, and Gokstad. A new ship-find at Tönsberg, on the Christiania fjord, I must leave out of account, as it still awaits description.

In the year 1859 the oldest naval relic in the North was found in the peat bog of Nydam, near Flensborg. in the Duchy of Sleswick. It was only a part of an oar, the remaining fragment of which was discovered in 1862. In the following year, on August 7th, some remains of a boat were dug out, and on October 18th that year the famous Nydam boat of oak was discovered, and on October 29th a boat of fir was dug up on the same site.

The first of these three boats was in a very bad state of preservation. But from the fragments obtained of it, it could be concluded that the build of it was executed on the same principle as that of the other two.

The fir boat was fairly preserved, but in pieces, which were secured from their bed and placed on dry land, covered over with peat, in order to protect the soaked timber against the effects of the air until the restoration of the oaken boat should be completed.

In the meantime, however, the war broke out; the German victors left the relic to take care of itself, and what with exposure "to weather and the Vandalism of strangers," the invaluable find has been irretrievably destroyed. This boat was built on the same principle as the oak boat in all essential particulars but one: the keel plank, fifty-one feet four inches long, terminated at either end in a kind of pointed spur, slightly bent upwards, and stretching out about five feet beyond the point where stem and stern-posts were joined to the keel. On account of its slight upward turn from the horizontal line of the keel this spur would always be below water, the deeper the more heavily laden the boat happened to be. This is a most interesting characteristic. It is possible that it may betray traditional connection with the somewhat similar arrangement which we noticed in one type of the rock-carved ships; and it seems to be removed beyond doubt that this spur was intended for the purpose of ramming an antagonist somewhere between waterline and garboard-strakes. Thus this boat, which now exists only in the careful drawings of Professor Engelhardt, stands a unique witness to the fact that, even in the early younger iron age, the idea of disabling a hostile ship by means of ramming had entered into the science of naval warfare.

The oak boat, which is known as *the* Nydam boat, was discovered on the same site as the preceding, and close to it. Both rested at the bottom of the bog, beneath a peat soil of from 4 to 7 feet thick. All the iron details had been utterly dissolved by the water, but clear indi-

cations were obtained of the manner in, and the extent to, which iron had been employed in the building of the craft. By the dissolution of the iron and other fastenings the strakes had fallen out flat on the bottom, the stem and stern-posts likewise, and the ribs lay about in various positions. The boat had been deliberately sunk, as large holes were found cut through the strakes on one side below the water-line. It was complete, and had only to be put together again; and so reconstructed by an expert Copenhagen restorer of antiquities, Mr. Stephensen, it may now be seen in the Museum at Kiel.

It is a boat of 45¾ feet of straight keel, and 69½ feet from stem to stern between the points where gunwale and posts meet. The keel plank is 2 feet in width, but there is next to *no external keel*. Five clinker-worked strakes on either side, each 15 to 20 inches broad, secured to each other by burred iron nails, formed the hull of the craft, which at its widest is 10¾ feet. The depth of the vessel amidships is 4 feet 1 inch, rising at fore and aft posts to 6 feet 10 inches. In form the stem and the stern of this boat are *identical*. It has 14 oars aside, abnormally short for the size of the vessel, the longest 11 feet, and row-locks, with oar-straps attached, had been secured to the top of the gunwale by means of bast-ropes; an arrangement which must have made rowing both a weak and an interrupted performance. Being a rowing boat she was provided with a rudder, in the shape of a broad-bladed (18in.) oar, 9 feet 7 inches long. The ribs or frames are made of one piece of wood, naturally grown so bent or crooked as to serve their purpose. They must have been very difficult to procure, and very costly, to judge by the experience of modern ship-builders, who find pieces of naturally-grown wood suitable for knees about the most expensive articles in a wooden ship.

Beneath every rib there are left standing in each plank two knobs, of 2½ inches in height, with a hole drilled through them, and through the ribs, right over these knobs, are run corresponding holes from side to side;

by a bast-rope run through these holes the strakes were fastened to the ribs. To this and other peculiarities about this boat I shall revert presently. Nothing in or about the boat was found indicative of mast or sailing apparatus.

In close proximity to this Nydam boat was found a hoard of Roman coins, 34 in number, minted between A.D. 69 and 217. How long it took the last dated coin to travel from the Roman mint to Nydam bog it is impossible to say. Guesses as to the age from which the boat may date assign it to the third, at the latest to the fourth, century of our era.

Points particularly noticeable about this craft are:

(*a*) The almost total absence of external keel.
(*b*) The identical formation of stem and stern.
(*c*) The shortness of the oars.
(*d*) The arrangement of the row-locks.
(*e*) The mode of attaching the strakes to the ribs.

This is the earliest extant specimen of a strake-built, iron-riveted, floating craft in the North. Between the building of it and the date of Tacitus' description of the ships of the Suiones there lies a period of time, possibly not exceeding 250 years. Like those ships this is distinguished by not being a sailing craft. The absence of external keel (*a*) I take to be a traditional family feature come down from the coracle ancestor. The identity in form of stem and stern (*b*) shows that as yet the old form of the paddled ships of the Suiones was traditionally maintained, although rowing had now been invented. That the art of rowing was still in its infancy is evidenced by the fact that (*c*) the oars are so abnormally short in proportion to the size of the boat; also by the row-lock arrangement (*d*). The row-lock rises, like a short bent horn, from a block of wood, which, fitted lengthwise to the top of the gunwale, is tied to it at either end by a bast-rope, holes being made through the gunwale for the purpose. No matter how tightly this row-lock block was fixed, it was bound, under rowing, to slide on its gunwale

base in answer to the impact of the oar stroke, and to wear out its bast fastening in a short time.

Why the row-lock block should not have been secured firmly by means of iron nails or bolts to the gunwale seems, at first sight, so strange as to defy explanation. But when a vessel has two prows and no stern, properly speaking, strange things must happen in the transit of one mode of propulsion into another. I have explained above (page 209) that when the course of a paddled ship had to be reversed there was no need for any turning round of the craft, since her fore and aft were prows of identical form; only the paddlers turned round on their seats. Here is a boat of the same construction. Traditional custom is often strong out of all proportion to its reasonableness or expediency. Might not, therefore, the row-lock arrangement mean this, that when the boat's course was reversed, instead of turning her round by means of the short oars and the slight help of the rudder-oar, which, in so heavy a ship would have been somewhat of a time-losing process, the rowers simply turned round on their benches, undid the row-lock block, and reversed its position? This is Professor Engelhardt's theory also, I observe, although he arrives at it from a standpoint different from mine.

But perhaps the most interesting feature about this most remarkable of all boats is (*e*) the mode in which the strakes are attached to the frame timbers, the ribs, as described above. On this peculiarity Professor Engelhardt remarks:

> This is again a fact highly surprising in a nation familiar with the use of iron, and able to work it so well as their damascene swords prove that they could. At the same time, it is possible that a loose connection between the framework and the planking of the boat served to give more elasticity to the sides, and that boats built in this manner went through the surf and great waves more easily than those more strongly built.

This I beg leave to doubt. Here again I think we have to deal with traditional custom modified by the con-

ditions of a new building material. In a boat built wholly of wood the strake covering answers the purpose and takes over the function of the hide-covering of the earlier coracle. For I take it for granted that the coracle was the immediate ancestor of the strake-built craft. We have seen above (page 198) how coracles were built: the framework being first finished and the hide cover put on afterwards. On the same principle, and by the same process of construction, the Nydam boat was evidently put together, as is proved by the fact that the above-mentioned knobs on the inside of the strakes, with holes made through them, correspond exactly with the lateral perforations of the ribs; those perforations must have been made *before* the strakes were fitted to their position. What happened was obviously this: to the keel were first fitted the stem and stern-posts; then the ribs were adjusted at their fixed intervals, next came the planks on which, where the perforated knobs were to be left standing when the rest of each plank was cut down to its regulated thinness, were made marks showing the distances of the ribs that this or that plank would cover, as well as the distances between the holes made through the ribs up from the bottom to the top. As the hide in the coracle was secured by means of sewing material to the frame-timbers to prevent its slipping about, so the wooden strakes were secured to the in-timbers by means of bast-ropes, to prevent them bulging out under weight-pressure, and breaking away from the rivets or disturbing the water-tightness of their jointures. I will finally remark that the price of iron at the time may have had most to do with the use of the old binding material, the bast, where, to us, at this time, it seems obvious that iron bolts should have been used in preference.

By a wide jump we come from the Nydam boat to the ship unearthed at the manor of "Haugen i Tune, near Sarpsborg, on the river Glommen, south-eastern Norway, in 1867." In respect of straight keel, this is a boat by about 4 feet smaller than the Nydam craft and, like it,

is built of oak strakes, but some details are made of other kinds of wood. The clincher-joined strakes are secured to the ribs by the same means and contrivance as in the Nydam boat, with the exception, however, that the topmost planks are fixed by wooden nails to the knees inside. It differs from the Sleswick boat further in being a sailing boat, consequently having external keel and higher free-board, 12 strakes forming the hull of it. So here we have the first specimen of a sailing craft in the North. That it was a rowing boat as well goes without saying, but how the rowing apparatus was contrived could not be ascertained on account of the decayed state of the wood-work.

A much better preserved find was the longship discovered in 1880, near the manor of Gokstad in Sandefjord, Southern Norway. This is an oak-built war-galley with upwards of 65 feet of straight keel and 77 feet from stem to stern, width amidships 16¾ feet, and depth at the same point 5½ feet, rising to 8½ at either stem. The hull counts 16 strakes aside, each 7 to 9 inches wide and ¾ inch thick, all clincher-worked by means of burred iron rivets. It had 16 oars aboard, varying in length, the longest measuring some 17 feet. But for the purpose of rowing, instead of row-locks adjusted to the top of the gunwale, it provides oar-holes through the fourteenth strake, each with a slit in its aft-side for the blade of the oar to pass through in being run out or drawn in. These oar-holes, moreover, were provided with shutters, working on a pin, and fitted with a catch, by which they could be closed when the oars were not in use.

In common with the Tune boats, this one also has its strakes tied to the ribs by means of the knob arrangement described in the Nydam boat; only, in the choice of the lashing material there is a new departure, in that, instead of bast, withes from roots of trees are employed. So that still as late as about 900 the old tradition from coracle antiquity lives on, regarding and treating the

straked hull as the wooden "hide," the waterproof covering of the all-important framework, the ribs, tie-beams, knees, etc.

A striking novelty in the Norwegian boats is the change of the position of the rudder from loose to fixed. Of this the Gokstad boat gives the best illustration. On the right-hand side buttock of the boat there are fixed two wooden cushions or blocks, one up by the railing, the other 2½ feet lower down; the topmost presents a flat surface, with a semi-cylindric perpendicular incision; the bottommost ends in a cone-formed top. A line drawn from the surface of one block to that of the other would run parallel with a line drawn perpendicularly on the keel of the craft, and that is the line the rudder occupies. For at the top its neck goes through a loop or grummet drawn through two holes, made at either side of the semi-cylindric incision in the top block, and running right through the railing, while through a hole in the rudder blade, exactly corresponding with one made through the conical block and the board of the ship, a cord with a knot at its further end was drawn which secured the rudder blade firmly to tne cone. On the top of this cone, in obedience to the tiller, which fitted into a hole in the neck at right angle with the plane of the blade, the rudder moved easily, putting the ship on a starboard tack when the helmsman drew the tiller to him, and on a tack to port when he reversed the movement.

A feature quite new in the Gokstad ship is the introduction of the "dead-wood," a block which, fitted to the obtuse angle where the stem and stern-posts meet the keel, is both lashed and fastened by two rows of nails to either. This is the earliest instance I know of the use of this standing feature of the architecture of wooden ships even to this day (the lashing, of course, excepted).

Caulking was done even in the days when the Nydam boat was built; it then consisted of wool mixed up with

some sticky substance not otherwise specified. In the boat of Tune the caulking is effected by loose ox hair, while in the Gokstad boat this hair is spun and twisted into a three-stranded cord, which, no doubt, was saturated with tar before being used.

By this time,—indeed a very considerable time before,—the art of ship-building in the North, from a very humble beginning, had reached such a state of consummation that practically the world's "wayless waters" had now been turned into waterways; what still was lacking was but improvement in detail on a safe and secured basis; for even the very important adoption of the bowsprit and the jib, together with the mainsail, was, I have no doubt, suggested by the varied experience obtained through the manœuvring of the square sail for the purpose of catching side winds, beating.

We may very well allow the Gokstad ship the honour to stand as a general type for the Scandinavian ships as we know them from the Sagas. On passing now over to the names of their various kinds and some of the terms connected with them, I will wind up this portion of my paper by adding that in building a ship, in historical times, three chief classes of smiths or ship-wrights seem to have been employed: the *head-smith* (höfuð-smiðr), the *stem-smith* (stafna-smiðr),[1] the constructor of the framework, and the *strake-smith* (*filungr*, *cf.* fjöl, a board). There were, besides, *joiners* ("sumir et fella"), *carpenters* ("sumir at telgja"), *black-smiths* or *nail-makers* ("sumir saum at slá"), and lastly the unskilled *workmen* ("sumir til at flytja viðu").

The ships themselves may, not inconveniently, be classified according to the various purposes they were built for, which after all comes to much the same as grouping them according to size. We get thus the *boat class* proper, comprising the smallest craft; the *ship of burden class*,

[1] The story of Thorberg *Shavehew* (Saga of Olaf Tryggvisson, Snorri, ch. 88) makes it clear that the stafna-smiðr occupied an inferior position to the höfuðsmiðr.

including ocean-going merchantmen; and the *navy class*, the warships.

To the boat class "bátr" belong the various open rowing boats, whose size attains, however, considerable dimensions in the largest of them; the size here is determined by the number of oars: four-oarer, "ferærðr"; six-oarer, "sexæringr"; eight-oarer, "áttæringr"; twelve-oarer, "tólfæringr." But lesser boats than four-oarers, of course, there were.

The after-boat, "eftirbátr," or cock-boat, was naturally a very small craft; it went also under the name of "skipsbátr," ship's-boat. Whether it had any typical form of its own cannot, that I am aware, be ascertained. A very old name for a boat is "beit"; it is the genuine old Scandinavian term, while "bátr" is an Anglo-Saxon very early loan-word.

The craft that goes under the name of "ferja," also "róðrarferja" seems to have belonged to what I call the boat group. It is mentioned as doing not only the ordinary service of a rowing boat, but also that of a transport and victualling craft, which, for such a service, must have been of considerable size. "Róðrarferja," rowing ferry, distinguishes a ferry, so-called, from a river-ferry, not, as might be supposed, from a "sailing ferry," which is never mentioned.

The "kœna" was of old probably, as even now it is, a very tiny craft. The word is formally related to Icelandic "kane," a small wooden vessel, Norwegian "kane," a wooden bowl with ears, even as "hœna," hen, is to "hane," a cock.

"Karfi" is one of those objects which, from small beginnings, develop into something more considerable in course of time. It is taken by some antiquaries to be a foreign importation, from Latin "carabus," which in its turn was borrowed from Greek "κάραβος," a sea-crab, a boat. Isidor[1] describes the "carabus" as a small wicker-boat covered with raw hide. Similar names

[1] Etymol. XIX., c. i. 26.

for, apparently, the same object are found in Finn. "karpa," basket, little boat; "karvas"; Quenic. "karvas"; Russ. "karbas"; Lapp. "garbe," "garbas," and V. Gay[1] mentions "corbe," as the name of fishing-boats in the Low-Countries. Surely the similarity of these forms to Scand. "karfa," Swed. "korg," Dan. "kurv," Germ. "korb," Lat. "corbis," a basket, is not altogether accidental. Once upon a time the northern "karfi" must have been a term for a very small crank vessel. In the compound "eikjukarfi" the second element is really a sort of translation or interpretation of the first, which we have already seen (page 190), was a tiny monoxylous sort of ferry boat; so that the "karfi," as to size and quality, was looked upon as but another edition, as it were, of "eikja." Sigvat, Olaf the Holy's marshal, was highly disgusted with the "karfi" as a river ferry, calling it "a cranky karfi," a "hlægiskip," ridiculous tub; had never seen a worse one, "sákat ek verra."[2] The main peculiarity of this craft is taken off very tellingly in the compound "karfa-fótr,"[3] the tottering foot of one reeling from drunkenness. The vast geographical spread of this name for a small crank boat points to its having been, once upon a time, a coracle in universal use throughout the continent of Europe.

But in Norway, at any rate, the "karfi" also attained dimensions which placed it in class with the largest boats, or even with the lesser sea-going ships. Mention is made of "karfar" with from six to sixteen oars aboard.[4]

"Nökkvi" (A.S. naca, O.H.G. nahho, M.H.G. nache, Germ. nachen, Fr. accon) occurs chiefly as a boat with one man on board, and connected with trolls and giants. The author of Balder's myth[5] calls "Hringhorni" the ship of this god, a "nökkvi," adding that it was the

[1] Gloss. archéol.

[2] Heimskringla (F. Jónsson) II. ch. 91. [3] Ib. ch. 83.

[4] Egils Saga (F. Jónsson) p. 200, 113; Grett. S. (1859) p. 36; Heimskr. II. 77, 128.

[5] Snorres Edda I., 176.

largest of ships. This type of ship has been dead for ages, and the fantastic records of it belong to folklore literature. It plays really no particular role in Northern shipping tradition, and of its build no description is given.

"Barki" occurs once or twice, and is described by Snorri as a foreign ship's boat. The Latin name, "barca," seems to be mentioned for the first time by Paulinus Nolanus, about A.D. 400 (Kluge). The craft is defined by Isidore [1] as a small ship's boat. Supposed to be of Celtic origin, and certainly occurs both early and frequently in Irish records.

Next in size above the boat class of floating craft was probably the "byrðingr," ship of burthen, frequently doing the service of a transport boat, "vista-byrðingr" (victualling boat). In dealing with Asbiorn Sealsbane's ship of this description, Snorri says that it was "haf-fœranda skip," a ship that could be used as an ocean-going craft, implying that there were such "byrðingar" as were not ocean-going. This particular one was a sailing ship, and had a striped sail and all rigging carefully found.[2] One portion of Harald Sigurdsson's fleet of well-nigh 240 sail, going to England, consisted of "vistabyrðingar."[3] But generally these boats were used in home waters for coastal service.

"Skúta" is a very frequently mentioned craft, which was both a rowing and a sailing vessel, and when it was exclusively propelled by oars was called "róðrarskúta." It was clearly, as a type of ship, a good deal smaller than the "snekkja," as we learn from Egil's Saga: Egil and his men pushed the "skúta" into the shallow sound, but there the "snekkjur" could not float.[4] It seems to have been used chiefly in home waters for coasting service. It was frequently used for warlike purposes, but does not seem, however, to have been exactly classed as a longship. Its size varied a good deal, for there are

[1] Etymol. XIX., c. i, 19. [2] Heimskr. II. 244.
[3] Ib. III. 193. [4] F. Jónsson's ed. p 196.

skútur mentioned with ten or twelve, and others with fifteen oars aside, this being, I think, the largest mentioned. What distinguished this craft from the larger boats was mainly the proportion between length and width of hull. As the name indicates, it was built for speed, for "skúta" is radically allied to "skjótr," swift, "skjóta," to shoot, to pass swiftly. The name is still common in all the Scandinavian languages (Swed. *skuta*, Icel, *skúta*, Norw. *skuta*, Dan. *skude*), and means everywhere a small decked vessel. Kluge maintains Engl. "skute" (obs.), Dutch "schuit," Germ. "schüte" are all derived from the Scandinavian form; and the same would apply to O. Fr. "escute."

The regular ocean-going ship was the "knörr," both in the capacity of merchantman and of a man-of-war. Prominent mention of these ships is made even as early as the reign of Harald Fairhair. His court poet, Hornklofi, calls the ships that were engaged in the great sea-battle of Hafursfiord, 872 "knerrir," adding that they were adorned with yawning heads and graven "prow-plates." Most probably he himself was present at the battle, and, at any rate, his poem is an original contemporary doument, and therefore a good vouch for the early existence of this kind of ship in the North. The name would seem to be a genuine Scandinavian one and the A.S. "cnear" a loan-word from the North. This also seems borne out by Ordericus Vitalis, who in his ecclesiastical history, under 1095, has a story to tell of "quatuor naves magnæ quas Canardos vocant" coming "*de Northvegia in Angliam.*" This evidently means that the subjects of "vocant" are Norwegians, as well as those who repeat the Norwegian name of the ship; and no Scandinavian name for a ship, but "knörr," could in Latin assume the form of "canardus." This was essentially a sailing ship, though, no doubt, oars could be used on them in case of need. It must be presumed that of this type were the ocean-going ships which so frequently are mentioned as awaiting fair wind in harbour, often for a long time,

before it was found practicable to put to sea. Of this type must have been the "haf-skip," ocean-going ships, of which we hear so often, the name implying that they were distinct from home-waters' ships. The distinguishing feature about their build was that they were broader and of a higher free-board than any other class of the larger ships. This becomes evident from the description of the "Long Worm," Olaf Tryggvisson's great war-galley, to which I shall revert below.

Coming to the warships proper, the "langskip," we have only to deal with two types, the "snekkja" and the "skeið," the latter of which, under conditions to which I shall refer later, could be a "dreki," dragon. Generally, I think we may take it, the longship was a craft built for propulsion with oars. A naval expedition is always "rowed," "róa leiðangr," never "sailed." This is a stereotyped phrase in the old laws of Norway, and can only mean that, when it came into existence, the propelling force on board men-of-war was confined to rowers. This changed in course of time so far that warships made use of sails as well as oars. Being built for speed and for the accommodation on board of as many fighting men as possible, the main characteristic of these ships, the *length*, is naturally accounted for; and there seems to be no urgent reason for the supposition that we have here to deal with an imitation of the "navis longa" of the Romans. As the longship was propelled with only one row of oars, its free-board was much less than that of ocean-going vessels. The biggest longship ever built in Norway up to A.D. 1000, the "Long Worm," was "high of bulwark," *i.e.*, unusually so, "and," Snorri adds, "the bulwarks were as high as in a ship built for sailing the main," which clearly indicates that longships of lesser size fell short of that standard of free-board. They were not ocean-going craft, they were built principally for duty on the island-sheltered seas of the Scandinavian coasts and the comparatively quiet waters of the Baltic. During the colonisation of Iceland

not a single longship is mentioned as crossing the "Iceland main."

Of the longships the "snekkia" (O.Sw. *snækkia*, mod. Sw. *snäcka*, Dan. *snække*, A.S. *snacca*) is the smallest, being most frequently mentioned as a "tvítugsessa," twenty-bencher, *i.e.*, a craft of forty oars all told. Exceptionally, however, the number of benches ran up to thirty, as in the case of Tryggvisson's war-galley the "Crane." This was, perhaps, a specially Swedish type of warship, as may be inferred from the fact that, in the old Swedish laws, it seems to be the standing term for a man-of-war, while "skeið" and "dreki" are never mentioned. Perhaps, too, the name is purely Swedish, "snäcka" being a Swedish term for various kinds of shells. It is noticeable that the type of warships used by the Wends is generally called "snekkja" or "Vinda snekkja." With 660 such the Wendish duke Ratibor made a raid on Kings' Rock, now Kongälf, in 1135, each "snekkja" carrying 44 men and two horses, which probably indicates a size corresponding to "tvítugsessa." In course of time, it would seem, this type of ship developed into an ocean-going size. It became known to Frenchmen, who gave the name of it the form of "esneke," "esneque" (besides the Latinized *isnechia*, *ilnechia*, *hilnachia*). A passage from Bishop Jacques de Vitry's "Historia Orientalis," relating to the siege of Acre in 1191, is instructive:—

> When few days had gone by there came Danes, Normans, Francs, Scots and other people . . . in welcome (?) ships which are called Necchiæ.[1]

where necchiæ is evidently a Frenchman's rendering of "snekkjur." If critics are right in changing *iocundæ* into *rotundæ*, which is doubtful, then the adjective would be indicative of the "snekkja" having evolved, in the twelfth century, into a ship of burden.

The typical longship was the "skeið." It is generally

[1] Diebus paucis evolutis venerunt Daci, Normanni, Franci, Scoti, et ceteræ gentes . . . navibus iocundis quæ Necchiæ dicuntur." Martene, "Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum," Tom. III. col. 283.

referred to as a twenty or thirty bencher. The great "skeið" belonging to the magnate of Sole, Erling Skjalgsson, told up two-and-thirty benches. If Olaf Tryggvisson's famous warship, the "Long Worm," was a "skeið"—I don't know what else it could have been—then that is the largest specimen of the pure *skeið*-type known, counting four-and-thirty benches. As to the meaning of this term, which in A.S. meets us in the form of "scegð," in Russian in that of "skedii,"[1] and which some linguists derive from Greek σχεδία, raft, float, I am inclined to derive it from "skíð," a thin board of wood. "Skeið," in the sense of wooden spoon, a ladle, must, at any rate, be derivable from "skíð." I am disinclined to think that "skeið" in the sense of ship can have a different origin. The original sense then should have been the boarded, the straked craft.

As to the "dreki," dragon, the question is: Was it a special type of warship or merely a "skeið" with a dragon's head fitted to the prow, and a dragon's tail to the stern? Before answering the question definitely let us see how the "dreki" stands in relation to time. In the course of the winter A.D. 868 Snorri states that Harald Fairhair "let build a great dragon-ship (dreka mikinn), and fit it out in the noblest fashion." It is a remarkable thing that this, the first *great* dragon mentioned in Northern history, and built by the greatest lord on record in the North, is left undescribed altogether. This is the more striking when we compare the graphic accounts given of *all* the other dragon ships mentioned by the old historians. No less surprising is the fact that this alleged great dragon of Fairhair produces no imitation at all. For one hundred and thirty years after 868 there is no mention of a dragon ship; and when the dragon type of ship comes into vogue, the primary pattern of the much admired innovation comes from a magnate in Halogaland, Raud the Strong. It is perfectly clear that the Halogaland dragon took Olaf Tryggvisson and the

[1] Nestor, Schlösser, IV. 17, 28, quoted by J. Fritzner.

people of Norway by admiring surprise, for after the fashion of the "Short Worm," as Olaf called the dragon, he let build the "Long Worm," which in turn became the pattern of King Harald Sigurdsson's greatest warship, and King Eystein Magnusson's as well. I think it is also possible that the greatest of all dragons on record, Knut the Great's, of sixty oars a-side, was built on the pattern of the "Long Worm," which, on the occasion of the battle of Svold, filled his father with such awe and admiration. Of course, it goes without saying that Fairhair had a flagship of his own in his sea-battles. Hornklofi's song, too, on the battle of Hafrsfirth, bears witness to the warships having been provided with yawning heads, "gínandi haufuð," but these were "knerrir" not "dragons."

But the description of Raud's dragon seems to show that the tradition regarded this ship as a new discovery in naval architecture:

> Raud had a great dragon, "dreka mikinn," and gold adorned head(s) thereon, and that ship counted up thirty benches and was big in proportion. . . . Then King Olaf took the dragon which Raud had owned and steered it himself, for it was by much a bigger and braver ship than the "Crane."[1] Fore there was a dragon-head and aft a "crook," and forth from it a tail-fin, and either bow and all the stem was inlaid with gold. This ship he called the "Worm," for when the sail was up it showed as if it were the wings of the dragon. This was the fairest ship in all Norway. . . . (The "Long Worm") was a dragon, and built after the pattern of the "Worm" which the King had taken in Halogaland.[2]

There seems to be little doubt that we have here to deal with what the old historians regard as the *first* dragon known to tradition in the North.

Returning to the above question, I believe the difference between a "skeið" and a "dragon" was, in the main, only decorative. When the allies, before the battle of Svold, stand gazing admiringly at Olaf Tryggvisson's fleet sailing up, the "skeið" of Erling Skjalgsson passes by, and Svein Twibeard, himself an old Viking, says: "Now Olaf Tryggvisson is afraid since he dares not sail

[1] Which, however, had an equal number of berths or benches.

[2] Heimskringla, I. pp. 396, 401, 414.

with the head up on his dragon."[1] This shows that when there were no decorative appointments to go by, even an experienced eye could not, at a distance, tell a "skeið" from a "dragon."[2] But when to a *skeið*-built ship were adjusted the head and tail of a flying dragon, the craft was a dragon-ship proper, presenting that "prora admodum erecta atque item puppis" which Cæsar was so struck by in the ships of the Veneti.

Now I think it must be admitted that the historical evidence is altogether in favour of the dragon-type of ship hailing from Halogaland. But where did the Halogalanders get it from? Neither Greeks, Romans, nor Britons had dragon-ships of their own, that I am aware. Was the invention native to Halogaland, or—my query will sound wild—did the Veneti in far distant prehistoric times know that commercial gold-mine, the Lofoten fishery of Halogaland? If so, the Halogaland dragon-type of ship is self-explained. That no tradition should exist pointing to any such connection is but natural: Cæsar had the Veneti sold by auction 56 B.C., and their state was wiped out for ever.

Dragon-ships are mentioned, after the days of Olaf Tryggvisson, as flag-ships of Harald Hardrada, of thirty-five oars a-side, exquisitely fitted out both as to hull and rigging; figurehead, bows and tail astern lavishly gilt. His grandson, King Magnus Barefoot, had a stately dragon in his Western warfare. His son again, King Eystein, built one on the pattern of "the Long Worm." The last ship of the type mentioned in Saga was the "Dragon" of Hakon the Old, King of Norway, 1217-1263. Olaf the Holy built two ships, which are mentioned as of the dragon type, but did not adorn them with figure-

[1] Heimskringla, I. pp. 435-6.

[2] It should not, however, be overlooked that the change which Thorberg Shavehew made in the fop-strake of the "Long Worm" is most naturally explained as having had for object a closer approach to the gunwale outline (in relation to the waterline) of the "Short Worm." The object was, in my opinion, to diminish the curve of the gunwale line between prow and stern-quarter, and make it more parallel with the water line.

heads of the heathenish monster; one, which he called "Carl's-head," "Karlshöfði," he adorned with the head of a king, which he had carved himself; the other, called the "Bison," "Vísundr," was provided with the head of that animal, all gilt. Both ships were of the largest type of "skeið."

In the reign of Olaf the Holy we meet for the first time with the term "búza" connected with the building of warships. In 1026 Thorir Hound of Birchisle, in Halogaland, made ready for a voyage to Biarmland, and, according to Snorri, launched for the purpose a great "longship-búza," which carried on board well-nigh 80 men. The reading here of the "Flatey-book" is "longship" simply, which I think is the sounder of the two. As in the case of Fairhair's dragon, I think we have in Snorri's text to deal with a case of anticipation. In the winter of 1061-2 King Harald Hardrada had built in the dock-yard at Niðarós a longship which

> was a *búza*-ship. This ship was shaped after the size of the "Long Worm," wrought in every way in a most exquisite manner, there being a dragon-head afore and a crook astern, and all the bows were gold-adorned; it told up five-and-thirty benches, and was big in proportion and most fair withal.

The historian means to indicate by the term *buss*-(ship) that here there was built a longship of a new type for the first time in Norway. Ships of "buss" type were very common about the Mediterranean, not as ships of war, but of burden, and the name occurs in a great variety of forms: *buza*, *burcia*, *bussa*, *bucca*, *bucea*, *buts*, all, seemingly, indicative of capacity and breadth. King Harald, who served on board the Byzantine fleet for some years, must have become familiar with these ships, and have concluded that it would be advantageous to adapt the type to the longship-model of the North. The name doubtless came with him and his company, probably for the first time, to the North in 1044. After 1062 the buss-built ship became pretty common in the North.

Another foreign word for a ship—a war-ship—namely,

"galeið," I am inclined to think came to the North at the same time; it occurs mostly as the name of the men-of-war of which the Byzantine fleet was composed, and "fara á galeiðr," to go on board the galleys, was equivalent to taking service in the Emperor's navy.[1] Generally the word is derived from γαλέα, Latin *galea;* but perhaps (τά χελάνδια is the real original of the Norse form, they being *the* important warships of the fleet.

The vocabulary relating to objects connected with ships is very rich; but for want of space I cannot attempt here to give more than merely a limited selection of such terms. The keel, "kjölr," of large ships was laid down on slips, "bakkastokkar"; to the keel were joined stem-post, "fram-stafn," and stern-post, "skut-stafn," as well as the inside frame-work, the ribs, "inn-viðir," "rengr," "statumina." When the skeleton was finished, the case or shell was adjusted, consisting of as many strakes as the type of ship required; this was called "bera borði." The lowest strake was the "kjölsýja," the board "sewed" to the keel, the next strake above it was "aurboard," gravelboard (Engl. *gar-board, ground-strake, sand-strake*); the fifth strake was called "hrefni," of uncertain etymology, and the topmost strake was the "sólborð," lit. sunboard, answering to the "saxboard" in English boats. All Northern ships in saga times were clincher-built. A strake was a "saum-för," seampath; every strake-lap a "sýja," or "súð," suture (*cf.* súð above, page 196), or else "skör," from *skara*, to overlap. To secure water-tightness every strake-lap was caulked either with loose hair mixed with some viscous matter, perhaps most commonly tar, or with twisted thread of wool or hair steeped in similar substance, "*síð*-þráðr." This was done apparently at the same time that the strakes were riveted home with the "saumr," or, strictly speaking, "hnoð-saumr," nails, secured on the inside by means of "ró," washer or burr. The strength of the hull, "húfr," was secured by beams, "biti," "slá," and by knees, "kné," "krapti" or

[1] Heimsk. iii. 77.

"kraptr" and "krappi" (in krappa-rúm) as well as by the gunwale, "borð," "borð-stokkr," "há-stokkr" (thole-stock), to the top of which were adjusted at proper distances the tholes "háir" (sing. hár) with the "hamla," oar-strap, drawn through a hole in them, attached. Between the tholes, withinboard, were the seats of the rowers, "há-setar" (thole-sitters), called "rúm," "sess," "sess-þilja," "þopta" (thwart) according to the various descriptions of the craft. When, as was the case with warships, the thwart did not go right across the ship, but was cut short at either board, leaving a piece of bench large enough to accommodate one rower, each "rúm" fell naturally into two half-rooms, "hálf-rýmí." When, sometimes, there is talk of several men being told off for each "hálf-rýmí," the statement evidently refers to an arrangement of relief-hands.

Propulsion, we know, was effected by oar, "ár," and sail, "segl"; the oar consisted of "blað," "árar-blað," blade, and the "hlumr," loom; when the boat was provided with tholes the oar moved in the oar-loop, but otherwise in the "hábora," oar-hole, which has been mentioned already (page 216); "ára-burðr" meant about the same as "stroke" in boat-racing language, and "ára-lag" mode, style of rowing; "árar-or ára-tog," pull; "ljósta árum í sjó" (smite oars into the sea) = to make a start; "halda upp árum," lay on, rest on the oars, etc., etc. The contrivances in connection with the sail were much more complicated and elaborate. There was first of all the mast, with which I have partly dealt above (page 201). Apparently the masts of the saga time were pole-masts only. The mast stood in a "stallr," step, or chock, in a block fitted to the keelson a little further to the fore than amidships, and was no doubt secured to a cross beam above to prevent it from slipping about. It is not clear what exactly took place when the mast was taken down in the larger ships. To steady it in its position a tackle was stretched from the top of it to the stem-post, called "stag," and stays, similarly fixed from either side,

"höfuðbenda," arrested it from swaying too much from side to side; the top was called "húnn,"a knop, and was sometimes gilt; below it was the "hún-bora," perforation, through which was drawn the "drag-reip," halyard, by means of which the sail-yard, "rá," was hoisted. This latter again was secured to the mast by means of a wooden parrel, "rakki," which must have been so contrived that it could be disengaged from the mast when need required, as otherwise yard and sail would cause an apparently insurmountable entanglement when the mast was raised and lowered.

The sail was a square-sail, apparently a good deal wider down below than at the yard, and, of course, much wider than the breadth of the ship. For the purpose of spreading it to full advantage to the wind use was made of the "beiti-áss," tacking boom, which we know from the Ynglinga Saga (ch. 51) reached so far beyond the gunwale that it could knock a man over-board from a boat sailing too close past. To either end of this boom, when called into use, were attached the clews, "kló, klær" of the sail. The ropes, called "ak-taumar" (from *aka*, to drive, as a sledge, and *taumr*, rein), braces, were lines which were attached to the ends of the "beiti-áss," or the clews of the sail, as the case might be, and were made fast in the stern quarter of the craft. By means of those lines the square sail was close-hauled, so as to catch a side-wind to the best advantage. The utmost close-hauling effected by these lines was called "at aka segli at endilöngu skipi," to haul the sail in parallel with the length line of the ship. It is a mistake to suppose that these braces were attached to the sail-yard, as is proved by this statement of the Laxdæla (ch. 18): "Thorarinn steered, and had the 'ak-taumar' across his shoulders, because the boat was blocked with goods; it was mostly laden with furniture, and so the cargo rose high." Thorarinn wanted to keep the "ak-taumar" above the bulk of the lading, so as not to knock over any article of it. But if he had made them fast in the ordinary way they would,

coming from the nether limit of the sail, have had to pass right through the piled up lumber on board. If they had come from the sail-yard mast-high the reason given for Thorarin's management of them would have been absurd.

It seems probable that two "skaut-reip," sheets, that went with a sail were the same lines as the "ak-taumar," but were called "skaut-reip" on occasions when the use of the "beiti-áss" was dispensed with. The sail itself, "segl," "váð," was made of homespun until civilization brought in the cultivation of flax, or the knowledge of foreign-made sail-cloth. It was strengthened by a hem of rope called "lík," or "lík-símí," leeches, leech-lines, and was often striped in various colours, "stafat," "stafat vendi," sometimes embroidered, "sett skriptum," or decked with pall, "sett pellum." Of terms relating to the service at the sail we may mention: to hoist sail, "draga segl"; hoist top-high, "draga segl við hún"; set sail, "setja upp"; unfurl, "vinda segl"; to reef a sail, "hefla," a reef being "hefill"; to furl sail, "hlaða seglum"; strike sail, "láta ofan segl." Sailing by side-wind, tacking, "beita," required a special manipulation of the sail by means of the "ak-taumar."

The direction was regulated by means of the rudder, "styri," "stjórn," the lower, broader part of which was the "stjórnar-blað"; above came the stock or neck, "stýris-hnakki," held by the rudder-loop, "stýri-hamla," and terminating in the head "stýris-knappr"; into the neck was stuck the tiller, "hjálmvölr," "hjálmunvölr," stjórn-völr," "stjórnar-völr." The place for the rudder was the right-hand side buttock, or quarter of the vessel, whence that same side of the vessel was called "stjórn-borði," rudder side; within-board was the seat of the helmsman, "stjórnar-maðr," at whose back was the staying-board, "höfða-fjöl"; to steer was called "at sitja við stjórn," or simply "stýra." From the term "stjórn-borði" (Engl. *starboard*, French *estribord*, *stribord*, mod. *tribord*) came the phrase "á stjórn," short for "á stjórnborða," to starboard.

The opposite side of the ship was called "bak-borði," lar-board, but French *bâ-bord;* the phrase "á bakborða"= Eng. "to port." I am inclined to think that *lar-* in "lar-board may be etymologically connected with Swed.-Dan. *lår-* in "låring," the buttock of a boat's stern.

Finally, a few words on the sections or divisions of which particularly the warships consisted. In Scandinavia sea-fights were the order of the day, and of decisive battles the record lies with actions at sea. On going into action, "búast till bardaga," the word of command to the crews was "to break up their weapons," "brjóta upp vapn sín." Every rower had his weapons in a chest under his seat, "sess-þilja," and those who were not rowers had theirs similarly kept in special lockers. The action began by the ships of the opposing fleets being lashed, "tengd," together, so the fighting resembled an engagement on land. The prow, "stafn," with its quarter deck, "rausn," forming the fore-castle, was, in every warship, the most important spot, from the tactical point of view. It was the part most exposed to attack, for, if boarding, "upp-ganga," was to be attempted with a chance of success, the prow-men, fore-castle dwellers, "stafn-búar," men of approved strength and valour, must first be cleared out of the way, lest the boarding party should be exposed to front and flank attack at one and the same time. Where the quarter deck ended began the main-deck, "þiljur" (þilja), a good deal lower in the ship than the former, and ran all the way aft to the poop. In shallow ships this deck was so low that the space under it could only be utilized for storage of ship's necessaries. Hence every warship carried an awning or tilt "tjald," which served for protection against cold, rain, and snow, and which could be speedily removed in case of need, "svipta tjöldum," "reka af sèr tjöld."

Aft there rose above the deck the poop, "lyfting," where the commander had his station, "staða," and sleeping accommodation, "hvíla"; it seems to have been open at the top, and provided with a poop-awning, "lyftingar-

tjald." Here, it seems, was placed the commander's high-seat, "hásæti." Immediately in front of the poop was the section or division of the ship called fore-room, "fyrir-rúm," down to which the captain had to step on leaving the poop. Here was placed the high-seat chest, "hásætis-kista," the arsenal of the ship. As the weapons of the warriors on board gave out, or became useless, especially the swords, the stores of this chest were drawn upon for fresh supplies. In this "room" were stationed the men who stood highest in social rank, ready, in case of need, to form an emergency guard, "skjald-borg," around their chief. Next in front of this division was that called the "krappa-rúm," or main-hold, occupied by the "private" soldiers, a company mostly made up of the rowers. The name of this space can have nothing to do with "krappr," narrow, cramped; on the contrary, it was the widest portion of the ship, and derived its name from the many strong knees, "krappi" (accidentally not on record in old writers, but common all over Iceland), which here were adjusted to the ship's sides, this being the portion of the craft on which fell the force of the strain in heavy weather and rough sea.

The foremost "room" on the main deck was that which went under the name of "söx," and seems to have been between the line where the ship began to taper towards the stem and the afore-mentioned "rausn." The occupants were, perhaps, the "fram-byggjar," who are distinguished from the "stafn-búar," but seem to have been chosen for their station because they came nearest to the latter in high martial qualities. Besides the "rooms" here mentioned we hear of bailing-rooms, "austr-rúm," sometimes two on the same ship, one aft, the other fore, and Grettir's Saga (ch. 17) gives us a good insight into the water-tightness of the ships of old and the manner of bailing.

It goes without saying, that a people so devoted to ships and life on the water, would be rich in terms expressive of their experiences in water-travel; of these we

must confine ourselves to only a few. Of course the cardinal points of the compass had their names long before load-stone or compass were known to these seafarers. But for the octant points, when speaking of the weather (veðr=wind) the Norwegian race had technical terms quite peculiarly their own, terms which the Icelanders took with them to their island and used as they had been used in the land of their forefathers, without troubling themselves with what logic had to say to the propriety of the use. Thus, because their forefathers in the old country said they sailed west, when they sailed from Norway to any point of land within the geographical complex now known as Great Britain and Ireland, the Icelandic descendants must needs use the same term when stating that they went from Iceland itself to any such point. "West I fared o'er sea" (*vestr fórk of ver*) says Egil, when he sails from Iceland having York in Northumberland for his ultimate goal.[1] Thorodd "Skattkaupandi" went on a trading voyage from Broadfirth in Iceland *west* to Ireland, to Dublin.[2] Illustrations of this kind are endless.

For an inhabitant of the western coast of Norway winds blowing from N.E. and S.E. blew over land, those from N.W. and S.W. up from the sea. They were therefore called respectively "landnyrðingr," "landsynningr," "útnyrðingr," "útsynningr." Not only are these winds invariably called by these names even when they happen to be blowing in mid-ocean, but they are called by these names still, all over Iceland, regardless of the fact that to the island no wind can come but across the sea. The sea was "sjór," "sær," but the ocean was "haf"=upheaval; that this was the idea which the term "haf" was originally meant to express, is obvious when we consider what must be the idea underlying the phrase: "sjór í miðjum hlíðum," sea mid-way up mountain, a nautical term indicative of a ship being at such a distance out in the offing that the intervening sea-upheaval hides from

[1] Egils Saga (F. Jónsson's ed.), 350. [2] Eyrbyggja, p. 49.

sight the lower half of the mountains of the land in view.

How the old seafarers found their way there and back over vast oceans we know not fully. The sun by day, when seen, and stars, when showing, by night, undoubtedly were the principal guides. But how, after a period of fog or such thick weather as obscured the heavenly luminaries for days and nights together, they could ascertain their position, and keep on their course, and arrive where they intended, we know not. The loadstone, "leiðarsteinn," was unknown to Norsemen during the period of their greatest discoveries of lands over-sea; and yet we hear of very few cases that can be regarded as at all historical of these mariners losing their bearings. Whether the idea of the earth as a *ball*, "jarðarböllr,"[1] was present to the mind of the *early* Norse discoverers cannot be positively asserted, though the term haf=spherical convexity, as indicated above, would seem to favour that theory. The confidential converse held by the early Norse discoverers with nature, in order to find their way over the ocean, is tellingly illustrated by the following passage from Landnáma-bók, directing how to keep the ocean course from Norway to Greenland:—

> From the Hern-isles in Norway people have to sail ever west to Hvarf [Cape Farewell] in Greenland; in such a case the course is to the north of Shetland so, that it be just descried when the out-look at sea is very clear; but to the south of the Faroes so, that sea be midway up mountain slopes; but so to the south of Iceland that they have thereof [the flight of] fowl and [the swim of] whale.[2]

But I am out-running my space, and must now wind up.

The season of seafaring was the spring and summer. Before or about equinoxial autumn the Vikings, when not engaged too far away, returned home from their

[1] Rímbeygla, p. 440.

[2] "Af Hernum af Noregi skal sigla iamnann vestr til Hvarfs á Grænlandi: ok er þa siglt fyri nordann Hialltland sva at þui at eins se þat at allgod se siovar sýn: en fyri svnnan Færeyiar sva at sior er i midium hlidum: en sva fyri sunnan Island at þeir hafa af fvgl ok hval." Hauksbók, p. 4.

exploits and brought their ships to the roller, "ráða skipi til hlunns," and into their winter station, the boat-house, "naust" (=*nóa-uist, no-uist, no-u'st, naust, cf. forvista—forusta?* or, *næustibulum?*), which also means a ship-building yard. Their winter passed in idleness and drink. Spring again clothed "South-lands" and "West-lands" in sunny loveliness. The sun-awakened *furor Normannorum* finished the picture of the flowery season!

Finally, I desire to tender my cordial gratitude above all to Professor W. Ridgway for advice and suggestions most generously vouchsafed. My sincere thanks are also due to my kind chief, Mr. F. Jenkinson, Librarian, and to my colleague, Mr. J. Francis, for help ever ready in dealing with doubtful points in the English translation of the classical quotations. To Mr. E. J. Worman, M.A., is due the credit of the translation "buffeting" for "contumelia" (page 205).

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITORS.

ON p. 475 of the last SAGA-BOOK, line 6, for "**Mr. L. Tegner forwards** me from Japan" read "Captain L. F. **Tegnér forwards me from** New Zealand."

ON p. 315 of the last SAGA-BOOK, under the **heading "Mound-Diggings** at St. Mary's, Holm," for "Grahme of Grahmeshall" **read "Græme of** Græmeshall"; also "Græme" for "Grahme" **in line 14.**

THE Board of Education have recommended **that a book of tales from** the Northern Sagas should be included in the **course of readers on various** subjects which schools are advised to adopt. **This is a welcome proof that** it is at last beginning to be recognised that English **children ought to have some knowledge of the early records of their forefathers.**

WITH a view to promoting friendly intercourse between the two Societies, the Yorkshire Dialect Society has invited a member of the Viking Club to read a paper to them on some subject of mutual interest. At the request of the Council Dr. Jón Stefánsson, representing the Viking Club, has, accordingly, undertaken to read a paper on Yorkshire Place-Names at the Yorkshire Dialect Society's meeting at Holmfirth in May.

DR. JÓN STEFÁNSSON'S Icelandic-English Dictionary will probably go to the press during the current year, and will be published by the Clarendon Press. In addition to the features mentioned in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., pp. 117, 118, Dr. Stefánsson has devoted much attention to the history of loan-words in Icelandic, and will show in the case of all such words the circumstances which led to their introduction, and the time at which they first appear.

IN our last issue (Vol. III., pp. 478-480) we gave a description of the old *stav-kirke* of Borgund, in Norway, reported to have been destroyed by fire. We learn that the church burnt down was the one at Borgund, near Aalesund, an eleventh-century building (restored) containing interesting antiquities, but not of such extreme value to lovers of the past as the more famous *stav-kirke* in Lærdal, which is one of the few remaining examples of a unique style of building.

WITH reference to the footnote on p. 336 of the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., Mr. A. R. Goddard informs us that when the cutting into the Risinghoe, situated near the Ouse between Bedford and Willington Camp, had got in about 12 feet, and was touching burnt charcoal in places, the owner had it filled in to save further expense. The construction of the mound showed

bonding layers of clay, alternating with the hard gravel and stuff of the local subsoil. It cut like a cheese, hard and firm. Mr. Goddard hopes that at some future date another attempt will be made to solve the problem whether this mound is a burial howe, or part of the works of a vanished castle, or fortified manor.

AN interesting paper on "Bodiam Castle," by a Viking, Mr. Harold Sands, M.I.M.E., appeared in Vol. XLVI. of the *Sussex Archæological Society's Collections*, in which the author suggests that a depression in front of the castle gateway, extending to the bank of the river Rother, is probably the remains of a harbour. The castle only dates from 1386, but the supposed harbour, now dry, appears to resemble the "naust" at Willington, described by Mr. A. R. Goddard in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., pp. 327-337. Mr. Sands thinks it was originally protected by an outer line of fortification, which would make the likeness still greater. The sea-burgs of the Vikings may quite conceivably have left their mark on mediæval architecture in strongholds commanding navigable waters.

ANOTHER publication which has had considerable local success, "The Witch of Knaresbro': an Historical Romance," is, we understand, by a member, Miss Frances E. Foster. Though the story belongs to the period of the Wars of the Roses, traditions of the period before the Conquest play no small part in it. We congratulate the authoress on the success of her first work, though from the Viking point of view we much doubt whether such definite traditions of Anglo-Saxon and Norse heathendom can have lingered so late as she represents, even in the person of one who, as the witch of Knaresbro', was specially versed in ancient lore.

AT a visit paid by the German Society of Anthropologists to the Historical Museum at Stockholm last summer, Professor von Förster, an oculist, expressed the opinion, with reference to some fine gold and silver filigree work exhibited, that the fixing of the little grains of metal could not have been done with the naked eye. This led to the Museum authorities producing a piece of rock-crystal discovered at Wisby in 1877. The crystal was about two inches in diameter, half-spherical in shape, with the side underneath slightly convex, and was capable of magnifying objects to twice their natural size. It was found with two small folding scales and a set of weights, such as were used in the time of the Vikings for weighing gold and silver, and it is suggested that it may have been used as a magnifying glass by a worker in metal.

IN the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., p. 272, we had to call attention to the use made by Mr. Henry E. Dudeney, without any acknowledgment, of Mr. A. R. Goddard's article on "Nine Men's Morris: an Old Viking Game," in Vol. II., Part III. The same gentleman has utilised Mr. Goddard's article again in *The World and His Wife*, where he introduces Nine Men's Morris and the facts about it which he has culled from Mr. Goddard's article into a column headed: "*New* Games and

Puzzles." The italics are ours. Gratifying as it is both to the author of the article and to the editors of the SAGA-BOOK to see the value attached to it by Mr. Dudeney, we regret that he did not feel called on to follow the usual journalistic practice and own his indebtedness both to our columns and to Mr. Goddard.

WE are glad to learn that the ship discovered near Tønsberg, in Norway, has finally been acquired by the State. It is proposed to build in Christiania a Viking Hall, in which this vessel and the Gokstad ship may be worthily housed, with the relics discovered with them. They could not be in better care than that of Professor G. Gustafson, under whose superintendence the splendid collection in the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Christiania has been so arranged that the extent, value, and relationship of the various finds can readily be seen. The re-arrangement in a new and more spacious building has enabled the curators to display many objects formerly stored away, and it is now clear that in relics of the Viking Age this collection is relatively as rich as is that in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen in relics of the Stone and Bronze Ages.

MR. HARPER GAYTHORPE commences a paper on "Barrow Harbour in 1737," read to the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club (Barrow-in-Furness), by calling attention to names in the neighbourhood which point to an origin from Norse or Celto-Norse colonists, such as Cowp Scar near Piel, Hilps Fiord, Fowder Island, Calvac End near Biggar, Doufa Haw, and others. Mr. Gaythorpe asks: "As Barra Head and Hedden Haw are at the head of Barrow Harbour, may not Fowder Island, or the Pile of Fowdray, be so called because it is the island at the foot of the harbour, just in the same way as we have Waterhead and Waterfoot at the head and foot of our lakes?" He does not say whether he has reason now to doubt or reject his previously suggested derivation from Old Norse "fóðr," "fodder,"[1] which looks to us far more likely.

MR. J. J. HALDANE BURGESS has strongly advocated in the *Aberdeen Free Press* the establishment of an Icelandic chair, or lectureship, in Scotland. As Mr. Burgess points out, Scotland has not failed to recognise her debt to the past, as far as the Celtic section of the nation is concerned, and the study of Gaelic is duly recognised by her Universities. But the Norse element has been at least as important a factor in the making of Scotland. Remains of the old Norse speech linger in abundance in Orkney and Shetland, and there is little doubt that linguistic researches in Caithness and various districts on the coast would be rewarded by the discovery of similar, if less extensive, remains on the Scottish mainland. In spite of the claims of Edinburgh to be the seat of such a chair, and of the fact that the first College at Edinburgh was founded by a bishop of the old Norse province of Orkney and Shetland in 1558, Mr. Burgess thinks that Aberdeen University would be the most fitting place for an Icelandic lectureship.

[1] See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., p. 469.

THE Committee for the Survey of Orkneyan Place-Names have distributed among various collectors through the Islands the collecting-forms prepared by Mr. A. W. Johnston, and printed in the last SAGA-BOOK. In an accompanying memorandum the Committee reproduce the greater part of the statement drawn up by Mr. Johnston as to the sources whence information may be looked for, the scope of the enquiry, etc. They ask for the assistance of "all who can help in examining title-deeds for old names and spellings that may have undergone change or become obsolete; in arriving at the folk-pronunciation, which is not always the same as that apparently conveyed by the written or printed name; and in describing the places, as descriptions will often throw light on their meaning and, through their meaning, on their derivation." The Committee have been supplied by the Treasury with three sets of six-inch Ordnance maps as working tools, and hope to obtain collectors in every parish. We gratefully acknowledge the help given by the Treasury, and are glad to have had such a recognition of the value of the work proposed. If it is carried out as ably as it has been started, the results cannot fail to have great importance.

The Annals of Scottish Natural History for April, 1904, contain interesting articles on "Whaling in Shetland," by R. C. Haldane, and "On the Whale Fishery from Scotland, with some Account of the Changes in that Industry and of the Species Hunted," by Thomas Southwell, F.Z.S. In the course of the latter article Mr. Southwell discusses Ohthere's statement to King Alfred in his account of his voyage to Biarmaland, that "in his own country [Halogaland] is the best whale-hunting; they are eight and forty ells and the longest fifty ells long." In the writer's view the size of these whales, from 96 to 100 feet long, would seem to indicate that they were Fin-whales of the largest kind, but he thinks it probable that they were in reality the Atlantic Right Whale, a much less formidable animal than the fierce and active Finners. In this he is no doubt correct. Modern whalers were unable to tackle the Finner till the invention of the bomb-harpoon fired from a gun, and it is hardly probable that the Norsemen in the Viking Age could have succeeded in overcoming them. Accounts in the Sagas are confined, as far as we know, to incidents connected with whales drifted ashore and the actual chase and killing of whales is not described. The number also contains an account of a Rorqual killed in shallow water in the Firth of Forth, and an interesting article on "Sule Skerry, Orkney, and its Bird-life," continued from the January issue.

ANY attempt to tighten the bonds between us and our Scandinavian kinsmen has such a claim on our sympathy that we are glad to call attention to the "Visits to Denmark" organised by Miss F. M. Butlin, of Old Headington, Oxford, though their object is to study the modern rather than the ancient life of Denmark. Miss Butlin has sent the following note about these visits:—

The first "Visit to Denmark" took place in August, 1902. As it was a success, the visits have been continued, until they seem likely to become an institution. Their main features are lectures in English, by Danish authorities, on the chief characteristics of Danish life and thought; visits, in connection with these lectures, to the most characteristic institutions; and, on the social side, the opportunities afforded to the Danes and English of making each other's acquaintance on the basis of their mutual interest in Scandinavian or English literature, the drama, education, social reform or, it may be, housewifery.

English people, as a rule, do not take much interest in the Danes until they find themselves in Denmark. Then they seem to realise that they are among cousins, their cousinly interest is aroused, and they see that this nation, with a history so different from their own, has something to teach as well as learn from them; while, for instance, the English are ahead in the art of politics and self-government, the Danes have passed them in not a few of the reforms to which both nations are feeling their way. The effect of the High School system of education, and the co-operative system of agriculture, may be seen in a comparatively prosperous enlightened peasantry, while an honest attempt has been made to care for the poor by homes and pensions. The opportunities afforded by these visits of rstanding Danish institutions, and of coming in contact with public men in ..nmark, are unique. Last year a party of Dutch joined in the visit, this year p..rties are expected from Norway and Sweden as well, while the organisers hope soon to make a descent upon some other country still further North.

WITH regard to the meaning of the term "Viking," Dr. Karl Blind has pointed out that in the last issue of the SAGA-BOOK (p. 470) the quotation from a letter, written by Mr. Lars A. Havstad, of Christiania, on the subject, left out the introductory words. As the omission might lead to the inference that Mr. Havstad held an opinion opposed to that of Dr. Karl Blind, we subjoin the missing words. They show that the Norwegian writer holds the same view. His letter, addressed to the Editor of the *Times*, began as follows:—

> After reading the interesting letter of Dr. Karl Blind in your issue of January 27, *elucidating* the meaning of the word "Viking," I wish to add to these informations that the historians now often prefer to interpret the word as signifying a man from the old Norwegian landscape of Viken—the Wick *par excellence.*

Karl Blind remarks that "this fact is well known to all who have studied the question, and that from the great Wick, or Gulf, of the Scandinavian peninsula a mass of Vikings (or Wickings, as the late Professor York Powell preferred to write the word) naturally came."

As to the alternative derivation from "wig," Karl Blind says:—

> The Gothic word "weigan," "weihan," Anglo-Saxon "wig" (to war), Old German "wigant" (warrior), has given rise to many personal Teutonic names, such as Weigand, Wigand, Hartwig, Hedwig, Helwig, and various others still in use to-day, while in the North similar names occur. But in spite of this, and though the "Wickings" were, of course, warriors, I rather believe that their name comes from the Teutonic (Germanic and Scandinavian) word, which means a bay in Germany as well as in the North. They were eminently men lying in a creek of the sea, from which they, off and on, rowed forth for a raid.

On the subject of a generic term for the ancient Germanic race and its various branches, discussed in the last issue of the Saga-Book (pp. 472, 473), Karl Blind says:—

> The proposed substitution of "Gothic" for the general term "Germanic," which includes Teutons, Danes, and Scandinavians, does not seem to me useful. Tacitus, in his "Germania," includes the Scandinavian "Sviones" (Swedes) among the Germanic tribes. Ptolemaios, the Greek geographer, in the second century of our era, already calls the sea—across which, in later times, Angles, Saxons, Rugians, Hunes, and other German tribes, as well as Norwegians and Danes, were to come to this country—the German Ocean ("Okeanos Germanikos"). The English fishermen of the East coast still call it so. I found this to be the case, last year, from numerous personal inquiries at Lowestoft, Yarmouth, and elsewhere. Ptolemaios also mentions a clearly "German," Teutonic, tribe as settled even in the neighbourhood of Dublin. As regards modern usage, in a recent letter to the *Times* (April 14th, 1905), Björnstierne Björnson speaks of the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes as "nine millions of the *Teutonic* race." Before him the word has been similarly used by Scandinavian writers. Either "Germanic" or "Teutonic" will, therefore, do as a common name for the whole stock, south and north; Gothic, or Getic, remaining as a tribal name for what was once a large and noble eastern section of the race, which reached from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and then spread to the south and west, as far as Italy and Spain, but finally disappeared. So let us not disturb a very ancient terminology which embraces the several branches of our common stock.

On the other side, we have received from Mr. Gudmund Schütte, who raised this question in the last Saga-Book, a further batch of papers and pamphlets, several of them bearing on the proposed adoption of the term "Gothic" as a race-name for the folk of the Germanic, Scandinavian, and Anglo-Saxon lands alike. In an accompanying letter Mr. Schütte says:—

> The author of the first fundamental thesaurus of our race, the eminent English scientist, G. Hickes, used with exact definition the term Gothic, and he did so through no innovation, but adopting it from Icelandic scientists as Arngrim Jonas, who, again, was no innovator, but the professed continuer of the old Icelandic tradition from the Snorra Edda, etc. So I urge that Gothic not only ought to be, but also *used* to be, the true English name for our race.

Mr. Schütte further asks if we can tell him who introduced the word "Teutonic" into English as a general race-name. We shall be glad if any Vikings can help us to answer this query.

In a later letter, Mr. Schütte calls attention to the last sentence of King Alfred's translation of Orosius, where the king apparently uses the term Goth as a race-name for such various tribes as "Alans, Suevi and Vandals." The original and translation, as quoted by Mr. Schütte, run as follows:—

> Interea gentes Alanorum, Suevorum, Vandalorum Gallias invadunt. Honoriaci cunctas gentes, quae per Gallias vagabantur, Hispaniarum provincias immittunt.
>
> Siþan sæton þa Gotan þær on lande, sume be þæs caseres villan, sume his unvillan, sume hi foron on Ispanie & þær gesæton, sume on Affrice.

Among modern scholars who have given the weight of their authority to the word "Gothic," Mr. Schütte mentions, besides G. Hickes in England, in Holland Junius, in Iceland Arngrímr Jónsson, in Sweden Joh. Ihre, in Denmark Rasmus Rask and Niels Matthias Petersen; while Vilhelm Thomsen and Karl Verner also used the term in their earlier books.

On the whole the evidence seems to show that, in old days, if the kindred races had any general term by which they called themselves it was probably "Goth," while "German" was the name given them by outsiders. Modern use has not been unvarying, but German has been most in vogue at any rate during the last generation. Our own view is that this is hardly a question to be decided by an appeal to the historic use of either term. If it were, ought we not rather to consider by what generic name our forefathers called themselves, than what name was given them by the classical writers to whom they were more or less known? Nor to our mind does the modern use of the geographical term, "German Ocean" for "North Sea" carry much weight. The term "Germanic" has, of course, behind it the weight of long prescription, and is of course in very general use, though, as Mr. Schütte shows, "Gothic" has behind it the authority of many eminent scholars. If it is to be superseded by "Gothic," or any other designation, it will be because the word "Germanic" is not found sufficiently comprehensive, or sufficiently neutral, to satisfy all the various kindred folk for whom one all-embracing race-name is required. "Gothic" has at least one advantage, that it is now extinct as a separate national name, and its use cannot therefore give rise to any national jealousy.

Other papers in the budget sent us by Mr. Gudmund Schütte deal with "English as a Source of new Danish Words," "A new Auxiliary Terminology of Science," and "The Irish National Movement." There are also interesting articles on the political geography of the non-classical peoples in ancient times, and on the geography of the Lay of Angantyr, which are the fruit of much careful research, and full of ingenious suggestions.

Among the papers read at the meeting of the British Association in Cambridge in 1904 was one by the Rev. Alfred Hunt on the site of the battle of Brunanburh, which is noticed under our District Reports. Another interesting paper was one by Professor Valdemar Schmidt on "The Latest Discoveries in Prehistoric Science in Denmark." This dealt chiefly with pre-Viking periods, but some account of it may not be altogether out of place. According to a report in *The Times* of August 24th, Professor Schmidt, in the course of his paper, pointed out that the oldest period of the Danish Stone Age, only recently discovered, was earlier in time than the "kitchen-middens" and much anterior to the dolmens, from which the bulk of the well-known Danish flint implements had been derived. In a peat-bog in Western Zeeland, near a small harbour called Mullerey, not far from the Great Belt, were found many objects of stone and wood of a primitive order, evidently from an early part of the

Stone Age. A careful study of these objects and of their position in the bog proved that the prehistoric inhabitants who left or dropped those implements must have been dwellers on rafts in the middle of a lake. It was indeed a "lake-dwelling," but not on piles like the lake-dwellings of Switzerland and Northern Italy, for in this case the dwelling of the early inhabitants floated on the surface of the water. It has also been discovered during the last few years from examination of a large quantity of earthen vessels, or bits of broken pottery, found in the prehistoric tombs and on the sites of old dwellings, what kinds of grain of corn, wheat, and barley were in common use in the different prehistoric periods of Denmark. Again, special study has been devoted lately to the distribution of tumuli in different parts of Denmark. Archæological maps have been made in the last few years of a great part of the country, and all tumuli, all burial and dwelling places, and all localities in which prehistoric implements have been found are marked on these maps. The Director of the Prehistoric Museum of Copenhagen, Dr. Sophus Müller, who has been the leader in this cartography, has recently stated that the tumuli always followed ancient roads through the country, and that lines of tumuli always led towards the fords of the larger rivers, and avoided the swampy ground. It was to be supposed that the people who were buried in the tumuli had dwelt near their graves, and traces of such dwelling-places had been found at some few places. Much of this information has, of course, already been anticipated in the reports of our Scandinavian District Secretaries.

DEATH-ROLL.

Mr. Stephen A. Marshall.

MR. Stephen Albert Marshall, of Skelwith Fold, Ambleside, who died on February 9th, 1904, was born in 1842, in which year his father, Mr. Henry C. Marshall, was Mayor of Leeds. His mother was a daughter of Lord Monteagle, who, as Mr. Spring Rice, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1835-39. After leaving Cambridge Mr. Marshall joined his father at the Holbeck Mills, and remained there until the firm was wound up sixteen or seventeen years ago. He then built his house at Ambleside, became a magistrate for Lancashire, and an active member of the Lancashire County Council. He had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902.

Professor F. York Powell.

The study of old Icelandic literature in this country has suffered a grievous loss by the too-early death of Frederick York Powell, in May, 1904. Devoted to history from his school days and of widely catholic tastes, the old Scandinavian and Icelandic history, as depicted in the Sagas, claimed perhaps his chief affection. His most important work in this direction was, perhaps, that done in conjunction with Dr. Gudbrand

Vigfusson, who warmly acknowledges the invaluable help he gave to the preparation of the important Prolegomena to the "Sturlunga Saga" (Clarendon Press, 1878), and jointly with whom he edited the monumental "Corpus Poeticum Boreale" (Clarendon Press, 1883). He also published alone "The Tale of Thrond of Gate," a translation of the "Færeyinga Saga" (Vol. II. of the Northern Library. David Nutt, 1896). Among lesser contributions to the same study may be mentioned the article on "Icelandic Language, Literature, and History" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," an introduction to Mr. O. Elton's translation of the first books of "Saxo Grammaticus" (Folklore Society, 1894), containing an exhaustive analysis of Saga folklore as illustrated in that volume, and an article on "Saga Growth" in *Folklore* of the same year. He was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1894, and at the time of his death was President of the Folklore Society. Although he never gave the Viking Club his support as a member, yet, when the Club was reconstituted on its present lines, he delivered an Inaugural Address on "Some Literary and Historical Aspects of Old Northern Literature" at the opening meeting on January 12th, 1904. It is to be regretted that this address has not been preserved. We are glad to learn that it is proposed to publish through the Clarendon Press a selection of Professor York Powell's contributions to various periodicals and other miscellaneous writings.

Professor Willard Fiske.

By the death of Professor Willard Fiske, at Frankfort, on September 17th, 1904, Iceland loses a staunch friend and Icelandic literature a devoted and generous student. Professor Fiske was born at Ellisburgh in New York State on November 11th, 1831. From his early years he was attracted by the Scandinavian tongues, and besides studying under Professor Rafn at Copenhagen he became for two years a scholar at the University of Upsala. Besides many articles on Iceland and Icelandic subjects he compiled three lists of "Books Printed in Iceland, 1578-1844," as a supplement to the British Museum Catalogue (1886-1890), and at the time of his death a work on "The Game of Chess in the Land and Literature of Iceland" had just been sent to the press. In 1903 he issued "Mímir," a Handbook of Icelandic Institutions and addresses of Icelandic scholars, which was noticed in the Saga-Book, Vol. III., pp. 473-4. He was at one time Librarian at Cornell University, besides holding the Chair of North-European languages there from its foundation in 1868 till his retirement in 1883. His latter years he spent in Italy at Florence. He had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902. His affection for Iceland, which led him to visit the island in 1878 and 1879, survived to the last, and he made various bequests to her in his will. His collections of Petrarch Literature and Icelandic and old Scandinavian History and Literature were left to Cornell Library, but his other books to the Icelandic National Library at Reykjavik, while the National Gallery and Museum at Reykjavik received his twelve best pictures and various antique objects of interest.

Further, he left 12,000 dollars to the Governor General of Iceland, the interest on which is to be applied towards the benefit of the inhabitants of Grimsey, whose isolated lot is vividly sketched in the pages of "Mímir." The bulk of his estate, estimated at some half-million dollars, he left to the Library of Cornell University for the purpose of increasing and providing a librarian for the Dante and Petrarch collections he had bestowed upon the Library; providing a librarian for the Icelandic collection, who must be an Icelander; and publishing an annual volume on Icelandic and Scandinavian matters.

EDWIN SLOPER, F.G.S.

It is with great regret that we have to record the loss of our Excursion Secretary, Mr. Edwin Sloper, who was found dead in bed on February 7th, 1905, while on a visit to Taunton. Death was due to heart disease, Though Mr. Sloper was a comparatively recent member, he had taken such a keen interest in the proceedings of the Club from the time he joined that he will be greatly missed. His loss will be especially felt by his colleagues on the Council, as he was a constant attendant at its meetings, and gave much valued help and advice. He was more especially interested in all that bore upon the period of the Danish invasions of and Danish domination in this country, and his hope that the Viking Club would in course of time find opportunity to visit various sites connected with that period, such as Wareham, bore fruit in the highly successful visit to Cambridge last summer, which owed its success entirely to his energy and organising skill. None who saw him on that occasion or at the equally successful visit to the British Museum last December could imagine that he would be called away so soon. It is a great source of regret to us that he was not spared to write the paper on "The Danish Period in English History," which he was to have read us in March. He had spent much time and trouble on collecting material for it, and, though apparently he had not commenced to write it, his various notes on the subject have been placed at our disposal by his representatives, and it may be possible to make some use of them in a future issue, together with the paper he read at Cambridge last year. Among his other interests he had an intimate knowledge of the history of Somersetshire, having formerly resided at Taunton, and took great interest in the Society of Somerset men in London.

REVIEWS.[1]

THE CELTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SHETLAND. By GILBERT GOUDIE. *Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

THIS book shows how the work of an archæologist and antiquary, usefully and judiciously directed, dealing with miscellaneous subjects as the opportunity and convenience present themselves, in the end results in the production of a comprehensive, co-herent, and trustworthy history of the district of his researches. The author deals with (1) the Pagan Period in the Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages; (2) the Celtic Christian Period; and (3) the Scandinavian Era.

So far as the book is a record of finds and excavations, it calls for no criticism beyond praise for the thorough and scientific manner in which the work has been done.

The literary studies of the Scandinavian Era are particularly instructive, dealing with the mortgage of the Islands by Denmark to Scotland, the maintenance of the local government and laws until 1611, and the transition to Scottish county government. The charter of confirmation of lands in Shetland, granted by the King of Denmark in 1662, and the Treaty of Breda, which declared the imprescribability of the mortgage of the Islands, are very interesting from a legal and international point of view. With regard to the "Country Acts" passed by the Sheriff Courts of Orkney and Shetland after 1611 (p. 236), it should be pointed out that the Scottish Privy Council abolished the *foreign laws* of these Islands in 1611, and at the same time a Royal Proclamation granted a Commission to the Sheriffs and Commissioners in Orkney and Shetland, authorising them amongst other duties

> to make, prescribe, and set down acts, statutes, and ordinances for restraining of the bypast enormities and insolencies within the saidis boundis, and for retaining and keeping of the inhabitants thairof under his Majesty's obedience . . . and to convocate and assemble the haill inhabitants within the saidis boundis, to concur and assist thame in everything which may forder his Majesty's authority and service . . . and for this effect to fence and hald sheriff and justice-courts.[2]

This is also mentioned in the preamble to the Acts. The "Country Acts" were thus in no way a continuation of the powers of the defunct Lawting, but the outcome of a Royal Commission. It was needful that special by-laws should be framed to regulate local customs upon the abolition of the *foreign laws*. It must also be remembered that Orkney and Shetland, together with Kirkcudbright, were the only complete counties which were stewartries, and the bishopric of Orkney was a regality. Regalities and stewartries possessed exceptional powers, much

[1] Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 36, Margaretta Terrace, Chelsea, S.W., who will quote prices.

[2] Peterkin's "Notes on Orkney," App., pp. 63-67.

more extensive than those of an ordinary county. Lords of regality could appoint baillies during pleasure, for life, and heritable. There were heritable bailieries in Orkney.

The author has done valuable work in unearthing the Shetland Rentals, or skatt-rolls, and other papers in the Register House, Edinburgh, and in private Charter Chests.

From the extracts given it can be seen that a careful examination of the originals will enable us to explain many puzzles in the incidence of taxation, and in the butter and cloth currencies in Orkney and Shetland hitherto inexplicable. The earliest Shetland Rental will before long be issued by the Viking Club. At present there is not a single example in print, while Orkney is well represented.

"Stembord," p. 238, occurs in 1576 as "stembirth."[1] It is from old Norse *Stefna* or *Stemna*, a meeting, and *Boð*, a bidding, hence "Stemnu-boð," a summons to a meeting.[2]

The illustration of a *tuskar*, or peat cutter, p. 289, is apparently a Shetland variety, without the usual foot-piece for digging it into the ground.

The reason why the Shetland benefices were vicarages, and only half the corn tithe drawn by the vicars (p. 162), is explained on pp. 179, 180, where it is mentioned that the bishop drew the other half of the corn tithe, and was consequently rector. The tithe of the Shetland benefices formed part of the revenue of the bishopric of Orkney.

The author, p. 296, supports the theory of Hibbert and others regarding the "skat-hald," or Commonty, *i.e.*, common pasture, viz., because the name implies a skat-holding, therefore skat was a tax paid to the Crown for the use of the commonty or skathald by the udal or occupied lands, and not a tax for the support of the government.

King Harald Fairhair of Norway assessed the udal lands of his kingdom with skat, or land tax.[3] Skat was collected by his Earls, who retained one-third for the support of their government, with the exception of the Earl of Orkney and Shetland, who retained the whole of the skat collected in the Islands because they lay so open to war.[4] That skat was in practice treated as a tax solely on land under tillage is further shown by the fact that, under the native government of Orkney in 1500, so long as skat-paying udal lands were *lay*, *i.e.*, laid down in pasture, they were exempt from skat, as were also lands rendered useless by being blown over with sand.[5] The suggestion that the commons were vested in the Crown, and that the latter was entitled to skatt or tribute from the udallers for their use of the commons, is disproved on p. 296, where the immemorial right of udal lands to foreshore and commonty is shown, and this has been consistently

[1] Balfour's "Oppressions in Orkney and Zetland," p. 53 and gloss., s.v. stembod.

[2] Cleasby's Icl. Dict.

[3] Heimskringla Saga Library, vol. iii., p. 96.

[4] *Ib.*, vol. iv., p. 168. Orkneyinga Saga, translated by Hjaltalin and Goudie, p. 2. N.B.—This is the Flateyjarbok text, with the exception of the first four chapters, and half of the fifth, which are apparently taken from St. Olaf's Saga (Heimskringla). The statement that the Earl of Orkney did not pay skat is not found in the Orkney Saga.

[5] Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, No. 1.

maintained in the law courts. It is recorded as a grievance in 1575 that the Scottish Earl attempted to appropriate the commonty.[1]

An examination of the various skats will show that they were for the support of the government, *e.g.*, *Leunger*, a war contribution; *Forcop*, the Lawman's fee; *Wattle*, board and lodging of the Foud. Mr. Goudie is the first to clear up the true meaning and derivation of *Wattle*, p. 181.

We find in 1576 that *skathald* is explained as being equivalent to skatland, and to parish or inhabited district; "nichtbouris that dwellis within ane scathald."[2] The explanation, therefore, appears to be that in 1576 the term "skathald" applied to an inhabited district of skat-paying udal land, including its exclusive "hagi," or common pasture, and that in recent times the name has become restricted to the hagi or pasture alone. That the modern skathald is the old hagi is proved by the survival of the term *Hog-leave*, or liberty to use another skathald, while riding the marches of a skathald is called *hagri*, or "to ride de hagri."[3]

An examination of the Shetland and Orkney rentals or skatt-rolls shows that the udal lands in Shetland were, for the assessment of skatt, valued at their purchase price (at time of valuation) in pure silver marks, and hence called mark-lands. These mark-lands were again, for letting purposes, at a later date, valued in pennies representing their actual rent, hence the description of mark-lands of from one to twelve pennies. The penny originally was the currency value of a fixed amount of butter and cloth representing the rent. In later times the current market value of the butter and cloth was charged, but the quantity remained the same. In Orkney skatt was assessed on the ounce-land (= 18 penny-lands, probably Anglo-Saxon pennies), which probably was the original weight of silver paid as skatt. For purposes of rent, the ounce-lands and penny-lands were valued at their purchase price in pure silver marks, the same valuation as that upon which Shetland skatt was assessed.

The whole scope of the work, comprehending almost everything that can be said about Shetland, is such that no one who takes the slightest interest in the Islands can possibly get along without the book, while it will prove invaluable and indispensable to the student of Northern antiquities.

It is not generally known that Mr. Goudie is solely responsible for the publication of the translation of the Orkneyinga Saga, which was edited with an introduction by Dr. Joseph Anderson, and translated by Mr. Jón A. Hjaltalin and Mr. Goudie from Jonæus' Edition of the Flateyjarbok text.

A. W. J.

[1] Balfour's "Oppressions," p. 6. Proceds., S. A. Scot, April, 1883, p. 257.

[2] Balfour's "Oppressions," pp. 46, 47, 49, 88. Skathald is probably derived from Norse *Skatt*, and *Hald*, a holding, *i.e.*, a holding paying skat, *cf.* Norwegian "Skatte-gaard," a farm liable to pay tax. It is explained, in the glossary to Balfour's "Oppressions," as a district containing several tuns or rooms, with an exclusive hagi, and a share in the moar of the herad.

[3] Jakobsen's Shetland Dialect, 1897, pp. 108, 109. See also English Dialect Dict. for other references.

VIKINGERNE. Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv. Af ALEXANDER BUGGE. *København: Gyldendalske Boghandel; Kristiania: Nordisk Forlag.*

IN this charmingly written book Professor A. Bugge has undertaken to exhibit, as it were, eight pictures or illustrations of the life of the ancient Vikings, in as many chapters. These chapters deal respectively with (1) the Northern nations in their first appearance on the scene; (2) Woman in the Viking age; (3) Childhood and old age; (4) Life in a Viking settlement. Norwegians and Danes in Ireland; (5) Viking-time memorials from the Isle of Man; (6) The focuses of culture in ancient times; (7) The culture of the Viking age; (8) View of life and state of civilization during the transition from the Viking times to the Middle Ages.

Each illustration presents itself in the form of a sketch, rather than a finished picture, for the execution of which the materials at hand are insufficient, and frequently of doubtful import and value. As the Professor's object is to present illustrations of a by-gone time, it follows that he refrains from subjecting to any elaborate, critical scrutiny the historical or philological materials he makes use of. But his treatment of them is generally so clear and lucid that the reader feels thankful for being spared the trouble of following the zigzaggy road of argumentative criticism, and allowed the treat of enjoying without a hitch the Professor's picture gallery, set forth as it is in a style which is at once noble, elevated and animated by poetical enthusiasm. Professor Bugge's natural descriptions of Ireland, Scotland, the Isle of Man, and Seeland in Denmark, made with a view to showing the determinant influence that beautiful natural environment is calculated to exercise upon the life of man, are striking illustrations of the attractive qualities we notice in his manner of writing.

One quality about this book—a quality we heartily welcome—is the ungrudging and what we consider the just meed of appreciation bestowed on the Danes of old as a people of culture. The Professor's language may, perhaps, to some seem hyperbolic, but in substance we must regard it as warranted both by *Beowulf* and every other tradition relating to ancient Denmark. It is not always that we see Norwegian historians so utterly exempt from bias in relation to Denmark as Professor Bugge proves himself to be. Of Sweden, as the home of centres of primitive culture, Professor Bugge is equally justly appreciative.

But when he declares:—"Denmark and Sweden possess, what Norway has not, places and tracts which, right from the earliest times have been, and for ever will continue to be, the spiritual 'focus' (Midtpunkt) of 'their' land, as even they still are the 'centre' of the state and the political life" (translation literal)—we are inclined to dispute the point. True, Stockholm lies in the same tract as did the centre of primitive culture among the "Svíar," the island and city of "Birka"; Copenhagen lies on the eastern coast of the same island in which was situated, in the morning of time, the famed palace of "Heorot," as well as that of "Hleiðr." But we are strongly inclined to think that the influence of the imperious *Hansa* has a good deal more to do with these two centres of state and political life in the North than any traditional

descent from the primitive centres. Of course, with Upsala the case is different.

As to Norway, we are not quite prepared to assent to the assertion that it had no centres of culture of old. What about the temple of Mærin up at the head of the bay of Thrandheim? It seems to have been from of old the central temple for all the eight ancient kingdoms of Thrandheim. As late as Olaf Tryggvison's days it seems to have still preserved a sacerdotal constitution on the ancient duodecimal arrangement of Asgarth. Only on that assumption does it become clear how radically correct, from his own point of view, was Olaf Tryggvison's threat to put to death *twelve* of the "most excellent" men of Thrandheim, when the question of destroying the Mærin cult had become a burning one. A great centre of any cult is always a centre of culture. Moreover, we have the magnate Ölvir of Eggja's word for it, that the Mærin "was a great capital, the houses large, and a great settlement of dwellings all round." It was probably owing to its out-of-the-way geographical position that neither Harald Fairhair nor any other of the pagan rulers of Norway established their residence there. The resistance this temple organisation offered to Haken the Good and the two Olaves bears witness to its traditional solidity.

Again, what about the "Holyland" of Halogaland, where shipping and nautical art stood higher than in any other part of Norway, a country from where the type of dragon-ship was introduced into Southern Norway,[1] a country where the art of beating or tacking the wind seems to have been first mastered in the North; for that must be the real meaning of the often repeated statement that Halogalanders had wind at will as soon as they hoisted sail on board? What does it mean that the people of this country were the greatest wizards of the North? It means, of course, that in certain matters they were in possession of knowledge of and intuition into certain secrets of nature which to heathen ignorance appeared miraculous, to Christian prejudice diabolic. We are inclined to think that that gold mine, the fishery of Lofoten, may have been the means of putting Halogaland in commercial relationship with the outer world at an exceedingly early age, though we cannot enter upon any argumentative justification of our opinion on that matter. Even the name Bjarkey, the Emporium-island, bears witness to that island having been, at a very remote period, a commercial centre in Halogaland. Other centres of culture, for some time at least, might be mentioned, such as Skíringsalr, Túnsberg, and perhaps others. But it is true, Norway never had one central station for the national culture as had Denmark and Sweden, because to no locality specially had from time immemorial been linked the traditions of any native family which had succeeded in imposing its authority upon the whole people. The family that ultimately so succeeded was, after all, a foreign one which, strange to say, never found a fixed abode in Norway; Hlaðir, Niðarós, Björgvin, Sarpsborg, Konungahella, Oslo, all served in turn as temporary centres of what culture there allied itself to the race of Harald Lúfa, up to, and some time beyond, the end of the Viking-age.

[1] See "Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms of Old in the North," p. 227.

Carping critics will, no doubt, find fault with Professor Bugge for taking for granted what, as yet, is a *res sub judice*, namely, the *Western*, notably the *Celtic*, influence on Northern culture. But on that subject the last word has not yet been spoken, and we can afford to await further developments.

Ei. M.

La Saga de Fridthjof le Fort: traduite de l'ancien Islandais. Par Félix Wagner, Docteur en philologie Germanique. *Louvain: Charles Peeters.*

In this translation, with its introductory matter and notes, the author's "aim has been to raise in some sort a corner of the veil which still hides from the French public the manifestations of that intense life revealed by the literary monuments of ancient Iceland." "Fridthjof's Saga" (says Dr. Wagner) has enjoyed an exceptional popularity, increased by the poem founded upon it by Bishop Tegnér (1825). But Tegnér's Fridthjof is no longer the Fridthjof of the old time. For the true Fridthjof we must read the old Saga.

Was there a true Fridthjof? Dr. Wagner answers affirmatively. Though the story is "thoroughly and purely poetic," he thinks it built in large measure on real facts. And any way, there remains undiminished "the literary and æsthetic value of the Saga as a picture of ideas, manners, and life in the North a thousand years ago."

Fridthjof lived (Dr. Wagner concludes) about the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. The Saga received its present form not later than the middle of the thirteenth century. But the strophes, or verses, in it are earlier; they are quite unlike the productions of the Court skalds, which a profusion of metaphors and tropes, enigmatical figures, obscurity, *kennings* without taste or poetry, have rendered a gibberish (*galimatias*) unreadable and unintelligible. The "Fridthjof Saga" verses are in simple, strong, clear, natural language: and in metre like the oldest Icelandic verse (*fornyrðislag*).

Dr. Wagner is of opinion that many of the primitive Sagas, especially those mythological and heroic, passed through three successive phases of development and transformation: old popular poetry, the dissolution of that into prose, and the decomposition of this prose again into rhymes. Thus many appear as a paraphrase of old songs, with some parts of the old songs repeated textually, and intercalated in some episodes. In this "Fridthjof Saga" the verses are an integral part of the narrative; could not be spared. *E.g.*, in the chapter about the storm about half is verse, and you could not omit it without spoiling the whole. Dr. Wagner claims for the Saga "unity of action, clear narrative, without interruption or digression, simple, clear, natural, energetic style."

On a French translation of Icelandic it is hard for an Englishman to pass judgment: only Frenchmen can know what is to their taste. But to me the translation appears good, clear, readable.

The notes are very good and very full. One might perhaps say fuller than are needed for the understanding of the story, or for the instruction

of those who, whether from originals or translations, possess a fair knowledge of Norse literature. But our translator tells us that for the great mass of French readers the old civilization of the North is still a *terra incognita*. They will find in Dr. Wagner an excellent guide.

W. C. G.

UDAL LAW IN THE ORKNEYS AND ZETLAND (Green's "Encyclopœdia of the Law of Scotland"). By W. P. DREVER, Solicitor, Kirkwall. Reprint. *Edinburgh: William Green & Sons*, 1900.

UDAL LAW AND THE FORESHORE (*The Juridical Review*, June, 1904). By W. P. DREVER, Solicitor, Kirkwall. Reprint. *Edinburgh and London: William Green & Sons.*

THESE articles form the first genuine contributions to a study of the Law and Government of Orkney and Shetland.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the author will follow up the subject, and compile a complete history and digest. For this purpose there is a vast mass of most interesting and fascinating material available and waiting to be unearthed. All authorities on the subject must be carefully tested, and rejected where proof is wanting: *e.g.*, Balfour's assertion, for which no authority is quoted ('Oppressions," xxviii.) that the *jus comitatus*, conveyed to the Crown of Scotland in 1471, included the landskyld or rent of "certain quoys and other lands added by odallers to their holdings, but not by odal-raed." On reference to the Earldom Rental of 1500 (Peterkin's "Rentals," No. 1), the oldest one extant, which enumerates the Earldom lands of 1471, it will be found that udal quoys paid no rent to the Earl, and that only those quoys paid rent to the Earl which belonged to, or had been purchased by, him.

Bōl (Isl., misfortune), cited by Balfour, should read *ból*, used for a house in Norway, but in Orkney and Iceland meaning a pen for cattle. The correct word is *Bú*, as used in the Orkneyinga Saga for the Earl's house, and as maintained by constant local pronunciation to the present day. The *bishopric* also included the skatts of churchlands, and of some of the Earldom and udal lands. It should also be noted that the Bishopric [*i.e.*, the landed estate] in 1490, and again in 1612, was erected into a Regality with separate courts and judges of its own. The Orkney and Shetland parliaments and laws, which were confirmed by the Scottish Parliament, were finally abolished (illegally it may be) in 1611, by Act of Secret Council, and the Islands then brought under the Common Law of Scotland.

The so-called Lawting or Country Acts of Orkney and Shetland, which were enacted by the local Sheriff and Justice Courts, 1611 *et seq.*, were merely by-laws for carrying the Scottish Law into effect, and for regulating the surviving native, or consuetudinary law, and were passed in accordance with a Royal Commission issued in 1611.

Cess, or landtax, was first exacted from Orkney and Shetland in 1597 (not 1667), in common with the other Crown lands throughout Scotland. It was levied on the native valuation of *pennyland* in Orkney, and *markland*

in Shetland. A temporary valuation of Orkney and Shetland was made in 1649 (*Act Parl.*), at £90,980, so that landtax might be levied on the Islands at the same rate as on the Scottish Counties. One-third of this was by custom apportioned to Shetland. The Orkney valuation was completed in 1653, but that of Shetland was never made, and landtax continued to be levied on the *markland*.[1]

The first petition to exempt the Islands from taxation was made by the udallers in 1633, and another in 1639 (*Act Parl.*). It was

> cravit be the uddallers of Orkney and Zetland quha hes thir mony ages conforme to the Dens law possesst thair land for payment of scatt and teind that no man be interponit betwixt his Majesty and thame to molest thame, but that they remain his Majesty's immediate vassals for payment of scatt and other dewties conforme to thair rentalls ay and quhill his Majestie conforme thair richts to the lawes of this Kingdom.

The relations between the insular courts and those of Norway, which continued after the transference of the Islands to Scotland, should be dealt with. So late as 1662 the King of Denmark granted a charter of confirmation of the sale of lands in Shetland.

Mr. Drever's articles will be indispensable to the local lawyer and antiquary, and consequently it is important that they should be issued as a separate work, treating the whole subject fully, a task for which he is eminently qualified.

A. W. J.

ENGLISH MEDICINE IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES. By DR. JOSEPH FREDERICK PAYNE. (The Fitzpatrick Lectures for 1903.) *Clarendon Press*, 8*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

That the first lectures of a series intended to further the study of the history of medicine should have been devoted to the discussion of the medical writings of our own forefathers is a matter of entire congratulation. As Dr. Payne himself says, the early knowledge existing in our own land has been too entirely neglected, and it will come as a surprise to most of us to learn from him that, after the classic Greek and Latin works on medicine, the earliest treatise on the great science known to exist is actually English, and written in the vernacular, antedating by a century the better known work of Petrocellus of Salerno. The subject itself, with its intimate bearing on folk-life and lore, has lost none of its interest in the hands of Dr. Payne, whose contributions to the study of past and surviving medical superstitions are already well known. The lectures, as we have them here, are a model of most suggestive condensation, and, but for considerations of space, one would like to quote the author's view of the right method of study of the work of our early writers, which is, perhaps, the best ever set into words.

Unfortunately the material at Dr. Payne's disposal has been very limited, not more than a score of MSS. remaining, though these hold

[1] Peterkin's "Notes," app., p. 89; *Acts Parl.*, 1597. Peterkin's "Rentals,' No. 2, p. 150. "Records of the Sheriff Court of Orkney," vol. i, folio 156, quoted in Peterkin's "Notes," p. 150, footnote. Country Acts, 1623, see Barry's "Hist," 1867, p. 420.

internal evidence of the existence of still more. What the author has collated and illustrated with immense pains prove at least that the leeches of the period, whether clerical or lay, had an intense longing for further knowledge, and that in actual practise they were in no way behind the practitioners of mediæval Norman date, if not, in some respects, in advance of them. Probably owing to the almost necessarily monkish origin of the few MSS. we have, there are but one or two of the many charms given here which refer to heathen tradition, except indirectly as needing counter-vailing Christian spells. Nor do we meet with any Runic formulæ, though these were in use, on Gibson's authority, so late as the seventeenth century, at least, in the northern counties. As one might expect, a great number of herbal receipts and charms are given, some good facsimile illustrations accompanying them. But of the surgery of the time Dr. Payne confesses he can say little. He has no material on which to work, and the subject must of necessity be left for future elucidation. It is probable that, from the first, surgical practice has been a matter of family tradition, as it still is in the popular cult of the "bone-setter" in most cases; but Dr. Payne may yet find a likely field of research in the Sagas for the rough wartime surgery of our forefathers. His treatment of the vexed question of the "miracles" of healing, to be found in the pages of Bede, is most careful, and deserves full recognition, if only as an independent testimony to the value of the work of the ancient writer.

C. W. W.

SINGOALLA. A Mediæval Legend. By VIKTOR RYDBERG. Translated from the Swedish by JOSEF FREDBÄRJ. *London and Newcastle-on Tyne: the Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd.*

THIS is the first translation into English of a novel by the great Swedish writer Viktor Rydberg, better known, perhaps, in England through his studies in mythology, history, etc., than as a novelist. Yet he was a great novelist, and a poet besides, and "Singoalla" has already been translated into most of the languages of continental Europe. The translation before us is preceded by a useful note, giving an outline, very condensed, of Swedish literature and a sketch of Rydberg and his career, in which the writer sums up the novel so vividly that we cannot do better than quote his words:—

> Singoalla is a novel occupying quite a pre-eminent place among Rydberg's prose writings. In it his romanticism is still strikingly in the foreground, and strangely tinctured with that fantastic, pantheistical philosophy which was so much a part and parcel of Rydberg. The period of the book is the Middle Ages—that slowly awakening epoch when Europe tardily revived from the black night of Roman madness to the faint dawn of Western sweetness and light; and all the peculiar mysticism and picturesqueness distinguishing that time pervade the book. Against such a background the splendid dramatis personæ of the story stand out in wondrously real fashion and with vivid effect.

The old mythology plays no actual part in the story, but its shadow looms darkly in the distant past, and falls threateningly across the path of

the hero and his race. At the epoch of the story the heathen days were still too near to be regarded with aught but dread and aversion. The main incident of the tale reproduces, perhaps unconsciously on the author's part, the story of Sigurd turned unwittingly from his troth to Brynhild to the love of Gudrun, and the result is scarcely less tragic, though worked out on lines widely different. The heroine, the gipsy girl Singoalla, is a noble and pathetic figure, and skilfully contrasted with the young Swedish knight whose love for her was brought by inexorable fate to such a hapless end.

A. F. M.

TRACES OF THE NORSE MYTHOLOGY IN THE ISLE OF MAN. By P. M. C. KERMODE, F.S.A.Scot. *London: Bemrose & Sons.* 2s. 6d.

THIS is an interesting and suggestive little work, divided into two parts of unequal merit, Mythology and Illustrations. In the first part Mr. Kermode gives a hasty sketch of some of the leading ideas in the Norse Mythology, and points to various features in the folklore of the Isle of Man which he thinks may be derived from the ancient beliefs. In the second part he suggests mythological interpretations for various scenes and figures sculptured on crosses in the Isle of Man, and illustrated in this work, which appeared originally as a paper read before the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society at Ramsey, on December 18th, 1903. The sketch of the mythology is uncritical, and of course incomplete, the author naturally confining himself mainly to points for which he could suggest folklore illustrations. The spelling of the names is erratic and the quotations from the Icelandic very incorrectly given. Mr. Kermode dopts without hesitation the favourite idea of the editors of "Corpus Poeticum Boreale" of a special Viking religion, due to contact with Celtic and Christian ideas, which has become familiar to us from literary remains, though it was never the religion of the people. Yet with no apparent sense of inconsistency, he at once goes on to point out that the myths and legends, which we only know from these literary remains, had such a hold on the people that we find them sculptured on Christian monuments, and can trace them in customs and sayings down to our own day. The folklore parallels are interesting, but not, we think, peculiar to the Isle of Man, and the connection with the mythology seems sometimes no more than a guess. For example, the author instances ginger-bread figures used at fairs of a man, a woman, man and woman conjoined, a horse, and a man on horseback as probably representing Thor, Frigga, Odin and Frigga, and Odin and Sleipnir, while a cock which also appears may, he thinks, represent either Gullin-kambi, the cock of Valhalla, or Heimdall rousing the gods. These suggestions may be sound, but are unsupported by any evidence, except the analogy of the use in Sweden at Yule-tide of cakes in the form of Frey's boar. This is hardly sufficient ground for the identification of such varied figures, which might have originated in many ways. We should like to know also Mr. Kermode's authority for saying that the images of the gods in Friðthjof's Saga were

[redacted]

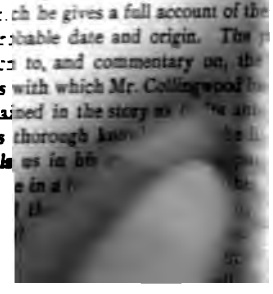
[illegible] Saga-B[illegible] Club.

[illegible] The Illustration [illegible] perhaps call [illegible] development of [illegible] the Saga-B[illegible] acknowl[illegible] thought and [illegible] unreservedly, [illegible] a pole over [illegible] in the [illegible] whose names [illegible] changed in [illegible] convinced that [illegible] support of Prof[illegible] explana[illegible] impossibly [illegible] attempt t[illegible] The ende[illegible] particular cha[illegible] and, in [illegible] these page[illegible] The size [illegible] the [illegible] In a [illegible] of all [illegible]

A.

[illegible] Saga fr[illegible] M.A.

[illegible] Collingwood in his [illegible] which he gives a full account of the [illegible] probable date and origin. The [illegible] to, and commentary on, the [illegible] The skill and acuteness with which Mr. Collingwood [illegible] upon the very slight evidence contained in the story [illegible] are a remarkable testimony to his thorough [illegible] and history of the period. He tells us in his [illegible] the book was to tell the old roma[illegible] e in a [illegible] certainly succeeded, and we ma[illegible] the remarkable qualities of the [illegible] As he has pointed out, the [illegible] quarters. To the sources [illegible] cated, we would add that [illegible] money, which is restored [illegible] from the "Thousand N[illegible] of Cogia Hassan Alhab[illegible]



LEWIS EVANS HIS MAP OF THE MIDDLE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA. A Comparative Account of the Different Editions published between 1755 and 1807. By HENRY N. STEVENS. *London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.*

THE scope of this work, which will be of special interest to students of American cartography and invaluable to collectors, is sufficiently indicated by the title. The author, as the result of his careful researches, traces the bibliographical history of Evan's Map between the dates mentioned in ten distinct and separate states, two issues of the original plate, and eight piratical copies. He thinks it probable that other states or reprints are in existence, which have not come under his notice.

A. F. M.

ANGLER'S GUIDE FOR THE SHETLANDS. *Lerwick: John Tait & Co.* Cloth, 1s. 6*d*.; paper boards, 1s.

THIS useful work gives the principal angling centres in Shetland; hotels, inns and lodgings; distances from Lerwick by road; close times for salmon and sea trout; angling outfit for Shetland waters; artificial baits and flies and natural baits to use; sea trout fishing in fresh water, tidal or salt water; loch, burn and sea fishing, etc.

A. W. J.

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VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[*The Hon. Editor will be glad if members generally will help to make the Bibliography as complete as possible by sending word of any books, or articles in local newspapers, magazines, &c., suitable for notice, or by forwarding cuttings of the same. Communications should be addressed to Aibany F. Major, "Bifrøst," 30, the Waldrons, Croydon.*]

Publications by Members.

By Eiríkr Magnússon.

"The Saga Library" Vol. vi. Bernard Quaritch.

By Alexander Bugge.

"Vikingerne. Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv." 2nd Series.
"Caithreim Cellachain Caisil."
"On the Fomorians and the Norsemen. By Duald MacFirbis."
"Bidrag til det sidste Afsnit af Nordboernes Historie i Irland."
"Vesterlandenes indflydelse paa Nordboernes og særlig Nordmændenes ydre kultur, levesæt og samfundsforhold i Vikingetiden." (In *Videnskabs Selskabets Skrifter, historisk-filosofisk klasse, 1905.* Christiania.)

By Haakon Schetelig.

"Gravene ved Myklebostad paa Nordfjordeid."

By the late Professor Willard Fiske.

"Chess in Iceland and in Icelandic Literature."

By Professor Absolon Taranger, Christiania University.

"Udsigt over den Norske Rets Historie."

By Dr. Karl Blind.

"Haakon, Karl and Magnus, Germanic Names."
"Wodan and the Rodensteiner."
"Homer's Knowledge of the High North and the Kirkê (Circe) Tale."
} Articles in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung.*

By E. E. Speight, F.R.G.S. and R. Morton Nance.

"Britain's Sea Story, B.C. 55-A.D. 1805."

By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

"Voluspa. Translated from the Icelandic of the Elder Edda."

By Harry Lowerison.

"From Paleolith to Motor Car; or Heacham Tales."

By R. Stuart Bruce.

"An Echo from the Invincible Armada." Article in *Chambers' Journal* for September, 1905, on the wreck of a Spanish Galleon on Fair Isle, Shetland.

By Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.:
"The Saxon Church at Bradford-on-Avon." Article in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association.

FORTHCOMING.

By Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.A., M.R.C.S.:—
"A Sea Queen's Sailing." A story introducing a "ship-burial" on the Norwegian coast, the Danish persecution of the Irish hermits of the Isles and the return of Hakon the Good from Norway to England. (Nelson. In the press.)

Rev. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.:—
"A Group of Norman Fonts in North-west Norfolk." Article in the *Transactions* of "The Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society."

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

rigines Islandicae." A collection of the more important Sagas, etc., relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland." Edited and translated by Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell. 2 vols. (Clarendon Press.)

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roes of Iceland." Adapted from Dasent's Burnt Njal. By Allen French. (David Nutt.)

"Sæmundar-Edda." Edited by Finnur Jónsson. (S. Kristjánsson, Reykjavik.)

"Edda-Kvæde: Norrøne Fornsøngar paa Nynorsk. 1. Gudekvæde." By Ivar Mortensson. (Oslo.)

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"Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske Haandskrifter i det store kongelige Bibliothek og Universitets bibliotheket." By K. Kaalund. (Copenhagen.)

"Palæografisk Atlas." By K. Kaalund. (Copenhagen.) (Facsimiles of Icelandic MSS.)

"Till frågan om de gottländska bildstenarnes utvecklingsformer." By Fr. Nordin.

"Havelok the Dane and the Norse king of Dublin, Olaf Kvaran." By G. Storm. (*Videnskabs Selskabets Forhandlinger*, Christiania, 1879.)

GIFTS TO THE FUNDS, 1905.

TO GENERAL FUNDS.

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W. G. Collingwood	13	16	0
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Mrs. Newmarch	0	10	0
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Rev Canon Thornley	0	10	6
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****The Council of the Viking Club do not hold themselves responsible for statements or opinions appearing in papers in, or communications to, the* Saga-Book, *the authors being alone answerable for the same.*

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The present issue of the Saga-Book will complete Vol. IV., except for the Index, &c., which will be issued, if possible, with the next number.

Members are reminded that, although it has been the custom to date the Saga-Book in January of each year, as containing the Proceedings for the preceding twelve months, much of the matter to be printed is not in hand till after the close of the year, and its preparation for the press requires much care and labour. The Council, therefore, cannot undertake to place the Saga-Book in the hands of members before about the middle of the year.

DISTRICT REPORTS.

Owing to the great pressure on our space we are reluctantly compelled to hold back the reports received for last year from the under-mentioned Hon. District Secretaries:—

England:

East Anglia: Rev. W. C. Green.

Somersetshire: Rev. C. W. Whistler.

Iceland; Dr. Jón Stefansson.

Norway: Haakon Schetelig.

Our best thanks are due to the above-named for the assistance they have given us in the important work of local collection, the results of which are likely to prove in the future a valuable part of the records of the Club.

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1905.

MEETING, JANUARY 20TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The President gave his Presidential address for the session 1904-5. After commenting on the large increase in membership during the year and expressing his hope that still further efforts in this direction would be made in the general interest of the Club, he referred to the changes made in the rule under which subscriptions could be compounded for, of which several annual members had already taken alvantage, showing that the alteration was likely to be beneficial to members individually as well as to the Club in general.

After deploring various losses sustained by the Club, especially the death of Professor J. Willard Fiske, he proceeded as follows:—

"The meetings at which we have had papers read have been well attended, and the nature of the communications made to us have been such as any society might well be proud of. Both in intrinsic merit and interest they take a high place, as will be fully appreciated when our volume for the year is in the hands of members. Besides the regular evening meetings we have had two additional meetings, the visits to Cambridge and to the British Museum, each of great interest. Our best thanks are due to the Cambridge Archæological Society for their hospitality towards us on the former occasion, as well as to Mr. Edwin Sloper for the pains he took in so successfully organizing these meetings.

"On the last occasion that I addressed you from this chair I devoted my remarks almost entirely to the sub-

ject of Research, for the benefit of those who had the time and opportunity, as well as the desire to make themselves useful to the Club by engaging in scientific work, as I felt that they, especially the younger members, had a special claim upon me as their President to give them some directions and guidance.

"I am not going to take up your time and attention this evening in listening to me, while I discuss some scientific subject in which perhaps only a few of my audience may be interested, but propose to devote the time at my disposal to some matters connected with the Club itself, and to giving those who are present and who have not had the opportunity of visiting the most northern county of the United Kingdom,—with which this Club is so intimately connected, and over which Scandinavian influence was paramount for a considerably longer period and to a later date than elsewhere in His Britannic Majesty's dominions,—some idea of its physical aspects and of other features of interest it possesses, as far as the photographic slides at my disposal can convey such information. Those who are already acquainted with the county will, I hope, bear with me while I recount information with which they are already familiar, and I would ask them to endeavour to make the slides, as they are thrown on the screen, bring back to their minds pleasant recollections of the occasions on which they have visited the places shown. Such a plan will, I hope, be more in consonance with the social features of the meeting this evening than a formal address."

A series of lantern slides, illustrating the scenery of Orkney and the life of the people, were then shown and described by the President.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 17TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

Professor J. Wight Duff, M.A., read a paper on "Homer and Beowulf" which is printed on pages 382-406.

MEETING, MARCH 17TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

"Old Icelandic Churches," by Mrs. Disney Leith.

"A Visit to the Danework," by H. A. Kjær, M.A., Hon. strict Secretary for Denmark.

'The Ship Find in Norway," by Albany F. Major, on. Editor.

The first two papers are printed on pages 364-381 and -325. The third paper covered to a great extent the ıe ground as the District Report from Norway, contri- ed by Mr. Haakon Schetelig to the last number of the SA-BOOK (pages 54-66 of the present volume); but the owing particulars may be added. Some of these details the author of the paper has obtained from articles and reports of lectures by Professor Gabriel Gustafson, Hon. Life Member, and from information kindly given him by the learned Professor, while others are the result of his personal observation.

"Oseberg, where the ship was found, is in the parish of Slagen, about five miles N.E. of Tønsberg. The district is part of the old kingdom of Westfold, one of the most important and populous of the kingdoms into which Norway was divided in the days of the petty kings. Westfold was in fact the nucleus of the later kingdom of Norway. This district is very rich in antiquarian remains, and it is noteworthy that Gokstad, where the only other ship-burial that in any way rivals the present find was discovered, lies only some fifteen English miles from the site of the present find. A striking feature of the discovery was the depth at which the ship lay buried. When the excavation was complete she appeared to be lying at the bottom of a deep dock. The illustrations to Mr. Schetelig's District Report from Norway for last year (see pages 57-62 of the present volume) give some idea of this. Mr. Schetelig, in his report (page 56), states that the grave was in a natural recess of the clay soil. In

view of this and of the amount of water which impeded the work of excavation it would seem not unlikely that the spot chosen was originally the site of a small pool of water, which was partially drained off and filled up at the burial. During the preliminary investigations in 1903 a few objects of interest were found, among them being a beech-wood baler, the oaken cover of some vessel, which was carved with an interlaced pattern, and some spades, these latter being of the same pattern as some found with the Gokstad ship. There was also found a mass of greyish-white substance, which on examination was found to be down, closely pressed together, as if it had been in a cushion. Some of this was taken up on a piece of board on which it had been lying, and it was subsequently found that the wood beneath it bore the impression of an embroidered or woven pattern, no doubt from the perished cover of the cushion. Another remarkable find was a big wooden bucket, lying under some of the fallen roof-planks, which had squeezed it quite flat. The outside of it was covered with bands of bronze in various open-work patterns, the interstices being decorated with bands of iron, covered with white metal, tin or silver. On the upper lip of the bucket were four rings of the same metal. Inside it there were found in a little hollow between the flattened staves a small wooden scoop and some crab-apples. This splendid vessel had evidently been used to hold ale or mead at banquets in the olden time. As pointed out by Mr. Schetelig in his report last year, the contents of the grave were wonderfully well preserved. The remains of horses and other animals buried in the mound had undergone, indeed, so little decay that the task of disinterring them was a very unpleasant one, and in the horses' stomachs the grass they had eaten immediately before being sacrificed could still be distinguished. Wooden objects, when first found, were very soft from the water with which they were sodden, but they soon hardened when exposed to the air, and some of the oars in the

hip look almost new, and are in such good condition hat they could be used to-day. One chest in the grave-hamber was found unbroken. This was bound with iron, nd contained various beautiful objects, mostly for feminine work, such as a distaff, with the thread still n it, a batlet for beating clothes (as still used in Nor-ay, Iceland, and elsewhere), a milk-pail, a lamp, etc. here were also found in the chamber remains of fabrics ith inwoven figures. Outside in the ship there were, sides many kitchen utensils, a magnificent waggon, orated with carved human heads, four sledges, beauti-ly carved with animals' heads and partly painted, a nning wheel, a loom, with part of the woven web still maining, several beds, etc. The ship's gear included landing-plank, furnished with cross-ribs, closely re-sembling that found in the Gokstad ship. The ship itself is clinker-built, and a little smaller than the Gokstad ship, being about 21.7 meters long and now about 6.5 meters broad. The original breadth was probably not more than 5 meters, the difference being due to the bulging out of the sides under the pressure of the overlying stones and mound. She was pierced for fourteen oars a-side, as against sixteen in the case of the Gokstad ship. The oar-holes are in the top strake of the planking, whereas in the other vessel they are in the third strake from the top. The shutters, provided in the Gokstad ship to close the oar-holes when the oars were not in use, are likewise absent from the present vessel, and her sides are not so high above the water-line. From these indications it is assumed that the Slagen ship was intended chiefly for rowing and for use on the smooth waters of the Christiania and Tønsberg fiords. Moreover, both stem and stern posts are elaborately carved with a dragonesque pattern for a length of about 3 meters, and the ship carried no shields along her gunwales. It is, therefore, probable that she was not an actual Viking, or war, ship, but rather a pleasure yacht or state barge, belonging, if it was indeed her owner who was buried

in her, to a lady of high rank, perhaps to the wife of a king of Westfold in the days before Norway was united under the rule of Harald Fairhair. The period of the burial, however, has yet to be determined, if indeed it be possible to arrive at it even approximately.[1] In any case the find is remarkable for the great variety of articles discovered and the rich and finished style in which they are ornamented. As an instance of the degree of refinement to which the decoration is carried, it may be mentioned that on one of the sledges even the step for the driver to stand on was adorned with open-work carving. The find is certainly a further proof, if proof be needed, that in late heathen times, when such a ship-burial was still possible, the Norwegians had attained to a pitch of culture and civilization at home at least equal to that prevailing on the continent of Europe and in these islands at the same period, a fact too often overlooked by writers who judge the "Vikings" solely by the character given them by the chroniclers of the lands they ravaged in warfare.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 14TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House on Friday, April 14th, 1905, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year were presented to the meeting and were adopted unanimously, and are printed on pages 284-289. The officers of the Club for the ensuing year were also elected.

On the motion of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President elect, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council, the following address of congratulation to

[1] I have just been informed by Professor Gustafson that he is inclined to place the date in the first half of the ninth century, but the examination of the find is as yet by no means complete, and he cannot commit himself to any definite opinion on the point.—ED., February, 1906.

their Royal Highnesses Princess Margaret of Connaught
nd Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway on
ir approaching marriage was adopted and ordered to
sent:—

"May 29th, 1905.

"To Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret Victoria Augusta of Connaught:

"May it please your Royal Highness to accept from the Viking Club, a Society including, amongst others, Scandinavians and the descendants of Scandinavians who settled in the British Isles in bygone ages, this expression of the delight with which they heard of the betrothal of your Royal Highness to his Royal Highness Prince Oscar Frederick William Olaf Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway. The members of the Viking Club unfeignedly trust that your marriage may be for the welfare and happiness of yourself and the Royal Prince who is to be your husband, and will form a powerful link in the chains of friendship and kinship which unite the people of your native land with those of the countries over which we trust you may one day reign. They further congratulate the people of Sweden and Norway on the fact that in your Royal Highness they will have for their future Queen a Princess sprung from an ancient and royal line in whose veins, according to the traditions of their race, the blood of Odin flows.

"That your Royal Highness may attain life-long happiness is the earnest prayer of

"Your Royal Highness's most humble servants,

"The Members of the Viking Club.

"Amy Leslie, Hon. Secretary,
"103, Park Street,
"Grosvenor Square, W."

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., then read a paper on "The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names," which is printed on pages 294-311.

Mrs. H. W. Bannon exhibited a unique copy of the Icelandic Bible of 1584, which was described by Dr. Stefánsson, who also gave an account of the translator, Bishop Gudbrand Thorlaksson, to whom this copy had

probably belonged, as many of the manuscript notes in it appeared to be those of the translator himself. A vote of thanks was given to Mrs. Bannon for allowing the Club to see this interesting relic.

Dr. J. G. Garson, the retiring President, then vacated the chair in favour of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President elect, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks accorded by acclamation to Dr. Garson, on the motion of the new President.

The Hon. Secretary, Miss A. Leslie, has since received the following reply to the address sent to Princess Margaret of Connaught on behalf of the members of the Club:—

"Clarence House,
"St. James's, S.W.,
"May 30th.

"Dear Madam,

"Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret desires me to thank the members of the Viking Club for the very kind wishes they have sent to her.

"Princess Margaret looks forward with great pleasure to her future home in Sweden, and it will be a great pleasure to her to feel that there are links in the past as well as that of the future between Prince Gustaf Adolf's country and her own.

"Will you please convey Her Royal Highness's thanks and good wishes to the members of the Viking Club.

"I remain, Madam,
"Truly yours,
(Signed) "LEILA MILNE."

The Annual Dinner was held at the Bruton Gallery, Bruton Street, W., on Tuesday, May 9th, 1905, at 7-15 p.m., on the eve of the opening of an exhibition of pictures by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President, on Icelandic and Norwegian Scenery and Saga Subjects. The chair was taken by the President, the Vice-Chairmen being Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, Colonel Hobart, Vice-President, and Mr. H. L. Brækstad, Vice-President. Over eighty members and friends were present, including Baron Bildt, the Swedish and Norwegian Minister, and the Right Hon. J. Bryce, M.P., who were guests of the Club, Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., Professor W. P. Ker, and Mr. J. Gollancz. Mr. Hall Caine was invited, but was prevented from attending at the last moment, and sent the following letter of regret:—

"Hotel Cecil,
"London, W.C.,
"May 9th, 1905.

"Dear Mr. Collingwood,

"After all (although I am not quite sure) I greatly fear that I shall not be well enough to be present at the dinner of the Viking Club to-night. This is a great disappointment to me. Although, as far as I know, directly descended from the Vikings who came over with Orry, I have not, unhappily, inherited their physical strength, and a week or two in London has been sufficient to put me to bed. Otherwise it would have been a great pleasure to show my sympathy with the aims of your Club in stimulating Northern research and the popularization of Scandinavian literature and antiquities.

"As you know, I have twice visited Iceland, and on both occasions have been stirred to great admiration and emotion by the scenes of fire and frost which you have so vigorously and faithfully depicted in the pictures that form the chief attraction of your forthcoming exhibition.

"I have also been deeply touched by the many proofs of kinship between the Icelanders as they now are and the people of my own little island, the Isle of Man, so that being in Iceland I have felt myself to be at home, and being at home to be in Iceland—so strikingly do the two little races which are one appear to clasp hands across the space of a thousand years.

"But most of all as an author I have been stirred and stimulated by the great literature of the Sagas, and anxious to see the introduction of the elemental spirit which inspires it into modern imaginative art. If I could in any way help towards bringing back that elemental spirit how happy and how proud I should be! And in this connection I may, perhaps, be pardoned if I say that, at the request of the Directors of Drury Lane Theatre, I have undertaken during the forthcoming summer to consider how far it would be possible to present on the boards of their historic house a short series of the great dramas which are to be found in the mighty Saga literature of the past. In such an effort, if I were able to make it, I am sure I should have the spontaneous sympathy of the members of the Viking Club, who would realize that, whatever concessions the dramatist might be required to make to the modern spirit and the practical necessities of the stage, I should be first of all impelled by a desire to bring back to a drama that is, perhaps, too much concerned with the unworthier passions of domestic intrigue, the healthy, wholesome, elemental emotions which have given the Sagas their immortal life.

"Again regretting deeply the indisposition which threatens to deprive me of the pleasure of your dinner to-night,

"I am,

"Yours very truly,

(*Signed*) "HALL CAINE.

"Wm. Collingwood, Esq."

Swedish Minister, in responding to the toast of
ealth, remarked on the extent to which words of
nglish origin were finding their way into Scandinavian
rature. He instanced the respective fields of politics,
ocial life, and sport. He was glad to say the mutual
elationship of these islands and Scandinavia had been
rdial since the time of the English Charles II. and,
luding to the coming marriage of a Prince of Sweden
nd Norway with Princess Margaret of Connaught, he pointed out that she was not the first English Princess who had gone from these islands to Norway and Sweden, while as further instances of the connection that existed between the royal houses of the two countries in bygone times, he mentioned the "Maid of Norway" and Queen Phillipa, to whom was owing the only pre-Reformation monastery in England that was still in existence, that at Chudleigh, in Devon. There was no country where a Britisher was sure of a better welcome than in Scandinavia, because their ways of thinking and regarding the problems of life were about the same.

The Chairman, in proposing the health of the guests, coupled with the name of Mr. Bryce, said no one had written with so much sympathy of Iceland's scholarship as had the Right Hon. gentleman. He had analyzed the constitution of the Icelandic Republic in a masterly manner.

Mr. Bryce, in a brief response, described the literature of the old north as one of the only two original literatures in modern Europe. It was well to get and study an original literature, because the world was getting terribly monotonous, as was shown by the spasmodic efforts made to get rid of monotony by conduct either

eccentric or morbid. If they wanted to get back to what Mr. Hall Caine had described as the elemental emotions, they could not do better than get the literature of the old north. The only other parallel was the literature of the early Celts, which one of their guests, Miss Hull, was presenting to us in an English dress. There was something, however, more original than even the literature of the old north, and that was its landscape, which was quite unlike that of any other part of the world. It presented a combination which left upon the mind an ineffaceable impression. It was gratifying to know that the literature of the north was becoming more known in England, and even better known in America. They, as Vikings, could only hope that the influence of the ancient Norse literature would tell upon America, and that it would be a stimulus of something novel, fresh, powerful, and dramatic in American literature.

Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., in proposing the toast of the Society, in the course of his remarks made an appeal to the Club to do some practical, living work. In Orkney there was a great field before them. The Standing Stones of Stenness, after Stonehenge, the most interesting relic of a forgotten age that we possessed, were gradually going from worse to worse, many were already fallen and might be easily replaced, and a very little expenditure on the others would put them in a safe condition. They were fortunate in having in Mr. J. W. Cursiter, of Kirkwall (Vice-President of the Club), a gentleman who would give his affectionate attention to such a proposal, and he felt sure that the Club had only to lay their desire before Colonel Balfour to get his permission to undertake urgent repairs at once. Possibly, later on, Colonel Balfour might give the Club a lease of the land, and they might fence it in to protect the stones from cattle. Meanwhile all that was necessary was to get permission to spend a few pounds on the stones from time to time.

The dinner was followed by a musical entertainment

w Miss Otta Brony, the Danish soprano, Mr. Arthur rugnell, baritone, and Mr. Mansell Stevens, pianist.

The heading for the menu, which is reproduced above, was specially designed for the occasion by the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood.

MEETING, MAY 12TH.

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

Miss S. C. Rücker read a paper on "Some Notes on : Supernatural Element in Icelandic Literature," which unavoidably held over.

It was announced that Mr. F. T. Norris had resigned : post of Editor and had been appointed an Hon. Vice-President of the Club and member of the Council. On the motion of Mr. Albany F. Major, Joint Editor, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council, and supported by the President, a vote of thanks to Mr. Norris for the services he had rendered to the Club during the ten years he had been its Editor was passed by acclamation.

VISIT TO THE BRUTON GALLERY, JUNE 3RD.

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 3rd, the Exhibition of Water-colour Drawings of Iceland, etc., by the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, held at the Bruton Gallery, Bruton Street, W., was open specially for the Viking Club, and was visited by a large number of members and friends. In the course of the afternoon Mr. Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor, gave a brief account of the events recorded in the Sagas, which make Thingvellir, Helgafell, and other scenes depicted in Mr. Collingwood's sketches no less memorable for lovers of the literature of the north, than are Tintagel and Camelot for lovers of Arthurian romance, or the "bonnie braes of Yarrow" for lovers of the Border minstrelsy.

VISIT TO BEDFORD, JULY 1ST.

On Saturday, July 1st, a party of about 26 members and friends proceeded to Bedford to visit Willington Camp and other sites connected with the Anglo-Danish campaign of A.D. 921, described by Mr. A. R. Goddard in his paper on "The Danish Camp on the Ouse, near Bedford," in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., pages 326-337. Mr. Goddard, who conducted the expedition, met the party on their arrival at Bedford, and drove with them first to the "King's Ditch," on the outskirts of the town, probably the work of Edward the Elder, who captured Bedford from the Danes, and, according to Mr. Goddard's theory, constructed this work to protect the lines of the garrison he placed there. A great part of the Ditch is still in existence, and, where it has been diverted, Mr. Goddard took the party along the line it anciently followed. Willington Camp was next visited, and the old earthworks and site of the harbour and naust described in Mr. Goddard's paper were carefully inspected. The party then drove on to Tempsford, where a substantial lunch awaited them at the old "Anchor" Inn, with its pleasant garden sloping down to the river. After lunch, Tempsford Camp, the site of the Danish headquarters during the campaign in question, first claimed attention, after which the party drove back to Bedford, crossing the river below Willington to visit sites on the other side, probably connected with the same campaign. The first of these was Renhold Camp, on the high ground rising sharply from the valley over against Willington. Between the two camps the river at one time probably broadened out into a lagoon, and Renhold would have served as an outwork to protect the passage across the lagoon from Willington of an army advancing on Bedford. Bloody Battle Bridge, and the Risinghoe, a great mound close to the bridge, which may be a burial mound,[1] were passed on the way back to Bedford, and possibly mark the battle-field, on which the Danes met the overthrow in

[1] See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iv., part I., pages 238-9.

which this campaign ended. On reaching Bedford the party found tea provided in the "Embankment" Hotel. After tea, Mr. Goddard made a few remarks upon the connection of the Danes with Bedford, and received a hearty vote of thanks for the care with which he had organized and conducted a most successful outing. Before the return journey to town, Bedford Town Hall was visited, and a Saxon and Danish sword dug up in the neighbourhood were inspected.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 17TH.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

Pastor Axel Bergh, Danish Chaplain in London, gave a lecture on "Faröe and the Faröese" with Lantern Illustrations. The lecturer, who was born and brought up in Faröe, gave a vivid sketch of the islands and of the ways and mode of living of the inhabitants. The chief industries of the islands, catching and curing fish, collecting sea-birds and their eggs, and whale fishing, were depicted, and the primitive life of the people, only now beginning to yield before the influence from the outside world, which has followed upon the removal of the restrictions upon trade, were set before the audience in a way only possible to one who knew his subject from the inside and had lived the life he described. The constant perils which beset, in their daily occupations, the inhabitants of these rugged, lonely islands, set in the midst of the stormy Northern seas, were brought vividly home to the hearers. An excellent set of magic-lantern slides greatly added to the interest of the evening.

MEETING DECEMBER 15TH.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

The Chairman of the Council, Mr. A. W. Johnston, reported that the following telegrams had been sent to the King and Queen of Norway and to the Norwegian

Prime Minister, on the occasion of their Majesties' arrival at Christiania, November 25th, 1905:—

"To His Majesty King Haakon, Christiania,

"Viking Club, England, wishes long life and happiness to Norway's King and to his Queen, England's daughter."

For Viking Club, Albany Major,
30, Waldrons, Croydon.

"To Premier Minister, Michelsen, Christiania.

"Viking Club, England, trusts Norway will flourish under the royal line that to-day ascends Harald Haarfager's ancient throne."

The following reply had been received:—

"Am commanded by King and Queen of Norway to thank Viking Club, England, for their good wishes."

HENRY KNOLLYS.

The reply was ordered to be inserted in the minute-book.

A paper on "Ship-Burials," by Mr. Haakon Schetelig, Hon. District Secretary for Norway, was read, and is printed on pages 326-363.

In addition to the above meetings, by the courtesy of the Folk-Lore Society, the members of the Viking Club were specially invited to attend a meeting of that Society, held at 22, Albemarle Street, W., on Wednesday, February 15th, when Mr. Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor of the Viking Club and Member of the Council of the Folk-Lore Society, read a paper on "The Ragnarøk and Valhalla Myths and Evidence as to the Period from which they date."

This paper will be included in an extra number, which the Hon. Editor hopes to prepare for publication at no very distant date.

Also on Saturday, May 20th, at the invitation of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, representing the Viking Club, read his paper on "The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names, with their Bearing on Yorkshire Place-Names" (pages 294-311), before a meeting of the society at Holmfirth.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

METHODS OF WORK.

During the year 1904 the work of the Club included:—The holding of six Meetings for the reading and discussion of Papers on Northern subjects; visits to Cambridge and the British Museum; the social function of the Annual Dinner; adding to the Library and the Museum; the amendment of the law relating to life subscription; the foundation of an Endowment Fund; the survey of Orkney Place-Names; and the continuation of the Book Agency.

The Council recommend that the work of the Club should be continued on similar lines during the forthcoming year.

MEETINGS.

January 15th.—Inaugural Address, "Research." J. G. Garson, M.D., President, followed by a Conversazione.

February 12th.—"Scandinavian *Motifs* in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation." Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.S.L.

"The Place-Name 'Wetwang.'" Rev. E. Maule Cole, M.A., F.G.S.

March 11th.—"Traces of Danish Settlement and Conquest in Cambridgeshire." E. Hailstone, F.R.Hist.S.

"Some Anthropological Notes from Orkney." M. Mackenzie Charleson, F.S.A.Scot.

April 15th.—"Metres in the Sæmundar Edda." Part II. J. Lawrence, D.Lit.Lond.

May 28th.—Visit to Cambridge. "The Saxon and Danish Antiquities of Cambridge and its Neighbourhood." Rev. J. W. E Conybeare.

"The Danish Settlement at Cambridge." Edwin Sloper, F.G.S.

November 18th.—"Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms of Old in the North." Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A.

December 16th.—"Notes on the British Saga of King William." W. G. Collingwood, M.A.

EXCURSIONS.

May 28th.—Visit to Cambridge.

December 10th.—Visit to the British Museum.

SAGA-BOOK AND PUBLICATIONS.

The *Saga-Book* for 1903 has been issued to all Members for 1903 and to Members elected in 1904.

The *Saga-Book* for 1904 is now in the printer's hands, and will be issued in April to Members who have paid their subscription.

Prospectuses will be issued for the Second Volume of the Translation Series and other Works in progress.

A Prospectus will be issued for a Bibliography of Northern Literature by Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Members having works to publish should communicate with Mr. A. F. Major.

The following Members have been appointed a Publications Committee: G. M. Atkinson, W. G. Collingwood, Dr. J. G. Garson, A. W. Johnston, A. F. Major, F. T. Norris.

PAPERS FOR MEETINGS.

Mr. A. F. Major, "Bifröst," 30, The Waldrons, Croydon, will be glad to hear from any Members who are prepared to read Papers before the Club, or to receive suggestions as to Non-Members who might be invited to read Papers; also to be informed of any works or articles by Members, or others, bearing on the studies of the Club.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The collection of books and antiquities remains in the temporary charge of Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., as Hon. Librarian. A catalogue is in preparation, and will be issued to Members when completed. The Hon. Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of books and antiquities to the Library and Museum, and cases for books and exhibits.

ENDOWMENT FUND AND COMPOUNDED SUBSCRIPTIONS.

At a Special General Meeting held on December 16th, 1904, the following resolutions were approved:—

(*a*) That (1) Entrance Fee of 11s. be charged from Jan. 1st., 1905. (2) Life Subscription of £10 to include Entrance Fee. (3) Members who have paid 5 and 10 Annual Subscriptions may compound for £8 and £6 respectively. (4) Members to be allowed to pay Life Subscription by instalments, and Libraries to compound for a limited number of Annual Subscriptions, as shall be fixed by the Council. (5) Members ceasing to belong to the Club before completion of their Life Instalments, may, upon re election, resume and complete same.

(*b*) All Entrance Fees, Life Subscriptions and Instalments, and Compositions, to be invested in an Endowment Fund, in name of Trustees, in Government or other approved stock, and the interest to be alone available for the Annual Expenditure of the Club.

(*c*) That there shall be one or more Hon. Editors, that the office of Honorary Convenor shall be included in that of Honorary Secretary, and the various duties be re-arranged by the Council.

(*d*) That the Council amend the Law-Book in accordance with foregoing resolutions.

MEMBERSHIP.

ring the year 1904 the Club lost one Member by death our by withdrawal, while thirty-eight Subscribing and two orary Members have been added to the roll, and the exchange *oceedings* arranged with three Societies.

t the close of the year the Membership consisted of 57 and [illegible] Subscribing Members, and the *Proceedings* it Societies.

dment of the Compounding Law five Members and five arranged to pay their composition by

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1904, is appended.

The printing and postage of prospectus cost £37 12s., and resulted in the gain of £18 in Annual Subscriptions, £10 Composition, and £30 for the sale of back works, or a total of £58, showing a surplus of £20 8s.

The Book Agency shows a profit of £6 9s. 8d., including £2 2s. 10d. net value of stock in hand.

Adopted by the Council,

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

March 4th, 1905.

Ad pted by the Annual General Meeting,

J. G. GARSON, *President.*

April 4th, 1905.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31st, 1904.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To Horsford Fund for Printing and Illustrating "Thing-Steads," by F. T. Norris	47	6	0
,, Major Fund for Printing "Saga Studies," by A. F. Major	5	0	0
,, Compounded Subscriptions—1903 £20 0 0			
1904 14 0 0			
	34	0	0
,, Subscription to Publication Account	0	2	6
,, Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery	8	16	6
,, Rent of Rooms, November, 1903—December, 1904	2	3	6
,, Subscriptions for 1905 paid in 1904 (21) ..	10	11	0
,, Subscriptions irrecoverable, 1902 (1), 1903 (2), 1904 (2)	2	10	0
,, Purchase of Books for Members	22	5	7
,, Subscriptions received for Icelandic Literary Society	0	16	3
,, Subscriptions received for Society of Northern Antiquaries	5	15	6
,, Balance, being Surplus at December 31st, 1904—			
Library, Museum, Stationery, and Blocks £162 15 0			
Stock of Books on Sale .. 2 2 10			
Stock of *Saga-Books* on Sale .. 300 0 0			
Cash 55 2 8			
	520	0	6
	£659	7	4

ASSETS.				£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions 1902 (1), 1903 (7), 1904 (19) ..				13	10	0
,, Books Sold				7	3	1
,, Library, Museum, Stationery, and Blocks ..				162	15	0
,, Books in Stock for Sale—						
From 1903	£6	6	11			
Bought in 1904	4	13	8			
	11	0	7			
Sold in 1904	8	17	9			
				2	2	10
,, *Saga-Books* in Stock for Sale				300	0	0
,, Cash in Bank	£128	8	5			
Less Cheques drawn in 1904, cashed in 1905	4	8	8			
	123	19	9			
,, Consols, £50	44	10	8			
,, Cash with Assistant Secretary ..	2	0	0			
,, Cash with Hon. Treasurer ..	3	16	0			
				173	16	5
				£659	7	4

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Dr. BOOK AGENCY ACCOUNT. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Stock from 1903	6	6	11
,, Cash for Stock Purchased	4	13	8
,, ,, for Books for Members	38	4	3
,, ,, for Carriage and Postage	1	11	0
,, Icelandic Literary Society Subscription.. ..	0	16	3
,, Society of Northern Antiquaries Subscription ..	5	15	6
,, Booksellers, for Books for Members	22	5	7
,, Profit	6	9	8
	£86	2	10

	£	s.	d.
By Cash for Books Sold	70	5	2
,, Cash Subscription to Icelandic Literary Society..	0	16	3
,, Cash Subscription to Society of Northern Antiquaries	5	15	6
,, Members owing for Books	7	3	1
,, Balance, net value of Stock in hand, December 31st, 1904	2	2	10
	£86	2	10

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer and Librarian.*

ACCOUNT OF THE FUNDS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

FROM JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1904.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance from 1903—Bank Current Account	145 18 7	
,, Deposit ,, ...	30 0 4	
		175 18 11
,, Annual Subscriptions, 1902 (1)	0 10 0	
,, ,, ,, 1903 (7)	3 10 0	
,, ,, ,, 1904 (133)*	66 13 7	
,, ,, ,, 1905 (21)	10 11 0	
		81 4 7
,, Life Subscriptions—Instalment (1)	2 0 0	
,, ,, ,, Composition (2)	16 0 0	
		18 0 0
,, Gifts		7 1 0
,, Interest on Bank Accounts		3 18 10
,, Sale of *Saga-Books*		21 12 9
,, Advertisements in *Saga-Book*		2 6 0
,, Annual Dinner. Sale of Tickets (45)		13 10 6
,, Cambridge Visit, Sale of Tickets		20 8 0
,, Book Agency—Sale of Books	70 5 2	
Subscriptions to the Icelandic Literary Society	0 16 3	
Subscription to the Society of Northern Antiquaries	5 15 6	
		76 16 11
		£420 17 6

*Two anonymous money orders received from Leipzig and Göttingen.

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Working Expenses:—		
Cheques	0 6 6	
Bank Charges	0 3 7	
Commission to Trade for Collection of Subscriptions	0 17 0	
Printing and Stationery	14 5 11	
Fire Insurance Premium	0 18 0	
Reference Book	0 5 0	
Refreshments at Meetings	2 8 8	
Assistant Secretary's Honorarium	5 17 6	
Postages, etc.	18 18 5	
		44 0 7
,, Expenses, Annual Dinner		12 13 0
,, Expenses, Cambridge Visit		21 3 8
,, Book Agency—Books for Members	38 4 3	
Purchase of Stock	4 13 8	
Postage and Carriage	1 11 0	
		44 8 11
,, *Saga-Book*, Vol. III., Part III., Printing, Illustrating, and Posting		67 3 3
,, Orkney Survey of Place-Names, Printing Forms ..		11 1 0
,, Prospectus—Printing	15 9 6	
Postage	22 2 6	
		37 12 0
,, Excess of Life Subscription		4 0 0
,, Advance by Hon. Treasurer, 1904		4 18 8
,, Balance—Bank	128 8 5	
Less Cheques drawn in 1904 cashed in 1905	4 8 8	
	123 19 9	
Consols, £50	44 0 8	
Cash with Assistant Secretary	2 0 0	
Cash with Hon. Treasurer	3 16 0	
		173 16 5
		£420 17 6

Examined and found correct, W. V. M. POPHAM, A. O. BELFOUR, } *Hon. Auditors.*

GIFT OF A PICTURE TO THE VIKING CLUB.

The President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, has generously presented "THE PARLIAMENT OF ANCIENT ICELAND," one of the most important works shown at the Exhibition of his works, held in the spring at the Bruton Gallery, to the Viking Club. The picture is described as follows in the catalogue of the Exhibition:—

> **At the Althing, held every midsummer at Thingvellir, the Law-speaker recited the laws from the Løgberg (Rock of Law). The place usually shown as such is not now believed to have been the true Løgberg of early times. The rock painted in the picture is more likely to have been the real scene of the ceremony. The foundations of the two "booths" shown below the rock are still there: to the left is the Thingbrekka (Slope of the Meeting), and to the right is the Allmannagjá (All Men's Rift), the famous cleft in the lava where the people congregated. In the distance is Thingvalla Lake, on the bank of which are now the church and parsonage, not yet built at the time the picture represents.**

The picture has been hung in the Gothic Hall at the King's Weigh House, where the meetings of the Club are held, and where it can be seen by members at other times on application to the caretaker.

The picture is one of great interest and value to the Club, not only on account of its great artistic merits, but as recording also the grand scenery of a spot so interesting to all lovers of the Icelandic Sagas, and depicting, as closely as is possible in the case of events so distant, such a scene as a meeting of the famous Althing must have presented.

WEDDING PRESENT TO H.R.H. PRINCESS MARGARET OF CONNAUGHT.

As the result of the general feeling that the marriage of a Princess of England with a Prince of Sweden should not pass unnoticed by the Viking Club, it was decided to purchase, by subscription among members desirous of participating, a picture from the Exhibition of Water-

colour Drawings of Iceland and Northern Subjects by Mr. W. G. Collingwood. The President, hearing of the proposal, kindly placed at the disposal of members for this purpose his beautiful drawing, "KJARTAN FINDS HREFNA WEARING THE COIF," which was generally felt to be one of the most suitable pictures in the collection for such a presentation. It is described in the catalogue as follows:—

> The hero of the Laxdale Saga, coming home to Iceland, brought from the Princess of Norway, who had made love to him in vain, a wonderful head-dress for Gudrun, his betrothed. When he arrived at Gufaróss on the White River and set up his booth or stone-walled tent (the actual view from the ruins of the trading-booths of the Viking age is seen through the doorway in the picture), he found Gudrun married to his friend Bolli. His sister Thurid, and Hrefna, sister of his skipper, Kálf, came to see the treasures he had brought. They unpacked the coif, and Thurid was trying it on Hrefna's head, when Kjartan came to the door. In the end he married Hrefna, and was killed through Gudrun's jealousy. The parallel, but much earlier, story of Sigurd the Vølsung is shown in the carvings on the chests. Kjartan's cross-shield (for he had been made a Christian in Norway) hangs over his high-seat.

The following letter was accordingly sent to ask if Her Royal Highness would accept the gift from the Club:—

"June 13th, 1905.

"TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS MARGARET OF CONNAUGHT:

"May it please your Royal Highness:

"The Council of the Viking Club desire, on behalf of the members of the Club, to present to your Royal Highness and His Royal Highness Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway a water colour painting by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., President of the Club, entitled 'Kjartan finds Hrefna wearing the Coif,' a description of which is given in the accompanying catalogue of an Exhibition at the Bruton Galleries, in which this picture was included (No. 8 in the catalogue).

"They trust that your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to accept this gift and also an account of 'A Pilgrimage to the Saga Steads of Iceland,' by the President and Dr. Jón

Stefánsson, another member of the Club, in which the names of the members who have joined in this gift to your Royal Highness will be inserted.

"Your Royal Highness's most humble servants,

"THE MEMBERS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

(*Signed*) "Amy Leslie, Hon. Secretary,
"103, Park Street,
"Grosvenor Square, W."

Her Royal Highness having intimated that she would happy to accept the gift so kindly offered by the ing Club, the picture was sent, and the following nowledgment was received by the Hon. Secretary:—

"Clarence House,
"St. James's, S.W.
"June 16th.

"Dear Madam,

"Princess Margaret desires me to thank the members of the Viking Club for the picture they have so kindly sent her, a picture that is full of interest for Her Royal Highness.

"It has safely arrived—please convey the Princess's thanks to the members of the Club.

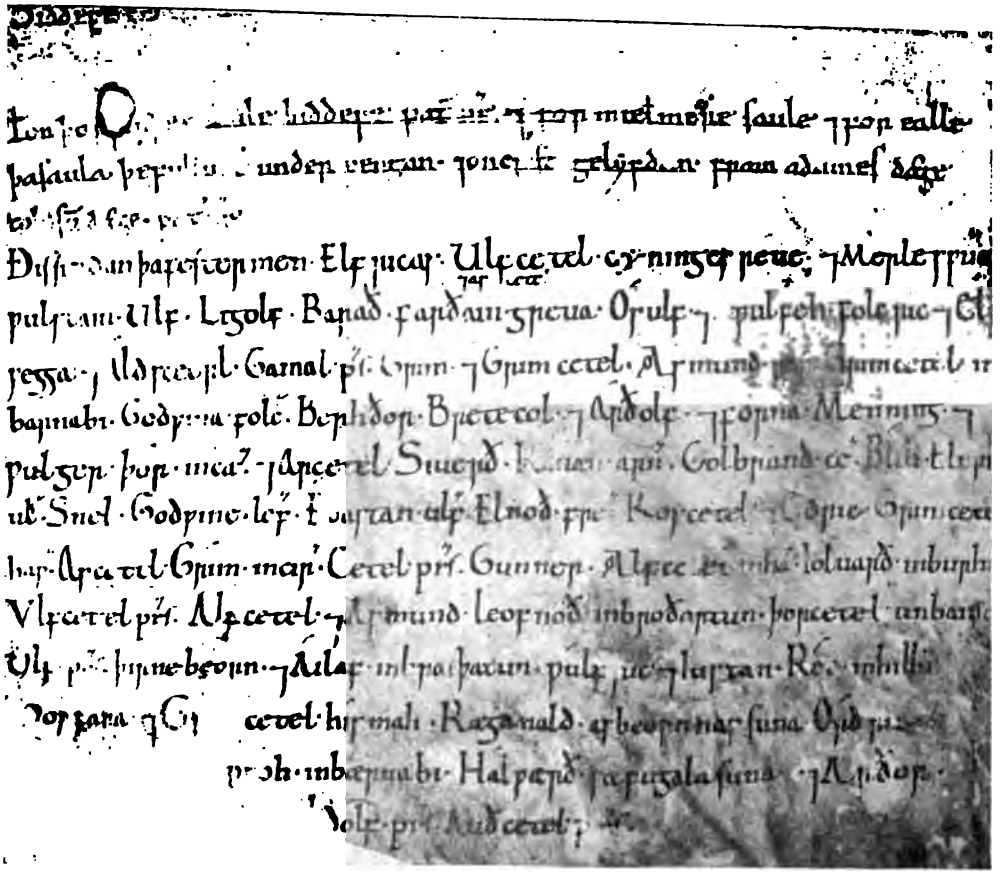
"Truly yours,
(*Signed*) "LEILA MILNE."

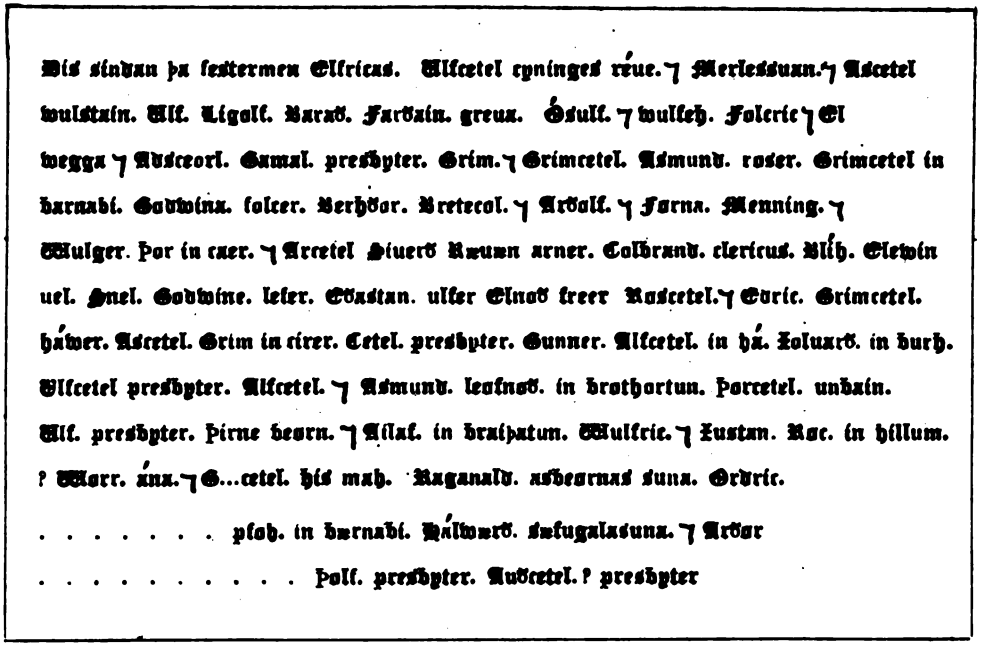
The list of subscribers was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
The Lady Abinger	2	2	0
Anonymous	1	1	0
Rev. Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley		10	6
G. M. Atkinson	1	1	0
Mrs. Helen W. Bannon	2	2	0
Sir John Barran, Bart...		10	0
Miss Olive Bray		10	6
R. L. Bremner		5	0
William Brown		10	0
Rev. R. Ashington Bullen	2	2	0
Frank C. Capel	1	1	0
A. G. Chater		10	0
Miss Corfield		5	0
W. T. Crampton		10	0
J. P. Emslie		10	0
Major J. Fielding		10	0
Miss Francesca Foster		10	0
Professor Gabriel Gustafson	1	0	0

E. Hailstone		10	0
J. A. Harvie-Brown	1	0	0
Colonel Hobart	2	2	0
R. H. Hodgkin		5	0
Miss M. L. Hodgson		5	0
Rev. Canon J. Clare Hudson		5	0
B. E. Hughes		10	0
Dr. Charles E. Ingbert..	1	0	0
A. W. Johnston	1	1	0
T. Davies Jones	1	1	0
Professor W. P. Ker	1	1	0
W. F. Kirby		5	0
L. Nielsen Ladefoged	1	1	0
Dr. J. M. Laughton	1	11	0
Dr. J. Lawrence	1	1	0
Mrs. Disney Leith		10	6
Eirík Magnússon Mrs. Sigríðr E. Magnússon	1	1	0
A. F. Major	1	1	0
Mrs. A. F. Major		10	6
Mark B. F. Major	1	1	0
Rev. C. A. Moore		10	0
Mrs. Dorothy H. H. Newmarch		10	6
R. R. Nichol		10	0
F. T. Norris		10	6
O. T. Olsen	1	1	0
Dr. George Pernet		10	6
Mrs. Pocklington-Coltman	1	0	0
W. Hulbert Popley		5	0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay ..	1	0	0
J. Stirling Ross		5	0
Miss S. C. Rücker	1	1	0
Cecil Roy Saunders		7	6
F. G. Smart	3	3	0
Captain A. Sölling		8	0
Mrs. J. J. Stevenson		10	0
Rev. Pastor A. V. Storm		5	6
Miss Agnes Swain		10	6
Ernest Swain	1	1	0
W. N. Thompson		5	0
Rev. Canon John J. Thornley		10	6
Professor T. N. Toller		10	0
Francis William Tudsbery Tudsbery	1	1	0
The Rev. Chas. W. Whistler	1	1	0
T. McKinnon Wood	1	0	0

A reproduction of the picture has been presented by the President to all the subscribers.





Dis sindan þa festermen Elfricas. Ulfcetel cyninges réue. ⁊ Merlessuan. ⁊ Ascetel
wulstain. Ulf. Ligolf. Barað. Farðain. greua. Ósulf. ⁊ wulfeh. Folcric ⁊ El
wegga ⁊ Adsceorl. Gamal. presbyter. Grim. ⁊ Grimcetel. Asmund. roser. Grimcetel in
barnabi. Godwina. folcer. Berhðor. Bretecol. ⁊ Arðolf. ⁊ Forna. Menning. ⁊
Wulger. Þor in caer. ⁊ Arcetel Siuerð Ræuæn arner. Colbrand. clericus. Blíh. Elewin
uel. Snel. Godwine. lefer. Eðastan. ulfer Elnoð freer Roscetel. ⁊ Edric. Grimcetel.
háwer. Ascetel. Grim in cirer. Cetel. presbyter. Gunner. Alfcetel. in há. Zoluarð. in burh.
Ulfcetel presbyter. Alfcetel. ⁊ Asmund. leofnoð. in brothortun. Þorcetel. unbain.
Ulf. presbyter. Þirne beorn. ⁊ Ailaf. in braiþatun. Wulfric. ⁊ Zustan. Roc. in hillum.
? Worr. ána. ⁊ G...cetel. his mah. Raganald. asbeornas suna. Ordric.
. . . . . pfoh. in bærnabi. Hálwærð. sæfugalasuna. ⁊ Arðor
. . . . . Þolf. presbyter. Auðcetel. ? presbyter

THE OLDEST KNOWN LIST OF SCANDINAVIAN NAMES.

Facsimile of the page of the original Codex containing the Name with a transcript showing the abbreviations of the original document in full.

THE OLDEST KNOWN LIST OF SCANDINAVIAN NAMES.

By JÓN STEFANSSON, Ph.D., Hon. District Secretary for Iceland.

THE list of names which I am about to bring to your notice was found in a vellum codex of the Gospels in Latin, in the Library of York Minster. The MS., size 10½ inches by 8¼, was written about the middle of the tenth century. On the last leaf of the MS. is a Bidding Prayer in a later hand, the oldest of its kind in English, which has been published by the Rev. T. F. Simmons in "The Lay Folks Mass Book," London, 1879, Early English Text Society. Under this Prayer, in a contemporary hand, is the list of names given here. It consists of twelve lines, the last three of which are somewhat damaged. The ending *-er, presbyter* (priest) and *clericus* are abbreviated in the MS.

A facsimile of the original and a full transcript are given on the preceding pages; upon these we now proceed to comment.

THESE ARE THE BONDSMEN OF ELFRIC. According to the Northumbrian priestlaw a priest, on election, must be supported by twelve bondsmen or fide-jussors, as a security that he would observe the laws. Elfric, who was elected Archbishop of York in 1023, is supported here by no less than 70 men, guaranteeing his good behaviour. The fester- in "festermen" seems due to Norse "festar-," in compounds "pledged," "having given troth;" for the Old English "fester-" means throughout "foster-," *e.g.*, in "fester-fæðer," "fester-moðor," except in this word. The place-names seem to

be from South Yorkshire: Barnabi, Bærnabi=Barnby, Barmby. Braiþatun=Brayton. Brothortun=Brotherton. Caer=Car, Kereby. Há=Ho. Hillum=Hillam.

Not counting the mutilated names with which lines 10 and 11 begin, there are 76 names, some of which occur more than once, Alfcetel (2), Asmund (2), Grim (2), Ulf (2), Ulfcetel (2), Ascetel (2), Grimcetel (4).

Prof. G. Stephens, of Copenhagen, published this list of names in a Danish periodical in 1881, without attempting to identify any of them.

ADSCEORL. Old English. According to Searle it only occurs once in Old English literature.

AILAF. Old Norse Eilífr. On Danish Runic Stones: Ailaif. Saxo: Eliuus. Necrologium Lundense: Elif, but Elauus as late as the fourteenth century in Denmark. Domesday Book: Elaf (8),[1] Eilaf (7), in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Liber Vitae: Aeilaf, Eilaf. Eilaf occurs on coins in the tenth century (Grueber),[2] and William the Conqueror has a housecarle of that name in A.D. 1075. The name is sometimes anglicised as Eglaf, a Danish chieftain in A.D. 1009 (Sym.), and Eglaf who witnesses Cnut's charters in 1023, and four years earlier is called Eilaf (Birch). Eylaf, a Dane, occurs in the A.S. Chron. 1025. Eileifr, Eiláfr, the prototypes of this name, are not recorded in literature, but must have existed. In Norwegian place-names the name appears as Ellev-, Elles-, Els-, and is thus common to Denmark and Norway.

ALFCETEL. Old Norse Álfketill. Danish Runic Stones: Alfkil. Saxo: Alkillus. D.B.: Alchel (1), Alchil (1), Alchetel (1), all settled in Yorkshire. Aylkil, A.D. 958 (Birch), in Suffolk, shows how early the Danish slurring of the name took place. *Norwegian*, see under Arcetel.

ÁNA. Old Norse Áni. Danish Runic Stones: Ano. Saxo: Ano. In Norway in the place-name Aanestad.

ARCETEL. Old Norse Arnketill. The shortening of ketill to kill seems to have taken place very early

[1] These figures give the number of persons in D.B. of this name.

[2] For list of authorities, references, and abbreviations see at the end.

in Denmark. Danish coins of the eleventh century have Arkil, while the "Reichenau Necrologium," end of the tenth century, containing names of pilgrims from all over the North, has Arnkil side by side with the Norwegian Icelandic Arnchetil, and with Aercil, probably a Dane. ill earlier, the Arkil of the "Liber Vitae" shows how rly this slurring took place among the Danes in England. he Old Swedish is Arkil. Danish-Swedish -kil, -kel, orrespond to Icelandic-Norwegian -ketill, as Konráð ísíslason has shown.

He has proved that the Norse names ending in -kell ended in -ketill as late as the early part of the eleventh century. Taking the Scaldic verse of that ıe, -ketill is the established form in Norwegian and :elandic names, while Thorkel the High, a Danish chieftain, appears as Þorkell, and a Swedish king as Steinkell. This is conclusive evidence that the nine men in the list whose names end in -cetel were Norwegians, while Cetel by itself is more doubtful, though not apparently found as a man's name in Old Danish. That the Arkitel of a charter A.D. 958 and the Arcytel in Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus," A.D. 975, were Norwegians, while the Arcil who appears often in Birch's "Cartularium," A.D. 960-990, was a Dane, is a legitimate conclusion from the above. A number of Norwegians helped the Danes to conquer England. It is true that the Danish form Archil preponderates in Domesday Book (50 Archil, Archel, to 4 Archetel), but the Conquest of England was by no means purely Danish. Part of the names of the settlers recorded in Domesday Book are purely Norwegian. Arketel appears in the Lincolnshire Hundred Rolls. Later on the Danish form predominates. Wm. Arkill is found in 4 Ed. II., Joh. Arcle in 34 Hen. VI. Arksey (Yorkshire, W.R.), Arkletown, Arkleside, Arkleby, Arkilgarthdale, are place-names which testify to the popularity of the name.

ARNER. O.N. Arnórr, Arnþórr, see Arðor. Arnestorp (2), Yorkshire, D.B., now Arnold, Arnall (Kirkby).

ARÐOR. O.N. Arnþórr, Arndórr. The n is dropped as in Arcetel and in Aregrim, D.B. (Arngrímr). In Denmark and Norway r is assimilated to n in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—N.L.: Andor; "Diplomatarium Norvegicum": Arndor, Andor. Domesday Book has Artor (5), which the editor, Ellis, takes to be King Arthur's name.

ARÐOLF. One Ardulfus is settled in Leicestershire, D.B., and Ardulfestorp is also found there. A Scandinavian Arðulfr, from arðr, plough, and úlfr, is not recorded in literature, but according to Searle Arðolf is not a Saxon name.

Icelandic-Norwegian names beginning with *as-* correspond to names beginning in *es-* in Danish-Swedish. Three of these occur, none of them in the Danish form.

ASBEORN. Old Norse Ásbjörn. Danish Esbern throughout (place-names, coins, Saxo, N.L.), the mutation of e to eo, jö, being unknown. In the charters and in Domesday Book only the Danish Esbern (6) occurs, while Esbearn, D.B., seems a clumsy attempt by a Dane to approach the Norse form. The Osbern of Florentius Wigornensis, A.D. 1117, is an anglicisation of the Danish. Symeon of Durham calls him Esbern in 1129. Earl Osbearn, A.S. Chron., who was killed in 871, is an attempt to anglicise Ásbjörn, the Norwegian form. Esbernebi is a place in Lincolnshire, D.B.

ASCETEL. O.N. Ásketill. Danish forms appear side by side with the Norse in the Liber Vitæ of Durham as early as the ninth century: Danish: Aeskyl, Askill, Askil, Eskil; Norse: Aeskitil, Asketillus, Anscetill. Aeskitil seems to be an attempt to combine the Norse and Danish forms. Anscetill is an anglicised form of the name, Saxon ans corresponding to Norse ás, and Anschetellus occurs frequently in the Pipe Rolls throughout the twelfth century, *e.g.*, four times in 1131. A monk called Askillus witnesses a charter in A.D. 851. Saxo uses Eskillus; and so does Necrologium Lundense, though Askel occurs. Reichenau uses both: Eskil,

Aschil. D.B.: 40 Aschil, 60 Anschitil(l), 13 Anschetillus, 1 Anschetellus, 4 Anschil. Thus, out of 118 persons bearing the name 74 are Norwegians, if the rule about *ketill, kell* holds good, and if we grant that A(n)s- takes the place of Es- in Danish names, in this case. Place-names: Aschilebi (4) D.B., Askelby, Kb., Asselby now. Ascheltorp, Hasse(Has)thorp, Kb., Haisthorpe now. Norwegian.

ASMUND. O.N. Ásmundr. Common to Denmark and Norway. Asmund(us): earliest Danish coins and Saxo, though Osmundus is found in the twelfth century, N.L. In Norway in the "Diplomatarium Norvegicum" we find Aasmund, Osmund. The usual Domesday Book form is Osmundus (40-50), but already then, 1086, the slurred Assemannus occurs. Asmundrebi, D.B., Asmunderby, Kb., Aismunderby now, shows the genitive mark. Asmundrelac, D.B. (Ásmundarlækr), also in Yorkshire. Osmunderley, 1285, Kb., now Osmotherley. If the "Asman" found on English tenth century coins is a slurring of Ásmundr, it is one more proof that changes in names took place earlier and more rapidly in the Viking colonies than in the motherland.

AUÐCETEL. O.N. Auðketill. Norwegian. Rare. This had become Auðkell in Norway by A.D. 1100, and is only found in one place-name, Öikels-rud, in Dip. Norv.

BARAÐ. O.N. Bárðr. Apparently not found in Denmark, but frequent in Norway. D.B.: Bared (t), 12. P.R: Rob. Barate 1166; Rob. Barat 1185; Hugo Bard 1203, Fines, Bard(e), Kb. Place-names: Barsby, Leicestershire, Bardsey, Yorkshire W.R., Bardsea, Lancashire, Bardsey Isle, Wales.

BEORN. O.N. Björn, Beorn (bear). The Anglo-Saxon beorn, warrior, which occurs only in poetry and only after the Danish settlement, seems to be borrowed, as the A.S. word for bear is bera, masculine. The earliest instance of the name in England is Beorn the Abbot, in a charter of A.D. 758. In the next century the "Liber Vitae" has Beorn, while Domesday Book, 1086, has Bern (4), the

Danish form of the name. Cp. Esbern. The "Biorn" on Danish coins of the 11th century and in Saxo may be borrowed. Lord Byron's name is one of the forms of this name. Roger de Burun, P.R., 1156; Rob. de Burun, Lincolnshire, 1185. Baren, 1285, Kb. Among the freemen of York in 1378 are: Roger de Beronby, Hugo Byren, Thomas Byrne, Joh. Byrone. John le Burun or Byron lives in Lincolnshire in 1383, Thomas Barn in York in 1414. D.B. has 8· Barnebi and 2 Bernebi. Gilebert de Barnebi, Fines about A.D. 1200; Kb. 1285: Wm. de Barneby, Thomas de Barneby, Rob. de Berneby, also called Rob. Barmby. Place-names, Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ: Barneby, Barnby-upon-Don. Barneburg, Berneston, D.B. Barne- may be Bjarnar-, genitive of Björn or Bjarna-, genitive of Bjarni.

BERHÐOR. O.N. Berþgórr. Bertor, D.B. In Norway, Berdor about 1400, Bergdorsætr, 1345. It is probable that Berter on English coins (Keary), is a slurring of this name. Norwegian.

BLIH. O.N. Blígr, used as a nickname. In Norwegian place-names Blikstad, Blikset. Unknown in Denmark.[1]

BRETECOL. Bratt(i)-kollr, an O.N. nickname (?) Cp. Breteby, Brettegate, Kb.

CETEL. O.N. Ketill. D.B.: Ketel, Cetil, Chetel (102 in all). Ketel in a charter of the tenth century (Kemble). Ketel in L.V. ninth century. A moneyer of Henry II. is called Ketil, while Ketil appears as late as 1439. The transition from old to new forms may be seen in Chetelestorp, D.B.—Ketolthorp, Kb.—Kettlethorpe, now. The name is common to Denmark and Norway. Chetellus, 1123, Round and P.R. 1131. Paulinus Ketil witnesses a Yorkshire deed in 1302. Of 3 Chetelbi in Lincolnshire, D.B., one becomes Ketsby, another Kettleby. The genitive is usual, Chetelesbi, Lincolnshire, Chetelestorp (2) and Chetelesness (Kettleness, N.R.), Yorkshire, Chetelestune, Derby, Chetelescot.

[1] Wm. Bligh, A.D. 1200, Pipe Rolls, Notts. Blye and Blie occur often in the reign of Ed. I.

COLBRAND. O.N. Kolbrandr. Colbrand, 4, D.B., in deeds (Birch), A.D. 960-990; also, in D.B., Colebrand, Colebran (3). Kolbrandstad, a place-name in Norway. Occurs in Iceland. Not found in Denmark.

EÐASTAN is Saxon. O.N. Eysteinn takes the form Eastan in a charter of 995 (Kemble).

EDRIC (corresponding to O.N. Heiðrekr), ELEWIN, ELNOÐ, ELWEGGA are all Saxon.

FARÐAIN is only found once, Fardan, Fardain, in D.B. Farþegn, which occurs four times in the Dip. Norv. is the Norse form; Farþein, on coins, eleventh century, Farthin, N.L., are the Danish forms. It seems to mean a trader. Compare the name Farman in D.B. O.N., far-maðr(-mann), with the same meaning.

FOLCER. Fulcher, D.B. (7). Danish. Not found in Norway. Fulcarslef, Dan. place-name. Transition: Fulcarstorp (four places), D.B.—Folcerthorp, 1303 (Knight's Fees)—Foggathorpe now. Yorkshire, E.R.

FOLCRIC corresponds to Fólkrekr, not found in Scandinavia.

FORNA. O.N. Forni. Forno in a charter (Birch), 958. Forne in D.B. (6-8). Norway (Fornebu) and Denmark (Fornælef). Transition: Fornetorp, D.B., one in E. Riding, Yorkshire, now Thornthorp, one in W. Riding and one in N. Riding. Forne: Grueber and P.R., 1131.

GAMAL. O.N. Gamli (=Gamall). In charters (Birch), A.D. 960-990: Gamal. L.V.: Gamelo. D.B. (130): Gamel. Sym.: Gamelo. Rare in Norway. Denmark: coins, eleventh century, Gamel: place-name, Gammelstrup (Gamals-þorp). Gamel(us), P.R., 1131; Wm. Gamel, 1285 (Kb.); Adam Gamell, 1348; John Gamul, 1410. Gamelstorp, Lincoln, Gameltorp (2), Yorkshire N.R. (and W.R.), Yalmthrope, Knights' Fees (Holderness, temp. Hen. III.), Gamelthorp, 1316 (Nomina Villarum), Galmethorp, 1285, Kb., Galmethorp, 1361, now Ganthorpe. Gamelestun (3), Notts.; Galmeton (D.B. and Kb.), now Ganton. Ellis says: "Gamel seems a

diminutive of Game," which almost beats Freeman's suggestion that Anand is a corruption of Amund.

GODWINE. Saxon, corresponding to O.N. Guðini, Guðni.

GRIM. O.N. Grímr. Grim dux in a charter of 930 (Birch). The " Liber Vitæ " preserves the nominative—r: Grimer. Denmark: coins, eleventh century, Reich. and Saxo: Grim. D.B.: Grim (40); Grimesbi, P.R., 1169.

GRIMCETEL. O.N. Grímketill. D.B.: Grimchel(-chil), 2; Grinchel(-chil), 30; Grinchetel, 2. Grinchel is a parallel change in the name to Grinkel(l) in Norway (Dip. Norv.). But P.R. has Grinchell in 1131 and Grimkil in 1169. Danish: eleventh century coins and Reich.: Grimkil. A Grimkil was bishop of Selsey, 1039-1047. Grimkytele, dative, c. 1010 in the Crawford Charters.

GUNNER. O.N. Gunnarr. Gunnar(-er), D.B. (8). Gunner, Gunar, dux appears in charters (Birch) in 931, 956, and in 963 (dat. Gunnere). Saxo: Gunnarus. N.L.: Gunnerus. Frequent also in Danish place-names: Gundeböl, Gundelev, Gundestrup (Gunnars-bæli,—leif,—þorp). Gunresby, D.B., Lincolnshire; Gunnerside, Yorkshire N.R., Gunnersbury, near London. Gunner, son of Thored, a Viking chieftain, in A.S. Chron. A.D. 966.

HÁLWÆRÐ. O.N. Hallvarðr. D.B.: Aluuard(us), 152; Aluuart, 2; Alwerd, 5; Aluer. Aluuard: Grueber. Aluardus: Round, 1125. Alwarde (Aluerde-)bi, D.B. Yorkshire, E.R.: Elward(e)by, 1285, Ellerby now. Aluuardebi, Elwardebi, D.B. N.R.: Elerd-, Ellerede-, Elred-, Eler-by, 1285, Ellerby now. Aluuarestorp, D.B. Alward(e), Alwar-thorp 1285, Averthorp 1303, Allerthorpe now, E.R., but Allerthorpe in the N.R. is Herleuestorp in Domesday Book. This name does not seem to occur in Denmark.

HÁWER. O.N. Hávarr, Hávarðr. In two charters of A.D. 931 the same man is called Haward dux and Hawerd dux. D.B.: Hauuard(t), 7, all in Yorkshire. Haiward, 1170, Round. Haiwardho Wapentac, Lincolnshire, P.R.,

1185. Hauuardebi, D.B., Lincolnshire. Danish place-name: Haverslev.

IOLUARÐ. Not found in Scandinavia, cp. Jól-geirr. Iulferth, Grueber, temp. Ed. III.

IUSTAN. O.N. Jósteinn. D.B.: Iustan, Iustin (4). Iustin, a Viking leader with Olaf Tryggvisson in 991, A.S. Chron., called Iustin by Symeon of Durham. He was probably a Dane, as Danish ju=Norwegian jó.

LEFER. O.N. Leifr. D.B. only: Lefsi (7), O.N. Leifsi. L.V.: Læfsi, but also Leuer, with the nominative r. Leuesbi (2), Lincolnshire, D.B.; Leusebi, P.R., 1155; Leyseby, Hundred Rolls, about 1275; Inquis. P.M. temp. Hen. III., Leissebi, now Laceby. Leuesthorpe, Leicestershire; Inquis. P.M. temp. Hen. III. Lefsthorp: Denmark: 13th cent.

LEOFNOÐ. Anglo-Saxon.

LIGOLF. Ligulf, Ligul, D.B.; Liculf, L.V.; Liulf, Sym. Not found in Scandinavia.

MENNING. An unrecorded Menning appears in Mennistorp, D.B., Menythorpe, Meningthorp 1303, Menethorpe now, Yorkshire, E.R. Anglo-Saxon.

MERLESUUAN. Merlesuen, D.B.; Mærleswegen, A.S. Chron. Probably the M. who fled to Scotland from York in 1067, but in 1069 joined the Danes in the Humber, and drove the Normans from York. Gaimar says of him in "Lestorie des Engles," under A.D. 1052: Marleswain, Daneis esteit, riche e baron.

ORDRIC. D.B.: Ordric. Anglo-Saxon.

OSULF. O.N. Ásúlfr. D.B.: Osulf (20). Asulf in Runic Stones of the tenth century, Denmark. Aasulfrud, place-name in Norway. Occurs in a charter of 767 (Birch). Old Norse or Anglo-Saxon.

RAGANALD. O.N. Rögnvaldr. D.B.: Ragenald (7), Ragenalt (1), Rainald (108), Raynald (7), Reinald (3), Reinold (1), Renold (2), Renald (2), Raenold (1). Northumbrian coins: Racnolt; Raienalt, king 919-921; Recnald, king 943-944. Regnwald A.D. 932 (Birch). Raginaldus in P.R., 1131, Lincolnshire. Ragnaldr is

the Norwegian form, to judge from place-names, while the a in Ragn- is weakened to Regn- in Denmark. N.L.: Regnwaldus; Saxo: Regnaldus.

Roc. D.B.: Roc (1), Rochebi (Rokeby), Yorkshire; Rochesha (2), Lincolnshire. If Saxo's Rokar represents an O.N. Rokkr, the name may be O.N.

Roscetel. O.N. Hrossketill. D.B.: Roschil, Roschel (7), Ruschil (1); Roscheltorp, W.R. Norwegian.

Roser. Obscure. O.N. Ræsir (?)

Ræuæn. O.N. Rafn. D.B.: Rauen (11), Rauan (1); Rafan: "Liber Vitæ"; Ræfn: A.D. 950 (Grueber). In Denmark v(u) takes the place of f early, and Saxo's Rafnus is merely an archaism. Ravnstrup (Rafns-þorp). English place-names: Rauen(e)dal(e), 6, Lincolnshire, D.B. Rauenestorp: Northampton (3), Leicestershire (1), Yorkshire (2), but also Rauenetorp, Yorkshire. Rauenesuuet (Rafns-þveit), Yorkshire, Ravenswath in Kirkby, Ravensworth now. Ravenser (Rafns-eyrr) and Ravenser Odd, two lost towns on the Humber, mentioned the last time in 1303.

Sæfug(o)l. Sæfugul (Grueber), but not found elsewhere.

Siuerð. O.N. Sigurðr. D.B.: Siuuard (200), Siuerd (2), Siuert (2). Sieuert, Siefred, Northumbrian coins, A.D. 894-98. Siuuardus, L.V.; Siwardus, abbot in 806, 833, 868 (Birch); Earl Siward Digera died 1055 (Symeon); Siward, P.R. throughout. The slurring of g to w is Danish. Early Danish coins: Sivord, Sigvard; Saxo: Siuard; Reich.: Siwart. Place-names: Siwarbi, D.B.; Sywardby, Kb, 1285; Siwardeby, 1316, N.V.; Seuerdby, Knights' Fees in Holderness, Sewerby now. Siwarbi, Yorkshire W.R.; Siwardbi, Yorkshire W.R., E.R.; Siwartorp, W.R.

Snel. O.N. Snjallr, adjective, used in Denmark as a name, without mutation, Snell, Snaelleröd (place-name): Snialle, Snielle, N.L. A Snel occurs in charters of 995 (Birch, K.C.D.), also on coins in the reign of Athelstan. Snellestune (2), Derby, D.B.; Snelleslounde, Lincolnshire. Inquis. Non. 14 Ed. III.

ULF. O.N. Úlfr. D.B.: Ulf (120). Frequent in P.R. (1131, 1166). In Domesday Book there are 7 Ulvesbi in Lincolnshire. Ousby, Cumberland, is Ulfsby in P.R. Lanulfestorp, Lincolnshire, D B., Ulvesthorp 1285, Ullesthorp 1314, Owsthorpe now. Ulvestun, Yorkshire N.R., D.B.; Uluis-Ulves, Ulles-ton, Kb; Oulston now.

ULFCETEL. O.N. Úlfketill. D.B.: Ulchil, Ulchel (70), Ulchetel (26), Ulfchetel (4), Ulchetellus (1); Ulfkil, Wlkil, .V.; Ulfketel 958 (Birch) is called Ulfkytel 959. Ulfkill, Earl of East Anglia, A.S. Chron. Early Danish coins: Ulfkil, Ulfkel, Ulkil. N.L.: Ulkil, Ulkel. Ulchiltorp, Yorkshire W.R., D.B. The proportion of Danes to Norwegians of this name in Domesday Book is of great interest.

ULFER. O.N. Úlfarr. D.B.: Ulfar, Dérby (1), Ulfer 1, Uluer 1, Yorkshire; Ulwar, Suffolk. Ulverscroft, Leicestershire; Uluardune, D.B.; Ulfre(er)ton Kb., Wolfreton.

UNBAIN. D.B.: Unban (1); Grueber: Unbein.

WULFEH. Anglo-Saxon. Wulfheah; D.B.: Wlfah.

WULGER. Anglo-Saxon. Ulger, coins, Grueber. Wlgar, D.B. Wolfger (Piper).

WULFRIC. D.B.: Ulwric (115), Ulric (3). Early Danish coins: Ulfric; Reich.: Wolewric.

ÞOLF. O.N. Þólfr, þórólfr. D.B.: Tolf (2), Tol dacus (the Dane) 1, Thol (1). Þulfr in Norway on Runic Stones, and þolfr, late fourteenth century. Tolvstad and Tolsby, in the fourteenth century Þolfsby. Compare Tolsta in N. Lewis with Tolvstad. The name is not found in Denmark. Tolesbi, Tollesbi, Yorkshire, D.B., and Tollestone, Notts., D.B., may be derived from Þolleifr or Þólfr, but Toltorp, Northampton, and Tholthorpe, Yorkshire, are from the latter. Tole (Tolli, þolleifr) occurs in the "Liber Vitæ."

ÞÓR. O.N. þórir. D.B.: Tor (38), all in Yorkshire except 4 in Lincolnshire, 2 Northampton, 1 Norfolk; also Thori, Tori, Thure, Thuri. L.V.: Thor, Ture, Thure,

Thuro, Thore, Tori. The number of "Thor," without a final e or i, is so large that it almost looks as if the name of the god had been appropriated. Yet it is hardly credible. A grant by King Edgar to the Archbishop of York in A.D. 958 is witnessed by Þor (Birch). Thuorstorp, Lincolnshire, D.B. Toresbi, 7 in Lincolnshire, 2 in Yorkshire. Turesbi, now Thoresby, Notts. Toreswe (þórs-vé), Lincolnshire (2); Thoreswaia, temp. Hen. II., Thoresway now.

ÞORCETEL. O.N. Þorketill. D.B.: Turchil(l) 107, Torchil 52, Turchetel 14, Torchetel 2. Thurkytel, Þurkitel, 958 (Birch), Thurkytel 959. Thurkillus, L.V. Thurkyll is used as a name in York as late as 1408. Danish Runic Stones: Þorkil, Þurkil, Þurkel. Danish coins: Þurkil, Þorkel. Saxo: Thorkillus. P.R.: Turchillus, 1169; Turchetil, Turchil, 1166; Turchil(l), Kb. Turchilebi, D.B., Yorkshire W.R., now Thirkleby. Torchilebi, N.R., now Thirkleby; Thurkelby in Kirkby. Turchileby, E.R.; Thurkylby, Kb.; Thirtleby now. Turchilestone 1, Leicestershire, but 2 Turchitelestone.

The following are some of the most archaic of the Old Norse names in the "Liber Vitæ" of Durham (the oldest part of which is written 840-900), not in the York list:—

Alaf, Olafar, Olif	Áláfr, Ólafr, Óleifr.
Arni	Árni.
Audœnus, Ouðen	Auðunn.
Azer, Ascer, Asor	Ossur (Asser, Dan.).
Estret	Astriðr.
Berse	Berse(i).
Boduwar	Böðvar.
Colbain, Colben	Kolbeinn.
Eiric	Eirík.
Gisla	Gísli.
Aldan	Hálfdán.
Halle	Halle(i).
Aldstein	Hallsteinn.
Locchi	Loki.
Leising	Leisingr.
Stein	Steinn.
Svarthhofthe	Svarthöfðe(i).
Suain, Svein, Sweino, Suanus	Sveinn.

Turbern, Thurburn, Thorbeorn	**þorbjörn.**
Thorburch	**þorbjörg.**
Thorulf, Thurolf	**þórólfr.**
Turstein, Tursten, Thurstin, Thorsten, Thurstan	**þorsteinn.**
Thorth, Thorthuarth, Thruwin	**þórðr, þorvarðr, þráinn.**
Tole, Tyri, Onander	**Tolli (þolleifr), þyri, Önundr.**

The Norwegians in Yorkshire who acted as guarantors to the Archbishop of York are more likely to be descended from families that had been settled there for some time than to be new comers. Eric Blood-axe, during his short and turbulent reign in the middle of the tenth century, is not likely to have brought fresh settlers from Norway.

Another Eric reigned at York, 1016-23, and only left in the year in which the present list of names was drawn up. Knút the Great made his brother-in-law, Eric Hákonarson of Norway, earl of Northumbria in 1016. Eric was married to Knút's sister, Gytha. His last signature to a charter appears in 1023. Knút, true to his policy of governing England according to English ideas, was cautiously substituting Englishmen for Norsemen in high places. In the charters of his reign Norse names gradually and year by year become less frequent. Eric was not outlawed, as Freeman states, who also calls him a Dane.

The probability is that the Norwegian settlers of Yorkshire formed part of the Danish armies that occupied the soil. It has been proved from place-names that the conquerors of Normandy were largely Danish, and the inference is that the Viking hosts of the West often contained an admixture of both nationalities, with one or the other preponderating.

The Life of St. Oswald, written about A.D. 1000, states expressly that the City of York had 30,000 inhabitants, children not being counted, and that most of its trade was carried on by Danes. The Danish predominance is clearly borne out by the fact that during the tenth century no less than three of the Archbishops of York were Danes, or at least of Danish parentage — Odo,

Oskytel, and Oswald. When we remember that Halfdan and his Vikings settled in Northumbria in A.D. 867-870, we see how rapidly they adapted themselves to their new home. The City of York was the rival of London till the Conqueror devastated Northumbria and broke its power.

In the Charters printed by Kemble, Eirik Jarl's name is given as Iric, Yric, Yrk, and in one (No. 740, Cod. Dipl.), through a clerical error, as Huc. In the A.S. Chronicle his name is once given as Eiric, otherwise Irce, Yric(e).

To show the prevalence of Scandinavian names at a much later date, I append a list of Scandinavian nicknames taken from a roll of the Freemen of York in 1378, which has been printed by the Surtees Society :—

Joh. Mawer, magr, magri, lean.
Wm. ffelagh', félagi.
Adam Lepper, leppr.
Joh. Laafe, Láfi, lági.
J. Cele, sæli.
J. Strowg, strúgr, strjúgr.
R. Syre, Sýr.
Th. Crokebayn, krákubein.
Simon Scaif. skeifr.
J. Mawbarn, meybarn.
J. Barker, bǫrkr.
J. Strenger. strengr.
J. Sturmyn, stórmunnr.
Joh. Catelyn, ketlingr.
Thom. Bolle, Bolli.
Rob. Mansblode, mannsblóð.
Ric. Mundeson, Munda (*i.e.*, Asmundar) son.
Joh. Rout, rauðr.
Thom. Trout, trauðr(i).
Wm. Seper, seppr(i).
— Thecar, þekkr.
Joh. Hayfy, háfi.
Agnes Sprote, sproti.
Rob. Couper, kaupr.
— Tote, tota.
Thom. Storre, stórr.
Hen. Sterre, starri.
Joh. Lyster, leistr.
Rob. Grisse, gríss.
Joh. Bone, bón.
Matilda Snere, snæri, snara.
J. Balne, baldni.
— Boller, bǫllr.
Wm. Skyftlyng, skiftingr.
Symon Vendilok, Wendelok, vendiloka.
Ric. Bulmer, bólmr.
Joh. Snawe, snáfr.
Wm. Od, Oddr.

My best thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of York Minster and to the Librarian for their permission to photograph the names in the Gospel codex, and I am particularly indebted to Dr. G. A. Auden, Bootham, York, for his kind help in the matter.

The principal works consulted in preparing this paper (with abbreviations used in the text) are given below :—

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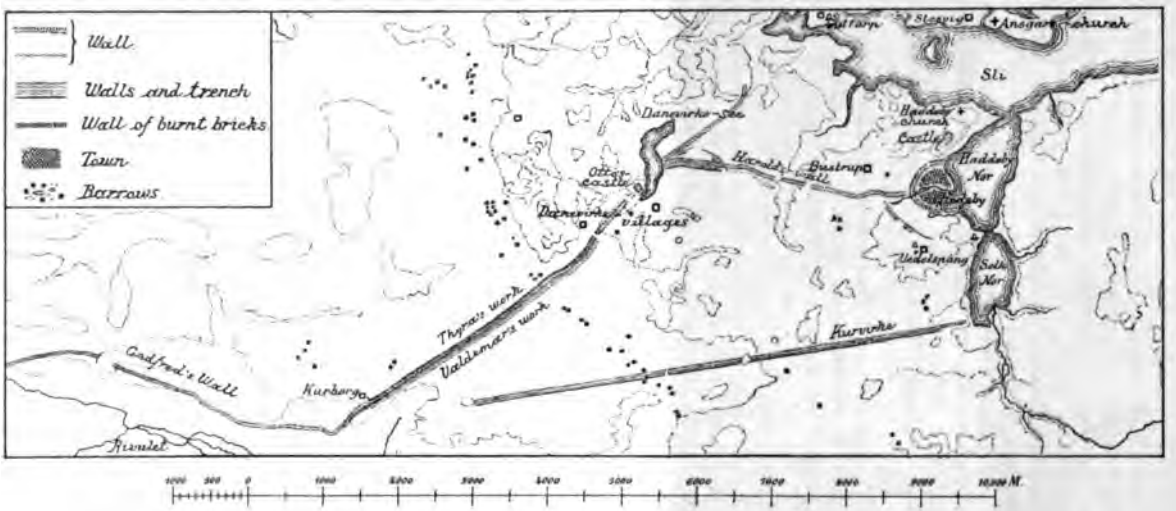

FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE DANEWORK.

NOTES ON THE DANEWORK.

By HANS KJÆR, M.A.,

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THERE are few names in Denmark's ancient history which sound to all Danes with such a ring as "Danework," none which play a larger part in legend or in lay. Linked to the most important events from the beginning of the historical period, right down to the times which the oldest living Danes still remember, linked to the fortunes of our folk through the centuries and through their alternate periods of sunshine and of storm, this rampart remains to mark the boundary which has been the meeting-place of Northern and Germanic culture from the earliest historic times. It is still, in spite of all the injury it has suffered, a unique and mighty memorial of the past, of grand and overwhelming character, both to one who for the first time sees its walls, and to him who after an interval of years returns to it again.

But in proportion as those works are mighty which, in the times when the light of history first dawns upon events in our land, were raised here by Danes strong in deeds, just so scanty are the accounts which native and foreign annals give about this our old boundary wall, "Jutland's work," as our best mediæval chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, writing about 1180, calls it. Only at times does a gleam of light fall on the events, so important for the future of Denmark, which happened along its

line from the period 900 to 1100 A.D. Local oral tradition concerning the Danework provides us at once with a string of names in connection with the construction of the various fortifications, such as Thyreborg (Thyra's castle), Margretevold (Margrete's wall), or Markgrafenburg; but if these names are more closely examined, it seems that they are very doubtful, and at the most but some few centuries old.

For this reason the Danish archæologists and runologists, Sophus Müller, Carl Neergaard, and Ludwig Wimmer, undertook the task of examining the remains yet visible in the districts west and south of the town of Sleswick, on the boundary between the ancient South Jutland and Holstein. They looked at the walls with the trained observation of scientific archæology, searched into what the annals could furnish of genuine evidence, founded on facts, and set forth the results in beautiful, richly illustrated works.[1]

In many points the results were different from those which historical tradition had hitherto reported. Later on a body of Danish archæologists and persons interested in historical studies made a journey to the different points of interest, to be instructed under the very walls themselves by the original archæological investigators. Among these the author of this paper had the honour to be, and it is his personal impressions which he specially wishes to set forth. Those who wish for more exact information he would refer to the beautiful and interesting publications mentioned in the foot-note.

The oldest ramparts start from the fields by the most westerly creek of the Sli, the long, narrow, winding fjord which stretches for many miles inland from the Baltic to the town of Sleswick (see map, Slesvig). This long

[1] "Danevirke," by Sophus Müller and Carl Neergaard, published in "Nordiske Fortidsminder" by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, vol. I., 1903; also published separately with maps and plates, 6/-.

"Sönderjylland's historiske Runemindesmærker" (The historical runic monuments of southern Jutland), by Ludwig Wimmer.

wall, which from old times has been regarded as the chief line of defence, extends in a line which curves slightly, at first towards the south, and afterwards to the west. This is the actual Danework, to which enduring popular tradition has linked the name of Thyra Danebod (Help of the Danes), queen of King Gorm the Old (circa 935 A.D.). Over a long stretch toward the east from the Sli to the so-called "Danevirke See" (Lake of the Danework) it is now practically razed and levelled; the plough goes over it, and only a low, broad elevation shows the place where it went of old. In the middle it has time after time been widened and raised, lastly in 1864: but out towards the west the wall becomes again lower, and still bears the stamp of antiquity. The whole length is about 12½ kilometers. Toward the west it ends in the low and swampy districts which surround the river Trene, which in ancient times, even as in the present day, were scarcely passable by an army. The wall just closed the open stretch between the Sli and the Trene (see map, "rivulets").

This is undoubtedly the wall which was built by one of the first Danish kings who is mentioned in the annals of history, Godfred, who lived in the time of the Emperor Charlemagne, and waged war with him. The Frankish annals which bear the name of Einhardt record about this that, after King Godfred had been making war in the most northerly parts of the Emperor's dominions, he marched with his army to the harbour which is called Sliesthorpe, where all his fleet met him. Here he came to the resolution that he would protect his own kingdom against the Saxons by a wall, and raised a work, which ran from the eastern arm of the sea, which the Danes call "Østersalt" (the east sea), to the western sea. In this there was to be only one passage through which waggons and horses could pass (Viglesdoor, Kalegat), and it is further stated that the work was apportioned among the chief men of the various provinces in the land.

This wall, supplemented by another which has now almost wholly disappeared, the Østervold (the eastern wall; not on the map), which ran from the Sli to Eckernförde fjord, formed a complete and connected land defence, so immense that it has been doubted whether King Godfred, in the two years which he lived after the incidents mentioned, could have succeeded in completing it. But Godfred's western wall was not, in its inception, so massive a wall as it became later. In the middle it is now many times higher: but out in the meadows towards the west, where it has not been thought necessary to strengthen it in later times, Godfred's wall is probably even now about the same as it was when first built. It attains here a height of 3-4 meters, with a breadth of about 24 meters. Toward the south the sides are almost sheer; there is no ditch to be seen. Except for some small demolitions, the wall, as it stands here, is exceptionally fine. In the surroundings there is little to detract from its importance. Settlements are scanty, villages lie remote, and the wall commands the flat landscape just as it did in King Godfred's time. This is the part of the Danework which makes the most imposing impression on the visitor. There is a natural poetry about the place, and one leaves it with reluctance.

Of a beauty of its own, though yet of a different kind, is the great Halvkredsvold (semi-circular wall), as much as 8 to 9 meters high, which lies near Haddeby Nor (Haddeby gulf), the bay which extends southward from the Sli. Recent investigations have proved beyond a doubt that this wall not only enclosed an ancient town, but also that this town was the famous Hedeby. At the same time that the walls and, roughly speaking, everything that was visible above ground, were being examined by the Danish archæologists, with the willing permission of the German authorities, excavations were undertaken within the semi-circular wall by Dr. F. Knorr, acting on behalf of the museum at Kiel, whose director is the well-known archæologist, (Miss) Professor Mestorff. These

FIG. 2.—GODFRED'S WALL.

investigations exposed over almost all the ground a thick layer of black, or rather very dark earth, in which were embedded numerous objects evidently from an inhabited site. A number of potsherds and earthenware vessels were found, some of them of coarse ware, as if from household vessels in ordinary daily use, some from finer vessels, and not a few of them with colour decoration. Moreover, numerous iron objects were discovered, chiefly bolts and nails, coarse fragments of wrought work, and similar things not so easily classified; but in addition there was a considerable number of arrow-heads and spear-points, axes, knives, buckles, etc. Weaving-whorls and whorls for the distaff were also found, almost all of them of the form universally used in the so-called Viking-age, 800 to 1000 A.D. A great mass of slag and fragments of moulds bear witness also to the practice

FIG. 3.—AT THE WALL OF HEDEBY.

of metal-casting on a somewhat extensive scale. Finally, as the most important find from a chronological point point of view, two ferrules for swords, wrought of bronze open work, and of the form used in the ninth century, were discovered, together with some small glass beads, some bars of silver, and moulds for making them, two

of which are shaped like a cross. All this shows clearly enough, when compared with the other investigations, that on this spot there stood a town, and that it went to ruin between the years 900 and 1000 A.D.[1]

There are few sites concerning which there has been more debate, yet seldom have the monuments themselves spoken so plainly as here. The wall still stands nearly as it did in the old days. In the wars of 1848 and 1864 it carried a breastwork, but that is levelled, and can only just be traced. Right through the semi-circular site of the town, which lies open toward the arm of the sea, there runs from a small strip of meadow just without the walls the little watercourse, which secured to the inhabitants the needful supply of water. Hard by, to the north of the town, there lies a natural hill of earth of considerable height and great extent, whose centre is surrounded by a low wall. Upon it there are also numerous grave-mounds from the same period as the relics of the town within the walls. This was the castle of Hedeby. The whole site exactly resembles the old Birca (Bjórkó) in Sweden.

In addition, there are the rune-stones, some situated just outside the walls, and some in the neighbourhood, which mention Hedeby by name. These, in connection with the scanty information to be gleaned from the chronicles, make it possible to sketch the outline of events in the last days of Hedeby. Just south of the town, at the village of Vedelspang, are found two rune-stones, whose inscriptions, written both in Swedish and Danish, tell us that:—

Asfrid set up this memorial to Sigtrygg her son at Gnupa's "Vi." (Vi = consecrated grave-place),

and that:—

Vi—Asfrid, daughter of Odinkar, set up this memorial after King Sigtrygg, her and Gnupa's son.

[1] These objects were in 1903 to be seen in Kiel. Further investigations in 1904-5 have brought to light a great series of similar antiquities and a place with tombs.

It was in Hedeby that Swedish vikings, under the chieftain Olaf, had succeeded in establishing themselves; afterwards Olaf sought to consolidate his power by the marriage of his son Gnupa to Astrid, daughter of the Danish magnate Odinkar. But in addition to their natural enemies from the north, there soon came against this little viking colony enemies from the south also. In 934 A.D. King Gnupa was attacked by Henry I., Emperor of Germany, was vanquished, and forced to submit to baptism. Soon afterwards there followed a Danish attack from the north, and the king fell. But his widow, Asfrid, still held Hedeby for a time in conjunction with her son Sigtrygg, and she raised to her fallen lord a notable heathen memorial.[1] Later on, her son Sigtrygg also fell on a viking expedition to Normandy, and thereafter the queen raised to his memory the two runic stones, with inscriptions, equally intelligible both to Swede and Dane. After this the days of the Swedish dominion in Hedeby were numbered. Times became too hard for Odinkar's daughter. King Harald Bluetooth (985) "won for himself the whole of Denmark," as he says upon the runic stone on the king's mound in Jellinge, and, as Danish kings had previously ruled the Hedeby district (although Godfred's wall was built a little more to the north), there can be no doubt that Hedeby also was won back for Denmark before his death.

Even before this period the first improvement and strengthening of the old Godfred's wall had taken place, this being very likely actually a result of these Hedeby wars. King Sigtrygg of Hedeby died in 943 A.D., and at a still earlier date had the queen, whose name has become specially linked with the Danework, departed this life, namely, King Gorm's wife, Queen Thyra Danebod. It was in fact her building of the Danework which gave her that beautiful surname, and her work must have stood out as an exceptional achievement, both in her own days and in after times. Godfred's wall, the low earthen dyke without a trench, was, under the new conditions,

[1] See note at end.

too slight a defence. Queen Thyra's "Danework" was a great wall of hard stone, for the most part unhewn, but sometimes cleft, set in stiff clay, as was the fashion in ancient times (a "Cyclopean wall"). This wall was raised upon and in front of Godfred's wall, from "Danevirke See" to Kurborg, and was about two miles in length, 3-3.3 meters high, and 2.7-5 meters broad. It is not improbable that in addition there were wooden towers built into and in front of the wall. The Sagas relate that when at a later date the Emperor Otto of Germany attacked the wall, whose full garrison was 60,000 men, he got the better of it by setting the wooden parts on fire. At various places along the wall there are actually found logs which have been much charred, as if from a fire. Thus there may be actual facts underlying the story in Olaf Tryggvison's saga, which tells about the wooden gates at every hundred fathoms with castles above them.

Queen Thyra's wall itself is now only visible in some places. It is covered up by the wall of Waldemar the Great (1182 A.D.), which is carried along upon and in front of it, as well as by heaps of earth thrown up in his time and at later dates. But her work was so vast that her age gave the whole structure her name, while Godfred's wall was forgotten, or is sought for elsewhere.

When Hedeby was won back for Denmark, Harald Bluetooth's connecting wall was built from "Danevirke See" to Hedeby. That wall also is very imposing, considerably greater than Godfred's wall, but yet of smaller dimensions than the town wall. Near Hedeby it is still well preserved for some length, being about 5 meters high and 18 meters broad. Farther toward the west it was somewhat weaker, and is now destroyed.

Hedeby was won back for Denmark, but only for a time; it was soon lost again for a while. With regard to this two runic stones again yield the most trustworthy information. The first of these is that which:—

Torolv, Sven's courtman, raised to Erik his comrade, who died when brave men camped round Hedeby. He was a shipfarer and a very good man.

The other was set up by:—

King Sven to Skarde his courtman, who had gone with him westwards (on a viking cruise to England), **but now died at Hedeby.**

It was the Swedish king Erick (Sejrsæl) "the victorious," who in the absence of the Danish king Sven Forkbeard (he died in London in 1014) had harried the land, and established himself at Hedeby. Sven's son was Cnūt (Canūte). Only after a hard fight did the Danish king succeed in recapturing his town. There are still to be seen south-west of Hedeby, in the direction of Vedelspang, 3,600 to 3,800 feet from the town, the faint remains of a siege work, and in the town wall itself, exactly opposite this siege work, is to be seen a great depression, which has been pointed out from ancient times as "the breach of the stormers."

This was the last episode in the history of Hedeby. In the year 1000 the town was forsaken and the church deserted, as the bishop complains, and after that time it never rose again. It had no doubt been a trading place and a centre for great markets, which were driven away by the course of events to find a safer position elsewhere. The inhabitants, and to some extent the name, were transferred to the town of Sleswick, which lies north of the Sli, and was at that time only a little town round the present cathedral (Altstadt). Only the arm of the sea preserved the name of Hedeby, and this may easily have given its name to Haddeby Church, built in the thirteenth century, which now lies between the old Hedeby and the Sli, and is dedicated to St. Ansgarius, the Apostle of the North.

In the year 975 the Emperor Otto of Germany made an expedition against Harald Bluetooth, broke through the Danework and set up a castle "*in his finibus*." It is possible, perhaps probable, that the site of this burg is now to be seen in a somewhat extensive walled position, surrounded by a trench, close to the west of the "Danevirke See," in the line of the wall of the Danework itself.

This castle, however, stood only for a short time. Within the next eight years it had been destroyed by the Danes, and, if it stood where this walled place now lies, it was incorporated with the wall, and constituted merely a link of it, though an unusually strong one.

The "Kurvirke" also probably dates from about the same period. This runs in a straight line from the north of Selk westwards to about the place (Kurborg) where the main wall bends. On its south front a trench can be seen, and traces of an outwork. From its whole style it makes a far weaker impression than the main wall and, since in Denmark the construction of a trench appears, as a novelty, at a comparatively late period, the Kurvirke may be younger than the main Danework. But nothing is known as to the date when it was constructed. It must have been in the early middle ages, and this wall

FIG. 4.—THE "KURVIRKE" (FROM THE NORTH).

is very likely rather a boundary line than a work of defence. The Kurvirke still stands for a long stretch in a remarkably good state of preservation, with as sharp an outline as an engineering work but a few years old.

About the time of Valdemar the Great (d. 1182), the Danework had, according to the single authority of Saxo

FIG. 5.—THE WALL OF BRICKS.

Grammaticus, become very ruinous. It had, however, played some part in the interval, for now and again history mentions it under various names, "Danework," "Jutland's wall," or "Structura Danorum." When the Danish kingdom, after long trouble, grew strong again, under King Valdemar I. (1157-82), the king began on the great work of constructing a new wall in burnt bricks, which were a new and, until then, almost entirely unknown building material. This ran parallel with Thyra's old wall for a length of two miles, and was twenty feet high by six to seven broad, with numerous buttresses. The work was pushed on with energy, but was still unfinished when the king died. Upon this occasion fresh heaps of earth were added to the wall, and a trench and fore-wall were also constructed.

Only a little of "Valdemar's wall" is now visible. The stones in various peasant's houses beside it bear witness to the encroachments of former times; much of it, however, still lies covered by the earth heaped upon it in later days.

When South Jutland (Sleswick) soon after became a fief of the crown and the connection with Holstein followed, the wall lost its importance. It was not till the time of Denmark's latest wars, 1848-50 and 1864, that there were made new and important improvements, which again have disappeared.

Now the wall is but a memorial for all Danes of the great deeds of ancient times.

Note to page 320. In Stephens' "Old Northern Runic Monuments," vol. iv., pp. 95 and 96, Odinkar, Asfrid's father, is identified with a Christian bishop of that name, and the memorial is assumed to be a Christian one. Mr. Kjær however informs us that, though she belonged no doubt to the same family, we cannot conclude that she was daughter of either of the Odinkars recorded in history. The eldest of these, Odinkar the White, lived in the time of King Harald Bluetooth, 940-86, the second Odinkar under his son Sven. It was evidently a family name.—Ed.

SHIP BURIALS.

By HAAKON SCHETELIG.

Conservator of the Bergen Museum, Hon. District Secretary, Norway (Bergen).

AMONG Scandinavian grave finds from heathen times there is scarcely any which has taken hold upon the general consciousness to a greater degree than the burials from the Viking Age, where the dead was buried in a ship. It is as if we were brought into actual touch with that far-off and stirring time, as if we were set face to face with the sea-faring folk of whom the sagas tell. This burial custom summons up before us, as it were, the whole historical character of that age, and every such find still acts as a dramatic and impressive scene. The opening up of the great ship-graves has for these reasons been the greatest event in Northern archæology, and each of these occurrences has for a time aroused universal interest in the monuments of heathen antiquity. In proof of this I would remind you of the find from Borre of 1852, the Tune ship found in 1867, the Gokstad ship in 1880, and of the last ship just found in Slagen in 1904.

Each of these graves was laid out on such a great scale, and equipped in so costly a fashion, that we might easily be tempted to treat ship burials as a specially princely custom, which only fell to the lot of the highest of all, and each time such a rich grave has been found there have not been wanting attempts to discover who it was that was buried there. Thus the antiquary Nicolaysen tried to find in the ship-grave at Borre one or other of the kings Eystein or Halfdan the

Mild, who are spoken of by Snorri[1]; in the Gokstad ship people thought they saw with great certainty the grave of Olaf Geirstad-alf, and Lorange has guessed that we see in the great ship-grave at Karmsund the burial monument of Guttorm Eriksson. These conclusions, however, rest upon weak foundations, and we should take warning from what happened in the case of the excavation of the ship at Slagen, where a local historian thought to find King Eystein, Halfdan the Black's great-grandfather, the same that the antiquary Nicolaysen thought to discover at Borre; in the case of the Slagen ship moreover many features seemed to tally with the account in the saga, until it was proved that the Slagen ship was a woman's grave. But these historical connections have at the same time won for the ship-graves a decidedly romantic position before the public mind, and this has helped to cast over them the glamour of memories, which, for the general public, cannot easily be linked to nameless monuments from the heathen times.

For scientific investigation the matter stands differently. In order to study the extension and meaning of this burial custom, it is of no special interest to know the name of the various people who rest in the graves, and we shall further see that these few great ship-graves are far from being an exception, which can be studied by themselves; they must be regarded as an outcome of a general and wide-spread custom. The great finds named above will, as a matter of course, always be exceptional as regards their richness, and from their multifarious contents they will always be an invaluable source of information as to the culture of the Viking age; but the mere custom of burying in a vessel was not a princely prerogative, or limited to roving vikings. It must have been founded in the conception of death prevailing at that time, as it is seen to have been widely spread among all classes of people. Looked at in this connection the great ship-graves by no means stand alone; they only

[1] Heimskringla. Ynglinga Saga, c. 51 and 52.

show us at the highest stage of the community, where power and riches were present, the fullest expression of an idea which the common people also strove to follow.[1]

For a right understanding of ship-graves one must at once give up the idea that the ship is a viking ship, properly understood, and that the dead who was buried in a ship must be just a viking, who was in this way to be placed in a position to continue his roving life after death. Scarcely any, even of the bigger ships that have been found, can be supposed to have been built for journeys over the open ocean which viking cruises implied; and still less can this apply to the many, many occasions where the grave only contains an ordinary little boat. Besides, burial in a vessel was by no means reserved for men alone; it was practised in the case of women also, who nevertheless did not as a rule take part in the warrior-life of men. But all these considerations become superfluous by reason merely of the number of boat-graves. It would doubtless not be easy to compile any complete statistics of these graves; but it is no exaggeration to declare that their number throughout the Scandinavian peninsula must be reckoned in four figures, and without doubt this implies that the custom was widely spread among the settled portion of the population, as well as

[1] The oldest monograph on ship burials is by E. C. Werlauff: "Om Nordboernes skik at brænde og begrave døde i skibe samt om skibsforestillinger paa nordiske fortidsminder." (Of the Northmen's custom of burning and burying the dead in ships as well as of representations of ships on Northern monuments). "Antiquariske Annaler," IV., p. 275 ss. Kjøbenhavn, 1827. This work hardly claims much interest now, since the material at that time was very small. An excellent monograph, and up to now the only considerable survey, is the work of Prof. Dr. O. Montelius: "Om högsättning i skepp under vikingatiden." (Of Howe burying in a ship during the Viking Age). "Svenska fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift," VI., p. 149 ss. Stockholm, 1885. All that is set forth in this work still stands, full of power, and it might be thought bold for anyone to treat of the same subject after so eminent an investigator, were it not that the monograph now after a lapse of twenty years can be supplemented by many important finds which have appeared in the meantime. Prof. G. Gustafson in the "Year Book of Bergen Museum for 1890," No. VIII., has added an important contribution to show the general distribution of the custom in Norway.

among its roving elements. From this it follows also that the rôle of ships and boats in these graves was the same as it was in life; the boat was made ready for the journey which lay before the dead.

Here we reach the idea which forms the foundation of the grave-custom which we are considering, but before we pass to the description of the northern graves, it will not be out of place to call to mind that this view of death as a journey is not peculiar to Scandinavia in the Viking age. Hildebrand[1] has already called attention to the fact that the like conception is found in Chili and Australia. The Algonquin Indians sail after death to the land of spirits in the South, where magnificent trees and plants are found; they sail in shining canoes of stone over the ocean. The Australians pass over the ocean to the isle of spirits far in the West. This conception of a sea-voyage to the spirits' land has also given rise to a peculiar treatment of the dead in many places. In some parts of Australia the custom was to lay the dead in a canoe, which was thrust out from the shore so that it might find its way with the trade wind to the isle of spirits. Only little children, who could not steer a canoe, were buried in the earth in olden time. But later on such burials became more and more general, without, however, people entirely giving up the thought of a sea voyage. When the dead were buried people still sent a very little canoe to sea, or they buried the dead lying in his canoe. The like customs are found along the whole north-west coast of North America, and also among certain tribes in South America. The last traces of a corresponding idea have been met with in New Zealand, in the fact that here people used to set up a canoe close by the grave.

The same ideas have certainly not been strangers to the coast folk of Europe[2]; they were prominent among

[1] "Folkens tro om sine döda" (Folk Belief about the Dead), p. 50. Cf. Montelius, l.c. p. 187.

[2] See Henrik Schück: "Studier i nordisk Literatur- och Religionshistoria." (Studies in the History of Northern Literature and Religion), vol. ii., p. 286. Stockholm, 1904. The examples cited are drawn from this work.

the Celts in Ireland, where they spoke of the journey to the land of life, the land of gladness far west in the sea, and a hundred times as big as Ireland. The same thought is to be traced among the population of the Hebrides, since the people there called the kingdom of death "the other shore," and it has lingered in traditions on the coast of France.[1] A like feature is found also in a Northern legend, namely, in the description in the Lay of Beowulf of Scyld's birth and death. According to Beowulf he came as a little child to Denmark lying in an open boat and surrounded with costly weapons. There he grew up and was taken for king over the land, which at that time had no king, and, perchance, never had one before. When he died he was laid in a ship surrounded with rich treasures, and the ship bore him out to sea, "nor can any with surety say, anyone under the whole heaven, who it was that received that bark's lading." Professor Schück considers that this tale has been influenced by the religious ideas of Western European culture, Friesland most likely, where such a myth was known and has passed in later times into the well-known legend of the swan-knight. It would take us too far afield to follow these traditions further. It is sufficient for our object to remember that ideas of the kind have been generally current, and that they are not in any way isolated occurrences when they appear in the North in the Viking Age. On the other hand, it is certain that in no other place in Europe have they found so clear an expression in the arrangement of the graves, as in the case of the Northern graves, which will be dealt with here.

[1] It was found in Spain also according to W. C. Borlase. See "The Dolmens of Ireland," p. 157. The same author considers that the wedge-shaped graves, built of stone, dating from the early Bronze Age, of which he gives instances from countries so widely apart as Sweden, Ireland, and Portugal, are formed on the model of a ship. With these he is inclined to connect the ship-shaped primitive buildings, found in the Balearic Isles, known as "Naos," "Naus," or "Navetas," *i.e.*, "ship." Somewhat similar buildings are found, he says, in Ireland. All these may, he thinks, have been connected with the cult of the dead. Ibid. See under "Ship-graves."—Ed.

We come then to the question of the origin of the ship-graves in Scandinavia and their oldest appearance. It is fairly certain that burial in a vessel was quite unknown in the North before the Viking Age, or more correctly speaking before the age which immediately precedes the beginning of the actual Viking Age—the oldest ship-grave which is known can be dated to the sixth century A.D.—and it will therefore be necessary in this connection to cast a glance over the grave-customs of the North, as they existed at that period. In Sweden, with the exception of Gotland, grave finds from the fifth and sixth centuries are very rare; to judge from some few finds, cremation seems to have been practised, and the grave-goods at any rate are very poor. In Denmark the graves from these centuries are likewise very poor; but here unburnt burials seem to have been predominant.[1] In Norway the most frequent use was certainly that of unburnt burials in great cists of stone or wood, but cremation-graves are also met with rather frequently; here the graves of the unburnt are fairly richly furnished with ornaments, weapons, pots, etc., just as in the case of Anglo-Saxon graves of the same period in England. In spite of all local variations the conception underlying the Northern grave-customs in this period can be summed up in this, that the grave was the resting place of the dead, where his corpse was deposited, burnt or unburnt. Even where the grave is richly furnished, as in the Norwegian skeleton-graves, no other furniture is needed than belongs to the personal equipment of the dead, his dress, with the ornaments and weapons belonging to it, together with what was required for his daily needs, such as food and drinking vessels.

If we turn from this to the oldest known grave, where a vessel was offered up at the burial, quite another feature enters in. This grave was found at the excavation of "Odin's Howe," at Old Upsala, in Upland; the date of

[1] Dr. Sophus Müller, "Vor Oldtid" (Our Olden Time). Copenhagen, 1897, p. 600.

this is assigned by Dr. Almgren to the sixth century.[1] To begin with, the grave-howe differs from the usual howes in the older period of the Iron Age, by reason of its extraordinary dimensions, and the same is the case with the extent of the grave and of the grave-goods. The inner part of the howe was enclosed by a wall 1.2 meters high, carefully built up of granite stones, and within this, on the original surface of the ground, there was spread a bed, which at the bottom consisted of fine sand, and over that of a layer of clay, stamped hard, 30 centimeters thick, on which the funeral pyre had stood. Over this layer was erected a heap of stones, 48 meters in circumference, which formed the kernel of the grave-howe. In the midst of the layer of clay a great heap of burnt bones was found, and under this an earthenware jar, likewise filled with burnt bones. The grave goods were found partly among the bones, partly spread out on the remains of the funeral pyre over the layer of clay. What we are specially concerned with in this instance is that in the layer of burnt matter there were found the nails from a burnt vessel, and likewise the marks of burnt stakes of coniferous wood, which probably served to shore up the vessel for the burning. Among the bones were found, besides human bones, the bones of dogs in great numbers, with those of oxen, sheep, swine, fowls, and in all probability of a cat as well. The grave-goods were greatly damaged by the fire, but yet the remains of golden ornaments, glass beads, playing-pieces, etc., could be traced.

It is noticeable in this case how the whole burial is planned on a larger scale than anything that one knows of belonging to the older periods in Scandinavia. To begin with, the design of the grave-howe, and the great trouble taken over the arrangement of the place for the funeral pyre are remarkable; in addition to this we must note the many domestic animals which have had to follow the dead to the pyre. Bones of animals in graves from

[1] A detailed account of the investigation and of the find is given by Dr. Bror Emil Hildebrand in "Månadsblad, 1876," p. 251 ss.

older periods are no doubt not altogether unknown [1]; but never before had a whole stock of domestic animals been sacrificed as in this case. And when we find that this grave also contained a ship, that is in strictest agreement with the rest of its furniture. This oldest ship-grave betokens not merely a change in the prevailing grave-custom on a single point; it betokens an altogether altered view of how the grave ought to be arranged to correspond to what would befall man after death. Whereas the Norse skeleton-graves of the same period were prepared like a bed with skins and rugs, here the case is quite opposite; here the chieftain, after death, needs his ship too, nor must he lack his horse, his hounds, or any others of the animals which could be of any use or comfort to him. The ship-graves did not originate in an addition to an already pre-existing grave-custom: they present themselves from the very first with an entirely new programme for the arrangement of the grave fully worked out.

That is so much the more remarkable, as there is no prototype of the northern ship-graves known, either in the same or any older period; they seem to have originated independently within the territory where we first meet with them, and this is really the first time that a new northern grave-custom has arisen without foreign influence. Right down from the oldest burials which are known on Scandinavian soil we can trace their origin back to other lands; the barrows and passage-graves of the Stone Age, the cremation of the Bronze Age, the urn burials of the oldest Iron Age, etc., all these grave-customs, which each in its time brought with it some novelty in the way of the treatment of the dead, or in the arrangement of the grave, have been introduced into the North from foreign prototypes, and have in all likelihood been connected with an intrusion of new ideas about death and the life of the dead after death. It thus deserves

[1] Dr. Sophus Müller: "Dyreknogler fra ligbaalet" (Bones of animals from the Funeral Pyre). "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1900," p. 166.

special attention when, shortly before the dawn of the Viking Age, we meet with ship-graves as the first original Northern grave-custom. I cannot, it is true, attempt to give any explanation of how this novelty is to be accounted for; that would lead us on to a question of the history of religion, which cannot be solved upon considerations of archæology alone, especially since we have no reason to institute any comparison between general religious ideas as they were in the Viking Age, and had been in the age immediately preceding. But it ought to be observed that a life of travel and travels—merchant cruises as well as military expeditions—played a greater part among the dwellers in the North in the Viking Age than at any earlier time, and that we ought perhaps to regard this in connection with the fact that ship-graves meet us just as we draw near to that period. Looked at from this side there may be found some truth in the popular view, which regards ship-graves as especially connected with the roaming life of Viking expeditions. In any case ship-graves betoken a remarkable innovation in the domain of grave-customs, and it is an innovation which is peculiar to Scandinavia, and seems unaffected by foreign influence.

The early ship-graves appear as a specially aristocratic grave-custom. The grave just described from "Odin's Howe" at Old Upsala already bears witness to a princely wealth and power, and the same is the case with the graves which come next to it in age, the graves at Vendel and Ultuna in Upland. The grave at Ultuna had been discovered as early as in the eighteen-fifties, but since it was discovered by chance during work in the fields, it was, unhappily, rather pulled to pieces than examined by its finders, wherefore the details preserved are very incomplete. Only this much is certain, that it was a man's grave, laid out in a vessel 4 ells broad, and extremely richly furnished. It seems in all respects to have been of the same kind as the graves investigated later at Vendel, of which we have most excellent and very complete accounts.

At an enlargement of the present churchyard of Vendel they came across fourteen graves in all, twelve of which contained vessels, whilst two were arranged differently. They were all men's graves, and there was a very great difference of time between them, since the oldest must be referred to the seventh, the youngest to the tenth century. In all probability it was the male members of one and the same family who were buried here generation after generation, and that this race was a race of chieftains appears plainly enough from the extraordinarily rich furniture of the graves. The oldest was the most richly furnished, and this is the one that especially claims our interest in connection with our subject.[1]

The graves contained boats from 7 to 10 meters long, buried below the level of the field, and with no mark visible above the ground when discovered. The chieftain himself had lain, or perhaps we should rather say, had sat, in the after part of the boat, armed with sword, shield, and spear, all of the highest workmanship. The fore-part of the boat was occupied by the animals, which were offered at the burial; in the richest of the graves there were three horses, four dogs, a whole ox, and a joint of a young one, a pig, two sheep, and the head of a third, a goose, a duck, a crane, and a falcon for hawking. In many of the graves there were also found kitchen utensils; for instance, big iron forks and a great iron pot, which as a rule stood furthest forward in the boat. It will be seen that here we have furniture which stands quite on the same level with what we found in the above-mentioned grave from "Odin's Howe."

There is nothing in the Vendel graves which distinguishes them from the most primitive form of boat-graves. It is the boat in and by itself which makes the grave, and the dead sits in the open at the steersman's post; he is not laid to rest in a grave-chamber, as became the custom later. It should also be remarked

[1] Hjalmar Stolpe "Vendelfyndet. En förberedande Øfversigt." (The Vendel Find. A preliminary Survey). "Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige,' VIII.

that the horses in these graves have bridle and stirrup; they are clearly meant as saddle-horses, and have not merely been animals sacrificed at the burial. Thus their meaning and signification is still the same as that of the boat itself, and that meaning is clearly and consciously expressed in the grave custom.

In the finds adduced here from the sixth and seventh centuries we have studied simultaneously the oldest known examples of ship-graves from Scandinavia, and we may next proceed to consider the equipment of ship-graves in the Viking Age, that period when they first became widely spread, and appear in great numbers from all parts of Norway and Sweden. A few words must, however, first be said about the relation between the two customs, apparently so diverse, cremation and unburnt burial. As we have seen, even before the Viking Age we already find both these methods employed at ship-burials, and the idea which resulted in ship-graves has certainly been independent of the consideration which decided whether the dead should be burned or not. The same is the case also in the Viking Age; we find ships employed in burnt as well as in unburnt burials.

The relation between cremation-graves and unburnt burials has, as far as concerns the Viking Age, been just recently set out by Dr. Almgren, and, since this question also touches upon the subject now before us, I shall summarize his observations.[1] In Denmark cremation is met with only in Jutland. Even there it really occurs only to the north of the Limfjord, and at some few other places on the coast. It is almost always found in connection with certain forms of graves, which are only found elsewhere in the Scandinavian peninsula. One is therefore inclined to suppose that graves of this kind on the coast of Jutland, as well as in the islands of Sleswick, Amrum and Fohr, are due to foreign vikings, who

[1] Oscar Almgren, "Vikingatiden's grafskick i verkligheten og i den fornnordiska litteraturen." (The grave-customs of the Viking Age in reality and in old Norse literature.) "Nordiska Studier," tillegnade Adolf Noreen. Stokholm, 1904, pp. 318, 319.

established themselves for a time in these spots. With these exceptions unburnt burials are the only ones prevailing in Denmark, as well as throughout Bornholm, and probably in Skaane also. From Gotland a great number of unburnt burials of the Viking Age are known, and some few cremation-graves. On the third greatest island in the Baltic, however, namely, in Øland, both grave customs seem to have been more equally represented. On the mainland of Sweden, outside Skaane, cremation is again beyond comparison the most general form. The same is the case in Norway, although with a very interesting distinction between the different parts of the country. The unburnt graves are, to wit, most numerous in the Northern parts of the country, especially in the coastlands from Trøndelagen northward, and in connection with this we must consider the fact that graves with the bodies unburnt are the only form we know of from Iceland.

It is certainly not an accident that those lands of the North, where unburnt burials were the only ones prevailing, or were much the more distinctive, are just the ones which in the Viking Age were the most exposed to influences from Western Europe; namely, Denmark with Skaane; Iceland, where such a great number of the most aristocratic, refined and travelled families of Norway had made their abode, together with Gotland, the rich trading island. In the prevailing use of unburnt burials, which can be pointed to in these territories, we must see the influence of the general European spirit of the age, of the customs and usage in the civilized Christian lands in Western Europe, an influence which asserted itself long before the introduction of Christendom. It agrees perfectly with this, that there can to a certain extent be traced a social distinction between the burnt and the unburnt burials. In the east of Norway, where cremation is generally predominant, all the specially rich ship-graves, nevertheless, have been of the unburnt form, and the highest class of the people had, as a matter of course, most connection with foreign lands.

The difference between cremation and unburnt burial is thus not founded on deeply-rooted differences between different portions of the people, neither is it of fundamental importance for the understanding of ship-graves. Nor does the local extension of ship-graves stand in any direct relation to the use of cremation or unburnt burial. I shall return to this question later, and shall here only give as an example that, in the north of Norway, where unburnt burial seems to have been as good as universal, we have nevertheless several cases of burials in a vessel. The Western European influence upon the grave customs has thus not been able to supersede ship-graves. Only in Denmark and throughout Gotland are ship-graves unknown, whilst they are found even in Skaane.

In the meantime this difference has a great practical bearing upon the investigation before us; namely this, that in an unburnt grave we have full opportunity for studying all the care which was expended upon the equipment of the dead, whilst in a cremation-grave that same care was naturally concentrated on the building and arranging of the funeral pyre, and the grave only contains the ruined fragments of what was left after the fire. Cremation-graves are therefore simple and alike in their arrangement, whilst the unburnt graves show a richer development. For this reason it will be convenient for us to keep the two forms separate, each by itself, and I prefer to treat of cremation-graves first, leaving the unburnt graves out of consideration till later.

As has been mentioned already, the grave in "Odin's Howe" at Old Upsala took the form of an extensive layer of burnt material, which consisted of the remains from the pyre, and also contained some remains of the vessel; in the midst of the burnt layer was the urn, placed in a hollow in the substratum of the grave and covered likewise with a heap of burnt bone. This, in all its essentials, is the same plan as that which is preserved in the cremation-graves of the Viking Age. The only

important difference, which strikes us at once, is that in the Viking Age it is only very rarely that the grave lies on the spot where the pyre had stood. I only know one grave where this was the case, namely one of the graves in the great howe at Myklebostad, by Nordfjordeid, which was recently examined by the Bergen Museum.[1] Here a boat of a length of 7 meters had been burnt on the spot where the grave is now found; as in the case of "Odin's Howe," so here too there were found in the original surface of the earth the marks of the stakes (in this case of birchwood) with which the boat had been shored up for the burning, and in the layer of charcoal were found all the nails, spikes, iron bindings, etc., which had belonged to it. In other cases the regular place of burning (ustrina) has been in another place, and all the remains from the funeral pyre have been brought thence to the spot which was selected for the grave-howe, but it certainly seems as if in the construction of the grave they wanted to imitate the appearance of the place of burning. The remains from the fire to wit are spread out as a layer of greater or lesser extent over the place where the grave-howe should be raised. Thus the layer of burnt material at the bottom of the howe consists mainly of charcoal, often mixed with burnt stones from the place of the burning, and it contains in addition the grave-goods, as well as a greater or lesser portion of burnt bone. This custom, which might appear a somewhat careless treatment of the grave, has no doubt arisen in imitation of the older form, where the grave-howe was built over the place of the burning itself, and where the remains of the pyre thus came naturally to form an extensive layer at the bottom of the howe. As a rule, however, the grave is not without a central point, which is clearly indicated as that round which the whole arrangement is grouped. In the majority of cases this central point, as we saw in "Odin's Howe," consists of a bigger portion

[1] **Haakon Schetelig. "Gravene ved Myklebostad paa Nordfjordeid." "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1905." No. 7, p. 7 ss.**

of the burnt bones collected in a hollow in the middle of the burnt layer, sometimes gathered in a jar, or covered with an inverted caldron, but very often too without any urn. But almost invariably the bigger and more important things among the grave-goods are assembled in a compact group above and about the hollow where the bones are deposited. These features are generally common to all the cremation-graves of the Viking Age, whether there are found remains of a vessel or not. The boat-graves, however, have, as we shall see, their special signs, which are not found elsewhere.

As an example, we may instance a find which was made by A. Lorange in 1866, at Gjulem, in Rakkestad District,[1] Smaalenene,[2] in a typical, but not specially rich grave of this kind. He examined a minor grave-howe in the locality, which was constructed wholly of earth. At the bottom of the howe was found a layer of charcoal, 3 ells in diameter, and 2 to 3 inches thick; the extent of the layer is thus altogether too small for us to imagine that the pyre can have stood on the spot. It was mingled with ends of burnt bones and with many clinch-nails, which undoubtedly came from a vessel. In the middle of the burnt layer there was a hollow excavated at the bottom of the howe, above which all the bigger fragments of the grave-goods were collected in a compact group, and all the objects of iron lying in the moist earth had rusted together with the surrounding sand into a firm mass, which could not be separated. Among the objects there can be distinguished, however, a two-edged sword, whose hilt is bound round with gold thread, many spear-heads and many arrow-heads, at least three shield-bosses (and perhaps more), a scythe, a bridle, an iron chain, etc. There is nothing in this grave which departs from the general rule, and therefore requires a

[1] "Præstegjæld," a group of parishes, somewhat similar to our Rural Deanery.

[2] "Aarsberetning fra foreningen til norske fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring," 1866, p. 55 and ib. 1867, p. 42.

more particular mention. One fact only, which may appear noticeable, I have not had occasion to mention hitherto, namely, the profuse number of shield-bosses.

There was only one sword in this grave, and we have no reason to suppose that more than one man was buried here. It seems natural that one man only needs one shield, and this is the case almost without exception in graves from the older period of the Iron Age, likewise in graves from the Viking Age, where the remains of a vessel are not found also. The shield is fairly often wanting altogether, and only in a few cases, and then always in graves specially richly furnished, do we find a man equipped with two shields. But it is otherwise with the graves where the remains of a boat, or of a ship, are found also. In such graves it is no uncommon thing to find a greater or less number of shields, and in every case far more than one would expect on the ground that a man needed them. Thus there were found in a grave, not otherwise very rich, at Langlo, in Stokke District, Jarlsberg, 10 or 12 shield bosses, but only one sword; the grave was in other respects of the same kind as the one just described, and contained a mass of clinch-nails and spikes, which came undoubtedly from a fairly large boat.[1] In the above-named grave at Myklebostad, where the vessel burnt had been about 7 meters in length, there were 8 shield-bosses, but likewise only one sword, and many other examples where the same fact has been observed could be cited. From this it may certainly be concluded that the many shields in these graves did not belong to the equipment of the man, but to that of the vessel. And this is corroborated in the very best way by one of the great finds of a ship with an unburnt burial, namely, by the Gokstad ship. That ship, as a matter of fact, when it was found, was hung with 32 large circular shields, exactly alike, along each gunwale on the

[1] N. Nicolaysen. "Om udgravningerne i Ske sogn, 1872." "Aarsberetning fra foreningen for norske fortidsminders bevaring, 1872," p. 100.

outside, and these filled the whole length of the ship from a little before the foremost oarport to a little behind the hindmost.[1] That this was the custom when a ship was decked out on great occasions is also borne out by literary accounts. The poorer grave-finds, which have just been cited, show that the custom was not used for ships only, but also for smaller vessels; but on the other hand one can hardly, from the number of shields in a grave, draw any conclusions with regard to the size of the vessel burnt.[2]

The many shield-bosses in boat-graves is a feature which is older than the Viking Age, although it has not been found in the oldest Swedish finds from Vendel and Ultuna. But in a richly furnished boat-grave in Finland from the seventh century there were found six shield-bosses. Contemporary examples of this practice can scarcely have been wanting in Sweden, even if these are not now exemplified by any finds which have been preserved.

It is a remarkable feature also that we can trace during the Viking Age an emancipation from the limitations which were displayed in the oldest boat-graves. The boat-graves at Vendel were all men's graves; in the Viking Age it came to pass that women also were buried in a vessel, and that too even in cases where the dead did not belong to the upper classes of society. No doubt in Norway we are, practically always, unable to distinguish from the skeleton the sex of the person buried, and as a matter of course this is still more the case in cremation-graves; but the grave's rich furniture serves, nevertheless, as a means of deciding the question with complete certainty. Graves which contain weapons,

[1] N. Nicolaysen. "The Viking Ship discovered at Gokstad in Norway." P. 62 and p. 35, note 3.

[2] Compare G. Gustafson. "En baadgrav fra Vikingtiden." Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1890, VIII. This was a boat of 8 meters long with 4 shields. It should also be mentioned that here all the shields lay inside the boat.

implements of husbandry and tools for handicrafts, can be distinguished as men's graves just as certainly as women's can be known by ornaments, cooking utensils and implements for feminine handiwork. We need not therefore hesitate to apply this rule to the boat-graves also. In the arrangement of the grave, however, there is no special distinction between the two sexes, and I must therefore confine myself here to mentioning a single example, a grave from Hilde, Indviken District, Nordfjord. At the excavation of a howe in this locality there was found a mass of charcoal mingled with burnt bones and nails from a boat; among the charcoal there were found also a kettle of bronze, an iron gridiron, a stew-pan and roasting-spit, a lamp, a pair of scissors and a little knife, a spinning wheel and weaver's reed, the fragments of a pretty box, with the nails belonging to it, a big buckle of bronze, beads of silver, cornelian, glass, etc., making a very complete collection of the things which specially characterize the furniture of women's graves.[1]

Before we leave the graves where a vessel has been used in connection with cremation, I will, in conclusion, describe the richest and most remarkable find of this kind which has hitherto appeared.[2] The grave was found at Myklebostad, in Nordfjord, in a grave-howe, which was about 30 meters in diameter. At the bottom of the howe there was a layer of charcoal and burnt earth, with small bone-ends mingled therewith, which stretched alike to all corners of the howe, but was thickest in the middle. Separated from this layer by a layer of light shore-sand lying between was a second layer like it, which in cross-section was shown to stretch in a curve over the first. The huge grave-howe was thus to a very considerable extent constructed of the burnt remains from the funeral pyre, and this of itself gives some impression of the scale upon which this burial was carried out. The con-

[1] "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1901," No. 12, p. 25.

[2] A. Lorange. "Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum." Bergen, 1875, p. 153-161.

struction of the howe shows also that the funeral pyre did not stand on the site of the howe, but that the remains of the pyre were brought thither from the place of burning. The inner part of the burnt layer in the howe was strewn with clinch-nails, clinch-bolts and spikes, together with ends of burnt bones. In both the layers there were found also shield-bosses spread about in various positions, now singly, now many close to each other, and twice one was found stuck into another. There were found in addition many arrow-heads lying singly, and staves of wood were repeatedly noticed, some of them round, others cut flat upon one side, which in all probability were the remains of bows and of spear-shafts. Somewhat west of the centre of the howe lay a big knot of weapons, very much burnt and purposely twisted together. These consisted of two swords, two small spear-heads, an axe, three shield-bosses, three arrow-heads, a knife, a large iron implement, and many pieces of thin iron plates also, perhaps the mountings of a chest. In this case too clinch-nails were mingled with these various objects. Just under this knot of weapons was found a horse's bit, and underneath, in a hollow scooped in the base of the howe, a whole collection of shield-bosses, which all lay with their openings downwards, and formed together a cover over a large bronze bowl, which contained burnt bones mingled with pieces of charcoal and ashes. Among the bones were found also various fragments of iron and of melted bronze, and in addition an arrow-head, six playing-pieces and three bone dice, a small bone comb and a bigger one, a big bead of dark glass, an iron key, which presumably belonged to the chest mentioned above, etc. In the sand close to the north side of the bronze jar lay some unburnt bones, wrapped up in an untanned goat-skin; these bones are probably the remains of victuals.

The arrangement of this grave, as one may see, agrees in all points with the examples named above; most of the burnt bones were collected into an urn and deposited

in a hollow in the middle of the base of the howe, whilst the ends of other bones were spread out over the whole layer of burnt material; all the bigger objects were likewise collected in a compact group above the centre of the howe, while clinch-nails, shield-bosses and various smaller objects, such as arrow-heads, are spread about in the layer of charcoal. The form of the antiquities shows that this grave must belong to the Viking Age when fully developed, and certainly not to the oldest part of the period, but nevertheless in the arrangement of the grave we find hardly any essential departure from what we have already learned to recognize in the oldest ship-grave, the grave in "Odin's Howe" at Upsala, which belongs to the sixth century. Both these graves, too, stand on the same stage from a social point of view; the grave at Myklebostad, as well as the older one, reflects a princely wealth and luxury. From the size and number of the nails it may be concluded that the ship which was offered on the pyre in this case was of very considerable size. The 44 shield-bosses, which the grave contained, show this also, these of course being the remains of the shields which decked the ship's gunwale. The urn in which the burnt bones were collected is a great bowl of thin, chased bronze; it has three handles, each formed like a human figure and adorned with enamel; the bottom is also enamelled both without and within. A vessel like that, which even now is one of the greatest rarities which has hitherto been found on Norwegian soil, must in the Viking Age also have been a costly piece of goods, and it gives clear testimony to its owner's rank and position.

This cremation-grave at Myklebostad gives us a picture of a ship-burial in broad outlines, but the picture can only be sketched in its main features; we can to a certain degree, from what is found, draw conclusions as to the dimensions of the pyre and of the ship, and as to the infinitely numerous things, in great and small, which naturally went with the ship. But we get to know abso-

lutely nothing of all that was observed and done before the last act of the entombment, when the pyre was finally extinguished. Fortunately we have a very good description from a contemporary of the ritual which was followed at such a Northern burial. The Arab, Ahmed ben Fosslan, generally called Ibn Fosslan, was sent by the Caliph, El-Muktedir (A.D. 907-932) to the king of the Slavonians in the country by the Volga. Here he met many men, whom he calls Russians (Rus), *i.e.*, Swedish Varagians, who came as merchants as far as the Volga. About them he relates that he had heard such remarkable accounts about the way in which they treated their dead chieftains, that he wished to get a more intimate knowledge of those ceremonies. His account goes on as follows[1]:—

> At last they told me that one of their chieftains was dead. They laid him in his grave and roofed it over for ten days, until they could finish cutting out and making his grave clothes. If it is a poor man who is dead, then they build a little vessel for him, lay him therein and burn it; but when a rich man dies, they collect his goods and divide them into three parts. One third is for his family, with the next they make his clothes, with the third they buy intoxicating drink to be drunk on that day, when a bondmaid gives herself to death and is burnt with her lord. But they abandon themselves to the pleasures of wine in a senseless way and drink incessantly day and night. Often one of them dies beaker in hand.
>
> When one of their chieftains is dead, then they ask his kindred, his bondmaids or his thralls: "Which of you will die with him?" Then one of them answers: "I!" When he has uttered this word, then he is bound by it, and no longer has liberty to draw back; even if he himself wished it, yet they would not allow it. But in general it is a bondmaid who consents. Accordingly, when the man of whom

[1] These details and the whole translation following are taken from Montelius, l.c. p. 152. See also Henrik Schück: "Studier," vol. ii., p. 288.

A translation of the following passage by Dr. Joseph Anderson appeared in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. ix., and is summarized in his introduction to "The Orkneyinga Saga," translated by Jon A. Hjaltalin and Gilbert Goudie, but Mr. Schetelig has included it in this paper by request, as there are probably many who have not come across it and, as it is of very great importance to the study of ship burials and the practice of cremation generally, it can scarcely be made too widely known.—Ed.

I have just spoken, was dead, they asked his bondmaids: "Which will die with him?" One of them answered: "I!" Then she was handed over to two bondmaids, who must watch her and follow her wherever she went, and wait on her so devotedly that sometimes they even washed her feet. With that they began to make preparations for her burial, to cut out clothes for the dead and to observe everything else which is needful. The girl meanwhile drank every day, used to sing, and was merry and joyful.

When the day was now come when the dead man and the bondmaid should be burnt, I went to the river, where the ship had been lying. But she was drawn right up on to the land: four wooden poles were raised up in front of the ship, and about it were placed great images of wood in human form. They drew the ship up upon the pyre forthwith. Meanwhile people went to and fro and uttered words which I did not understand. But the dead man still lay a little apart in his grave, from which they had not yet fetched him. Then they came with a sleeping-bench, placed it on the ship, and covered it with quilted and embroidered coverlets, with Grecian cloth of gold and cushions of the same material. Then came an old woman, whom they called Death's angel, and spread out the things I have mentioned on the bench. It is she who has the care of the clothes and the whole equipment; it is she also who slays the bondmaid. I saw her; she was a little woman, with dark and evil looks.

When they came to his grave, they removed the earth from the wooden roof, cast this off, and took the dead man up; he still lay in the dress in which he had died. Then I saw how he had become quite black from the cold in that country. But they had laid in his grave with him intoxicating drinks, together with fruits, which they now took up. The dead man meanwhile, with the exception of his colour, had not changed at all. Thereupon they clad him in hose, boots, a "kurtak" and a "chaftan" of cloth of gold with golden buttons, and set upon him a cap of cloth of gold trimmed with sable. After this they bore him into the tent, which was raised upon the ship, placed him on the quilted coverlets, propped him up with cushions, and bore in intoxicating drinks, fruits, and sweet-scented herbs, which were laid altogether by his side. They also placed bread, meat, and onions before him. Then they brought out a dog, cut it into two pieces, and cast it into the ship; then laid all his weapons by his side; brought out two horses, which they chased up and down until they were dripping with sweat, after which they hewed them in pieces with their swords and cast the flesh into the ship; finally they brought out a cock and hen, slew them also, and cast them into the ship.

When it was mid-day on Friday, then they brought the bondmaid to a staging which they had made, which was like the projecting cornice of a door. She set her feet upon the hands of a man held flat, looked down through the staging and said something in their tongue, whereupon they let her down. Then they let her mount

again, and she acted in the same way as the first time. Again they dropped her and let her mount up for the third time: then she did again as she had done each time before. Then they held out a hen to her, whose head she cut off and threw away. But they took the hen and cast it into the ship. I asked the interpreter what it was she had done. He answered:

"The first time she said—'Lo! here I see my father and my mother'—the second time—'Lo! now I see all my dead kindred sitting together'—but the third time—'Lo! there is my lord, he sits in paradise. Paradise is so shining and green. With him are his men and lads. He calls upon me. Take me to him.'"

Then they brought her to the ship. But she took off both her armlets and gave them to the woman who is called Death's angel, and who is to murder her. Also she drew off her both her ankle-rings and handed them to the two bondmaids who attended her, and who are called—Daughters of Death's angel. Thereupon they lifted her up on to the ship, but did not yet let her come into the tent. Now some men stepped forward with shields and staves: they handed her a cup with an intoxicating drink. She took it, sang a song and emptied the cup.

"With that," said the interpreter to me, "she takes leave of her dear ones."

Thereupon a second cup was handed to her. She took that also and joined in a long song. Then the old woman ordered her to empty the cup and to go into the tent, where her lord lay. But the girl had become frightened and irresolute: she wished to go into the tent, but was afraid and only put her head in between the tent and the ship. The old woman straightway caught her by the head, forced her into the tent and stepped in herself with her. Immediately the men began to beat upon their shields with the staves, so that no sound of her shrieks should be heard, which might frighten the other girls and take from them the desire to go themselves one day to death with their lords.

It is next told how six men went into the tent and maltreated the girl, and then the account continues:—

Then they laid her outstretched by the side of her lord. Two men caught her by the feet and two by the hands. The old woman, who is called Death's angel, laid a rope about her neck and handed it to two of the men, so that they might pull it tight; she herself stood forth with a great, broad-bladed knife and plunged it between the girl's ribs, and drew it out again at once. But the two men strangled her with the rope.

Now the dead man's next of kin stepped slightly forward, took a piece of wood, lighted it and went backwards to the ship, so that he held the burning piece of wood in one hand and the other hand likewise behind his back, until the wood which was laid beneath the ship

had caught fire. Then the others also came forward with burning pieces of wood; each of them carried a piece of wood which was already on fire at the upper end and cast it on the pyre. This soon took fire and the fire quickly caught the ship, the tent, the man, the girl and all that was in the ship. Then there rose a strong wind, at which the fire increased and the flames shot still higher.

By my side stood one of the Russians, whom I heard talking to my interpreter. I asked the interpreter what the Russian said to him, and got for answer:—

"You Arabs," said he, "are surely a stupid people. You take the man who is the best beloved and highest in honour of you all and cast him down into the earth, where creeping things and worms devour him. We on the other hand burn him in the twinkling of an eye, so that straightway and without delay he enters into Paradise." Then he burst into a wild laugh, and added thus: "The love which his lord (God) bears towards him is the cause that the wind blows already, and in the twinkling of an eye he takes him to himself."

And in truth it was not long before the pyre and the ship and the girl, together with the dead man, were changed to ashes.

Then upon the spot where the ship had stood, when drawn up from the river, they raised, as it were, a round hillock, upreared a great wooden post in the middle of it, and wrote upon it the dead man's name, together with the name of the king of the Russians. Then they took themselves off.

If it were possible to discover and explore the grave-howe which Swedish warriors, as here described, raised beside a river in the interior of Russia, the result would in all probability very closely resemble what we have seen in the grave-howe at Myklebostad in Nordfjord. We may therefore to some extent draw conclusions from Ibn Fosslan's account as to points which the Norse graves cannot directly show us with respect to the ceremonies which went on before the burning of the body. We have seen that the presence of various animals in the grave characterizes the Scandinavian finds, answering closely to what the Arab relates, and we have also the assurance that at any rate in some cases in the North a human being was sacrificed to accompany the dead. This certainly cannot be proved in the case of the cremation-graves, where it is not possible to distinguish if the bones are from various individuals; but, as we shall see later, proofs of it are to be found alike from the burial-graves, as from Old Norse

literature; therefore it was certainly the usage in the case of the cremation-graves also.

Before I pass on to a description of the unburnt burials in a vessel, I will refer briefly to a find, where both forms of grave are to some extent combined. In telling about the great grave at Myklebostad it was stated that some of the provisions, which were provided in the grave for the dead man, had not accompanied him to the funeral pyre; in a grave at Lackalänga, in Skaane, close by the town of Lund,[1] both the ship and the whole furniture of the grave were unburnt, though the dead man and some of the domestic animals had been burnt. The burnt bones were collected in an earthenware jar. The vessel whose remains were found in this grave was not so very small, and the furniture of the grave consisted of beautiful and costly things, whose forms belong to the end of the Folk-wandering Age, that is a little before the actual Viking Age. Among the grave-goods were found weapons, and the grave can thus be distinguished as a man's grave. So far as I know this is a unique example; elsewhere it is always the rule that ship and grave-goods were burnt on the pyre with the dead.

As already mentioned, unburnt burials in boats are known that date from, at any rate, the seventh century—especially in the case of the famous grave-yard at Vendel in Upland—and from the eighth to the tenth century they appear over the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula, in Norway especially, just as was the case with the cremation-graves just dealt with. We have already discussed at sufficient length the difference between the local distribution of burnt and unburnt burials, so we will here only repeat that unburnt burials are not altogether unknown in any part of Norway or Sweden in the Viking Age, although they are very rare in some places, as in Western Norway; we shall, however, see that even this

[1] Nils G. Bruzelius: "Beskrifning om et i Skåne anträffadt fynd från jernåldren, jämte indledande anmärkningar." (Description of a find from the Iron Age discovered in Skaane, with introductory remarks.) "Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1858," p. 177.

part of the country has produced remarkable finds of unburnt ship-graves.

Burial-graves offer to students many advantages over cremation-graves; we get from them far more complete evidence as to the form and dimensions of the vessel, as to the treatment of the dead, and all that went on at the interment. The great grave finds of this kind can in intelligibility well compare with Ibn Fosslan's account. It may also easily be imagined that the unburnt vessels were properly understood much more readily and at an earlier date than was the case with the burnt vessels in the graves; even from the time of the eighteenth century we have information about such boat-graves. Thus Schönning,[1] from his travels in Norway, reported a find from a grave-howe at Løvøi, in Vikten parish, Nordland. Here there were found ships' nails lying in rows as in a ship, and with them were found a skeleton of a man and the skeleton of a dog. But nevertheless it is not till after the great ship finds in Eastern Norway that this grave-custom could be studied and described in all its details.

The best of these finds, the find at Gokstad, close to the town of Sandefjord, must be to some extent known to the English public.[2] I shall therefore only here remind you of the main features of the arrangement of the grave. The grave-howe lay about 1 kilometer from the head of Midfjord. It was about 50 meters in diameter, and at the time of the discovery 5 meters high. Beneath the layer of humus it consisted of sand mingled with clay down to the ground-level; beneath that it was blue clay. The ship stood in the howe with its prow turned seawards; it was buried four feet below the bottom of the howe, and was likewise filled with blue clay, whose preservative properties had thus kept the whole ship practically unscathed. Right before the mast there was raised a grave-chamber of great wooden beams; it had a pointed

[1] Schönning's "Norske Reise," a manuscript in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, cited from Werlauff, l.c. p. 289.

[2] N. Nicolaysen: "The Viking Ship discovered at Gokstad in Norway." Christiania, 1882.

roof like a tent, and gables built of planks; it was covered with a manifold layer of birch bark, which had preserved the wood, although it reached up above the protecting clay.

The grave-chamber, upon examination, was found to be no longer in an untouched condition. At a robbery, which must have taken place at a date comparatively soon after the burial, when men still knew exactly the place of the grave and were aware of what it contained, the sides of the ship and of the grave-chamber had been hewn through, and the contents of the grave plundered and destroyed. There were found, however, among the remains of the furniture of the chamber, part also of the dead man's bones; they were those of a man about fifty years old, and fully six feet tall. There were also found remains of the bed and of the bed-clothes upon which the dead had rested, besides pieces of a silk dress inwoven with gold, of buckles and other ornaments, of bridle and harness, richly adorned with gilt bronze mountings; mounts for a box, a leather purse, chess-board, a playing-piece, a carved piece of wood, etc. Outside the grave-chamber there were found in the ship carved pieces of a high seat, five beds, pieces of a sleigh, a copper kettle and an iron kettle, a big wooden vessel, smaller vessels, plates and drinking-vessels, all of wood, and such like. In the ship lay still more skeletons, those of twelve horses and six dogs, and under the planks lay the bones and feathers of a pea-fowl. In the howe outside the ship were found ten wooden spades, which were certainly used at the work of building the howe.[1]

The inroad into the grave already mentioned has robbed us of all knowledge of a very important point

[1] The last great ship-find, the vessel discovered at Slagen in 1904, is described in the District Report from Norway in the SAGA-BOOK for 1905, vol. iv., pp. 54-66, and some further details will be found on pp. 270-3 of this number. So far as the information available at present enables us to judge, it does not present any new feature, but it will be seen that this find agrees in all its main points with the other ship-burials described in this paper, though the grave-furniture is exceptionally rich and interesting.—ED.

at the burial, namely, how the dead man himself had been lying in the grave-chamber, and this is so much the more deplorable as this kind of grave-robbery has been practiced at almost all the rich ship-graves from the Viking Age. We may, however, conclude that the dead was arrayed in a magnificent dress, and that he rested in a bed with costly bed-clothes, just as Ibn Fosslan has described in the case of the Swedish chieftain's burial by the Volga. But this arrangement of the grave seems to differ perceptibly from the oldest unburnt boat-graves, from the Vendel graves, for instance, some of which date from the sixth or seventh century. There the chieftain sat in the steersman's place, by the ship's stern-post, whilst here he is placed in a bed, on feather mattresses, under a roof of great beams of timber. It is as if the conception of the ship, the craft which is fitted out for the long voyage after death, is also mingled with another idea, namely, the old conception of the grave as a house in which the dead should dwell. This thought lies very near a right consideration of the grave in the Gokstad ship, and it is even more prominent in another Norse grave-find, a great ship-grave from Karmø, on the west coast of Norway.[1] This grave did not fall short of the Gokstad ship, either as regards the size of the ship, or the richness of the grave-goods; but everything was far more perished, since the grave-howe was built of peat, which had most likely been chosen on the same ground as clay was used in the Gokstad howe, namely, because it had been observed that wood is well preserved in peat bogs; the result, however, had not been fortunate, for both the ship and everything perishable that was found in the grave was eaten away. Here also a timbered grave-chamber had been built over the centre part of the ship—the chamber had been built upon the spot, because at the exploration in and about the ship a number of splinters were found, as a relic of the carpenter's work—but this

[1] A. Lorange. "Storhaugen paa Karmøen. Nyt skibsfund fra vikingetiden." (The great howe on Karmø. A new ship-find from the Viking Age). "Bergens Museums Aaarsberetning, 1887." IV.

chamber was not built within the ship. Its roof rested upon two parallel stone walls, built outside the ship, and it had gable-ends on foundation-walls corresponding, which were carried across over the ship, and thus connected the long walls. In this case, therefore, the grave-chamber stood upon just as firm foundations as any building, although it was built over a ship.

Although everything in this grave was badly preserved, it still has a special interest as the only one of all our great ship-graves which was not plundered before its investigation and here, therefore, we get, notwithstanding its condition, a more complete picture of the personal equipment of the dead than in any of the other finds. Among other things there were found two swords, two spears, a round quiver with two dozen arrows, a whole outfit of smithying tools, a hand-quern of coarse-grained granite, a little box in which there lay a bronze ring and a big bird's-feather, flint and steel, a big iron pot, two splendid sets of playing-pieces, the one of glass, the other of amber, a disk of wax, an arm-ring of gold, beads of coloured glass and glass mosaic, etc. All the remains of skeletons were consumed; only the jaw of a horse happened to be preserved, which enables us—by comparison with other finds—to guess at the stock of domestic animals which was sacrificed at the burial.

As already mentioned, it was not possible to get any information here as to how the dead had lain in the grave; but that can be supplied from another grave on Karmø, which was found only a couple of kilometers away from the one just spoken of.[1] That grave was of smaller dimensions—it contained a vessel of a length of 15 meters—and, like the Gokstad ship, it had been plundered in ancient times. But on the other hand, in this case everything was tolerably well preserved; the boat could be measured almost completely, and there were found considerable remains of feather-beds and various fabrics, among them small pieces of silk stuff woven with figures,

[1] "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1902," VIII.

which still show the colours fairly fresh; unhappily, the pieces are too small for the pattern to be restored. It is clear therefore that in this case also the dead man was laid in a bed, clad in costly fabrics, and there were found the remains of a beaker of glass and of various wooden vessels, likewise pieces of wax, which altogether indicate a grave-furniture of the same kind as we know from the other great ship-finds. There was, too, a grave-chamber; just as in the preceding grave there were found a mass of splinters, which come evidently from the building of the chamber; a thick layer of bark, which must originally have covered the roof of the chamber, was found, which had been ripped up at the breaking in, and lay mingled with the remains of the contents of the grave, which had been flung out of it. For the rest, the boat had contained the usual outfit of small spars, oars,—of which, however, only a single oar-blade was preserved,—and of ropework.

The grave-chamber, in which the dead is laid to rest in his bed, is thus a common feature in many of the ship-graves of the Viking Age, but it does not seem to be found in the unburnt boat-graves in their oldest form. Such an arrangement of a ship-grave seems, moreover, extraordinary, and that is the case in a special measure when the grave-chamber takes the form of a building on ground walls, erected partly outside the ship. I am therefore of the opinion that this feature was introduced into the Norse ship-graves as a loan from the grave-customs which were followed at the same date by chieftains in the neighbouring lands to the south.

There are some specially rich grave-finds from Jutland, where the grave is built like a four-cornered wooden chamber, which may compare in size with a small room, for example, in the King's Graves at Jellinge.[1] A splen-

[1] "Kongehøiene i Jellinge og deres undersøgelse efter Kong Fredrik VII.'s befaling i 1861." (The King's Graves in Jellinge and their examination in 1861 by order of King Fredrik VII.) Udgivet af det kongelige nordiske oldskrift selskab. Kjøbenhavn, 1875. J. J. A. Worsaae: "Om Mammen-Fundet, fra Hedenskabets slutningstid." "Aarboger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1869," p. 203.

did grave of this kind was also found in Smaalenene[1] (on the same farm as that where the Tune ship was found), so the custom was not unknown among Norse chieftains in the Viking Age. Certainly in these graves the form of the chamber is other than in the ship-graves; it has upright walls and a flat ceiling, never the pointed roof form, which is universal in the chambers that were built over ships, and Professor Montelius has certainly judged aright, when he derives the last-named form from the ship's tilt, whilst the flat-ceilinged chamber is naturally interpreted as an imitation of a room in a house. But there are so many resemblances between the two grave-forms that there may certainly also have been a connection.

In the Danish chambers too the dead rested in his bed with feather-quilts and arrayed in costly clothes worked with gold and embroidered; and since in a Danish grave of this kind there was found a wax-light, and in one of the graves on Karmø a round cake of wax, on which is drawn a cross, this also points to a Danish influence on the Norse grave-customs. In my view the matter stands thus: that the chieftains in Norway and Sweden, who followed the custom of burial in a ship, which by the Viking Age had already grown old and venerable, nevertheless would not fall behind the Danish chieftains, who at that date had their graves prepared like a princely sleeping-chamber. Thus there appeared a form of grave which combined the advantages of both in the ship fitted out after inherited custom with provisions, horses, hounds, cooking utensils, and so forth, and the sleeping chamber with bed, feather-quilt and costly coverlets.[2] Now after the lapse of 1,000 years the result seems somewhat overwhelming. We shall search very far before we find

[1] "Aarsberetning fra foreningen til norske fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring," 1867, p. 59, No. 82.

[2] A parallel can be adduced from certain parts of Australia, where they build a hut for the dead in a canoe. See Hildebrand: "Folkens tro om sina döda."

burials which, in pomp and luxury carried to the highest pitch, can compare with our rich ship-finds from the Viking Age.

We have still to treat of one more outcome of the care which was spent on the furniture of these graves, namely, that it became also a matter of concern that the dead should not be alone. Ibn Fosslan gives us a dismal description of how one of the thralls or thrall-women of the dead was sacrificed to follow him to the grave. The fact is also borne out by Icelandic literature; it is said of the settler Asmund Atlason, that he was buried in a ship, and with him his thrall, who doomed himself to this and would not live after Asmund; he was laid in the other end of the ship.[1] This is also confirmed from Norse grave-finds, as from a grave at Hov, in Dønnes district, Nordland. The grave-howe contained the nails of a ship, which probably had been of the size of a yacht; in the afterpart of the ship was found a skeleton, which is taken to be that of a man, together with the bones of a dog. Outside the sternpost was found another skeleton,

[1] Landnámabók, Part II., Chap. VI. "Ásmundr var heygðr þar ok i skip lagðr, ok þræll hans með hónom sá es ser bannaði séalfr, ok vilða eigi lifa efter Ásmund. Hann var lagðr í annann stafn skipsins."

In 1897 Mr. W. G. Collingwood and Dr. Jón Stefánsson opened a grave near Øxl on Snæfellsness, where Asmund lived, having previously unsuccessfully examined the traditional site of his howe. Within a stone-built circular wall, 24 feet internal diameter, under a layer of charcoal, they found bone-earth and scraps of bone with traces of copper and iron decayed to rust and fragments of hard wood and under all a stone flooring. They point out that the circle is large enough for a six-oared boat, which could easily have been dragged up to the place, and think the fragments of wood may be its remains. See "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," p. 71. The vessel Asmund was buried in could not have been a large one, as the legend relates that after his burial he was heard singing in his grave and complaining of being crowded by the presence of the thrall.—Ed.

Though I can well agree with the opinion that the vessel in which Asmund was buried was a small one, I should like to add that the proof taken from Asmund's complaint is not absolutely convincing. I have, in the text, omitted that part of the tale as it is not confirmed by all manuscripts.—H.S.

which was thought to be a woman's.[1] Also in another of the great ship-finds there were found parts of the skeletons of two individuals.[2]

When Professor Montelius, some twenty years ago, made the first important enquiries into ship-graves, no certain example of a woman's grave in a ship could up to that date be cited, and he had to leave unanswered the question if burial in a ship had been also in general use at the burial of women, of course leaving out of account the cases where a woman had been sacrificed ıen a man was borne to earth. Later finds have thrown ɔmplete light upon this question; we know now that women's graves may be met with even among the greatest ınd richest finds of this kind, and that they are not ıcommon among the less important boat-graves, as has ɔen mentioned above in the account of cremation-graves. In addition we have a description from one of the old sagas of a woman's burial, which answers completely to the great Norse ship-finds. It is told of Unn the Rich, of Hvamm in Hvammsfjord, that, when she died at a great age, the corpse was borne to a howe which was made ready for her, she was laid in a ship in the howe, and much goods were laid in the ship with her; then the howe was closed up.[3]

Before I conclude this description of the graves, it

[1] Lorange: "Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum," pp. 192, 193. I take this opportunity of correcting an error which occurred in my District Report last year (SAGA-BOOK, p. 64) where I have recorded this find as a woman's grave. In all likelihood it is a man's grave.

[2] In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, which owing to the lateness of the hour was necessarily very brief, the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, pointed out that among Frankish and Anglo-Saxon graves women's skeletons had been found in positions suggesting *suttee*, so that the custom described by Ibn Fosslan and illustrated by the graves described above was not confined to the Scandinavian races, but was shared by their kinsmen in other parts of Europe.—ED.

[3] "Ok enn síðasta dag boðsins var Unnr flutt til haugs þess, er henni var búinn. Hon var lagð í skíp í hauginum, ok mikit fé var í haug lagð með henni; var eptir þat aptr kastaðr haugrinn." Laxdæla Saga. Kap. VII., udgivet af Kr. Kålund, København, 1889-91, p. 15.

may be of some interest if I give an example of the smaller class, a grave which does not convey the slightest impression of wealth and abundance, and which shows, moreover, how far the folk in general strained in their endeavour to follow the prevailing customs. Of the lesser boat-graves of this kind a very great number are to be met with in all parts of Norway, but few have hitherto been examined by experts, and that is so much the more unfortunate, as the exploration of a boat-grave calls for care and foresight in a very special degree. Of very great importance therefore is a find which was made by Professor G. Gustafson in a grave-howe in Nordfjord.[1] The howe consisted of sand, and every trace of wood which it had contained was completely perished, but at the very first spadeful boats'-nails were found, and these of course still lay in the same place in the earth which they had occupied whilst the wood of the boat was yet in existence. It was therefore possible, by careful work, to uncover the nails without disturbing their order, and to have them marked down upon a ground-plan, which thus represents the size and shape of the boat as well as its mode of building, since the nails fully indicate every plank in the boat and even the place of the ribs. It proved to be a little ten-oared boat, 8.50 meters long, of exactly the same kind and size as are still built in that same locality. The grave was a man's grave; and the place of the dead had evidently been in the middle of the boat, where his weapons were found. This is of importance for a comprehension of the grave-custom; it indicates that here also there was built a grave-chamber over the middle part of the boat.

Now that we have seen how general and richly developed ship-graves were in Norway and Sweden, we should also expect to meet with a similar feature in the lands which were colonized from those countries in the Viking Age. To some extent this is actually the case.

[1] G. Gustafson: "En baadgrav fra vikingetiden." "Bergens Museums Aarsberetning, 1890, VIII."

With regard to the Swedish colonies we may refer to Ibn Fosslan's account of the grave-customs among the Northern folk on the Volga, who undoubtedly came from Sweden. His report, that a rich man was burnt in his ship, but if it was a poor man who was dead they built a little boat for him and burnt him in it, exactly tallies with the conclusions we have drawn from the Scandinavian grave-finds. From Finland, where Swedish influence asserted itself at an early date, many finds of vessels burnt in graves are actually known, dating even as early as from the seventh century, consequently from the same time as the oldest of the graves at Vendel.[1] A very rich ship-grave from that age is described by Dr. Appelgren[2]; its arrangement agrees completely with the cremation-graves from Norway and Sweden described above; it contained a great number of ships'-nails, most of them of considerable size, and, amongst other things, six shield-bosses, also a feature which agrees with the finds from Scandinavia itself. In the Norwegian colonies, the Faroes and Iceland, the point is more difficult to prove, because these countries on the whole have not yielded many enlightening grave-finds; the conditions of life there were certainly more straitened than in Norway, and did not offer such good ground for a rich and well developed grave-custom. One instance, however, of a boat-grave is said to have been found in Iceland, and from literary sources we know for a fact that the custom of burying in a vessel was known in Iceland too.[3] From

[1] Hackman: "Om likbränning i båtar under den yngre jernåldern i Finland." Finskt Museum, 1897, p. 66 and 81.

[2] Hjalmar Appelgren: "En brandgraf å Yliskylä Kyrkogård i Bjerno." Finskt Museum, 1897, p. 60.

[3] The grave mentioned in the foot-note on page 357 may be a second instance of a ship-burial found in Iceland. Besides the countries mentioned in this paper the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, in the discussion that followed, reported that he had noticed boat-rivets in a Viking age grave (Carnan-nan-Barraich) in Oronsay. Dr. Joseph Anderson also describes three graves at Pierowall in Orkney, examined in 1841, 1855 and 1863 by Mr. Farrer and Mr. Petrie, which he thinks must

Gotland, on the other hand, only a single boat-grave is known, likewise only one from Skaane, and none from Denmark, these being just the parts of Scandinavia where influences from the Christian lands of Western Europe asserted themselves earliest and strongest. On the other hand there are found in North Jutland some ship-formed standing-stones, a grave form which is certainly derived from the ship-graves, and whose appearance within Danish territory has been accounted for as a relic of foreign vikings, who had established themselves for a time upon the coast of Jutland.

It is not strange that ship-burials are spoken of in many places in the old literature of Norway and Iceland, but these accounts throw little light upon the study of the customs themselves; as a rule it is only stated in general terms that the dead was laid in a ship: and when sometimes a special feature is added, it is no doubt just because it was something uncommon, which did not belong to the customary programme at a ship-burial. This is certainly the case with the well-known scene at the burial of Thorgrim Thorsteinsson in Gisli Sursson's Saga: here, as regards the arrangement of the grave, it is only said that they laid Thorgrim in a ship and cast up a howe according to the old custom. When they were about to close the howe, Gisli goes up, takes up a stone as big as a hill, drops it on to the ship, so that every timber was near to crack and says: "I don't know anything of mooring a ship, if wind and weather take this up." From the text itself it is therefore evident that Gisli's action here stands outside the range of what belonged to old custom; it is explained also only by the special conditions at this burial, in that Gisli

have been ship-graves. Precise details of the exploration are wanting, but the presence in all three graves of fragments of wood pierced with iron rivets seems conclusive on this point. See "Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age," pp. 57-59. The editor will be very glad to be told of cases where similar features have been observed, perhaps without their meaning being recognized, in graves found in other parts of the British Isles.—ED.

himself had slain the man who was being buried.[1]

Compared with the grave-finds the Old Norse literature is a meagre source of knowledge about such customs; but, before I conclude, I must refer to a brief story, whose historical value I will, for the rest, leave out of account, but which nevertheless can not be overlooked, when we are discussing ship-graves and the ideas which lay at the root of that grave-custom. The Viking Hake had slain in battle Hugleik, king of the Swedes, with his two sons, and had himself become king of the Swedes. In later years the nephews of the fallen Hugleik, Eirik and Jorund, sailed for Svithiod to win back the kingdom; much people gathered to them, and they advanced to Upsala against King Hake, but he advanced against them with a much smaller force. There was a great battle, King Hake went forward so hard that he struck down all who came near him, till at last he slew King Eirik himself and cut down the brothers' banner. Then Jorund fled to the ships with all his folk. King Hake received such great wounds that he saw that his life-days would not be long; then he let take a ship which he owned, had it loaded with dead men and weapons, made them flit it out to sea, ship the rudder and hoist up the sail, but set light to some pine-wood and make a pyre on the ship. The wind blew off the land. Hake was almost dead, if not already dead, when he was laid on the pyre. The ship went flaming out among the islets into the open sea, and that deed was very famous long after.[2]

[1] . . . ok fara aller saman á Sæból, til haugsgjörðar, ok leggja Þorgrím í skip, Nu verpa þeir hauginn eptir fornum sið, ok er búit er at lykja hauginn, þá geingr Gísli til óssins, ok tekr upp stein einn, svo mikinn sem bjarg væri, ok leggr í skipit, svo at nær þótte hvert tré hrökkva fyrir, enn brakaðe mjök í skipinu, ok mælti: "Eigi kann ek skip at festa, ef þetta tekr veðr upp." "Tvær sögur af Gísla Súrssyni, udgivne af det nodiske Literatur—Samfund," København, 1849, p. 31. See "The Story of Gísli the Outlaw," translated by the late Sir G. W. Dasent, p. 55.

[2] "Heimskringla eller Norges Kongesagaer af Snorri Sturlason." C R. Unger, Kristiania, 1868, p. 21. See the translations by S. Laing (Nimmo, 1889, 2nd Edition), and Morris and Magnússon (Saga Library, Quaritch), Saga I.c. XXVII.

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.—After the paper was sent to England I got a most interesting article concerning ship-burials, by Mr. Knut Stjerna ("Skölds hädanfärd," published in "Festskrift till Professor Schück paa hans 50-års-dag," Stökholm, 1905) and I have thus been prevented from making use of it. It contains most valuable pronouncements as to the beginning of the ship-burials and as to the explanation of this custom.

FIG. 1.—THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF SKÁLHOLT.

From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon, after a Water-colour Drawing of the original building, now in the British Museum, by J. Cleveley, junr., who accompanied Sir Joseph Banks to Iceland in August, 1772.

FIG. 2.—VIEW OF REYKJAVÍK, SHOWING THE CATHEDRAL.
From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

NOTES ON SOME ICELANDIC CHURCHES.

By Mrs. DISNEY LEITH.

REYKJAVÍK Cathedral is a building of no pretence to antiquity and less still to beauty, from an architectural point of view. It is built of stone of a pinkish tinge, and roofed with slates; the west end is surmounted by a small belfry, and was decorated with the arms which the Danish rulers imposed upon the little metropolis, namely, a split codfish. Since the changes in the government of the island in 1904, the old falcon banner is acknowledged as the national symbol, and has displaced the cod. The falcon has long presided in effigy over the door of the Parliament house close by.

Inside, the appearance is much that of our own churches early in the last century, or a good-sized kirk in a Scottish town. There is very little chancel; the altar is railed in and covered with a red velvet cloth embroidered with the date 1848. A large altar picture

of the Resurrection stands behind it, and two tall candles complete the furniture. In front of the altar stands the handsomely-carved marble font, the work and gift of the Icelandic sculptor, Thorwaldsen, whose statue adorns the green square outside. The pulpit, on the south side, is high and has a carved canopy; the seats in the body of the building are plain wooden benches, with desks and backs. A gallery runs round three sides of the church, in which is the harmonium, and where the singers sit.

Yet plain to our ideas and lacking in ecclesiastical beauty as is the shrine, I have attended services by no means lacking in devoutness and faith. I have seen the companion of long rough rides by fell and moor and river, in irreproachable Sunday habiliments, singing lustily (and doubtless making melody in his heart) in the fine old hymns of the "Sálma-bók." For they sing very melodiously, these worthy folk; the parts are tuneful and sweet, and many of the chorales really grand, though the *tempo* as a rule is susceptible of improvement as regards acceleration. I have listened to sermons full of fire and energy, from the Rev. Jón Helgason, one of the Cathedral clergy. Séra Jón is very clear and forcible in style—clear too in his enunciation. He is the son of a devout and well-read pastor, known in his own land for his writings and poems and translations. I have met with a small book of catechetical instruction for children, written by him, which appeared to be almost identical in teaching with the Anglican doctrine. Jón Helgason is the editor of the new religious periodical. "Verði Ljós"[1] ("Let there be light!"), and his articles are distinguished by their vigour, directness, and emphatically Christian teaching; they reach a higher level than those of many of his contemporaries, and should tend to encourage the movement for the deepening of the religious life, which makes itself evident here and there throughout the country.

[1] The periodical is now extinct, after a run of ten years.

Leaving the capital, we pass to the scene, at all events, of chief interest as a church site, namely, Thingvellir. Here, about A.D. 1001, the Christian religion was publicly adopted by law, at the meeting of the Althing. No more picturesque site for a church can be imagined than that of the present building; in the green watered valley at the foot of Almannagjá—All Men's Rift, the great chasm in the lava bed which has formed for ages a natural roadway to the scene of Iceland's parliaments. Alas! that modern vandalism has even here desecrated the ancient landmark by blasting and levelling a smooth roadway along the chasm, terminating in a bridge. Perhaps the road is a legitimate and sensible improvement, especially in view of the facility of progress to the patient and hardy ponies, which are still, as ever, Iceland's one means of universal transport; but the new road might have been even more easily and as conveniently made to descend further east, and thus have preserved the classical old way intact for all time. I believe this is allowed, now, when too late, by the people themselves.

Thingvellir Church stands on a little mound at no distance from the Hill of Laws, and very near the mouth of the "Öxará" (Axewater) river, where it enters the great inland lake of Thingvellir. Very beautiful is the panorama, starting from the Gjá on the south-west, passing the eye northward along the dark-blue giant outlines of Arnafell and Skjaldbreið, and the hills towards Borgarfjorð, to the rocky crests of Hengill reflected in the waters of the lake, the hot springs on its slopes constantly sending up a little wreath of steam, especially visible before rain. But when we turn to the church itself, in so noble a setting, we do not find beauty of architecture to accord with beauty of scenery. Perhaps it is better so, and in a landscape on so vast a scale of magnificence the proportions of even Cologne or Milan would be dwarfed. But here, as elsewhere, we find the little wooden grey-roofed church with its tiny belfry, while across the church path stand the clothes-poles and the

washing lines of the church farm. Neat and clean the little building certainly is; but the altar picture, which was its only claim to antiquity and curiosity, has given place to a modern Danish painting, and the subject of the former —"The Last Supper"—roughly but boldly painted, somewhat "after" Lionardo da Vinci—has been changed for one of "The Cleansing of the Leper."[1] The small wooden pulpit is old, and ornamented by quatrefoils in blue and red.

Here the services are only alternate, the priest having to travel some distance to another church, at Sóg, while his headquarters are at Thingvellir. The services, however, are well attended, and for a country place the music is good. By the farm of Ulfhljótsvatn, on a picturesque knoll above the Sóg river, is a neat but tiny church, which has an altar painting in the same style as the old Thingvellir picture.

Bessastaðir, on a little promontory south-west of Reykjavík, is one of the finest and best built of the older churches. Its position, on the shore of Skerjafjorð, is picturesque, if lonely. It is built of stone, which is very unusual in the country. When I first knew it, the interior was in a very poor condition; but it has since been restored to a state of almost aggressive neatness and brightness, with fresh paint, etc. It has a wooden screen, and contains some monuments of an interesting character; one fragment being a stone effigy of a knight, or Crusader, in armour, which had been varnished over and set up against the wall! It had evidently once been recumbent. There is an engraved slab to the memory of the first "Amtman" in the island, with a long Latin inscription.

A well-built stone house beside the church was formerly the principal school in southern Iceland; this was afterwards transferred to Reykjavík. The chief interest of Bessastaðir lies in the fact that here was born one of

[1] The old picture was bought by me some years ago and is now in S. Peter's Church, Shorwell, Isle of Wight.

Iceland's greatest men of modern times—the learned, versatile and venerable Dr. Grímur Thomsen. Here he passed his latter days, and died in 1896 full of years and honour. It was my privilege to know him, and to partake more than once of his kind hospitality: the cordial welcome which he extended to me as a stranger ripening quickly to a warm friendship, too soon, alas! to be cut short by his death. His house was a store of literary and art treasures, and his conversation was of the most amusing and fascinating description. He rests beside the walls of the grey old church, a slanted slab of black marble within a railed enclosure marking his grave. There is no parsonage at Bessastaðir, which is served from another but quite newly-built church, at Garðar.

The old church at Viðey—one of the green islets that lie just off Reykjavík, in the narrowing mouth of the Faxafjorð—deserves mention, as it is of considerable antiquity. When I saw it in August, 1904, it was undergoing restoration, a process which I feared might become *devastation* unless wisely looked over. It contains some fine old woodwork, carved on the old pattern I had seen at Viðimyri, a screen, and panels, also a curious old "skriftstóll" or confessional. The altar and panels were painted in two shades of pale blue and green with red mouldings, quite in art colours. I tried to point out to the young farmer who owns the island the desirability of preserving the old characteristics in his new work, and I think he agreed with me. The building was in too great confusion for me to make any but the roughest notes. I believe there is a superstition regarding this church, that the door should be always open, to allow the birds to go in and out.

It is somewhat of a "far cry" from the neighbourhood of Reykjavík to Skálholt in the south, and considerably to the east of Reykjavík. Skálholt! what wonderful thoughts its name suggests, too many fully to grasp, as you gaze over the wide valley, watered by the broad Hvitá, and the glorious ring of mountains of every form

FIG. 3.—SKÁLHOLT.

From a Sketch by W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." *By permission.*

and shade; and try to think of Gizur and Klæng and Thorlák, and the wonderful history of the infant Church of Iceland! But what bathos, as you turn from the glorious landscape with its undying associations into the little wooden shanty, which represents the Skálholt ecclesiastical of to-day! Mean to a degree, ill-kept above

FIG. 4.—SKÁLHOLT CHURCH.

From a Photograph.

the average, unused even on Sunday, except as a promiscuous storehouse—for it is served periodically from another parish, the sight is one to make angels weep. But Skálholt possesses the dignity of having been the first episcopal see—and the annals of its first five bishops form the subject of the curious old ecclesiastical chronicle called Hungrvaka—"the Hungerwaker," as it is supposed to stimulate the reader's desire for further information. Here lived and wrought and prayed, Iceland's greatest saint, the holy bishop Thorlak, and here in those short dark days of the dreary Yuletide of 1193, his mourning people laid him to rest with song and holy rite. Much is told too of the richness and decoration of the original

church, and the solemnities of its consecration and dedication to St. Peter the Apostle, during the episcopate of Bishop Klæng.

I paid my second visit to Skálholt in August, 1905—I had seen it first in 1895—and during my stay at the hospitable house of Dr. Skúli Árnason, who lives at the church farm, was able, through the kindness of my host, to see more of what still remains of interest. The church possesses a splendid chasuble of exquisite embroidery and of Pre-reformation period, a silver casket for the sacred wafers, and a very curious altar frontal; the super-frontal decoration being formed of silver plates, said to be from the girdle of Thorgunna in the "Eyrbyggja-saga." Also there are alabaster slabs, very fine for their period (c. 1600-1700), monuments of Lutheran bishops, under the flooring of the church, which is made in detachments, so as to lift up. Older fragments of monumental slabs form the doorstep, and each succeeding year are becoming more outworn by feet and overgrown by grass. One has a partially decipherable inscription to some "VIRI REVERENDI atq PIISSIMI," but name and date are gone; in style and lettering it resembles the older slabs in Elgin cathedral. Another is ornamented with little medallions, presumably the four Evangelists, at each corner.

Still more interesting is it to trace, as I did under Dr. Skúli's guidance, the foundation plan of the real "Krosskirkja"—with nave, chancel, and transepts—of which plan the present building occupies about the centre. I regret that I did not take the measurements, but they could not have been very accurately observed. Roughly, the church must have occupied the whole space of the small churchyard; a noble building, doubtless, in respect of all the other native erections. Here, under the rough mounds, where the hay now lies drying in the August sun, the site of the "Sönghús," where the body of the saint lay for three nights before burial, the mortal remains (most probably) of the blessed Thorlák rest in hope.

There is also visible the track of a subterranean way of entrance to the old church, probably intended for use in bad weather.

Dr. Skúli also showed me a pencil plan of old Skálholt, copied from the MS. of Bishop Steingrim Jónsson in the museum; it bears date 1784, so of course must be looked on as modern; though at that time much more of the old buildings remained or were known than at present. A sketch of the plan of the church is subjoined. The whole plan is very large, and contains outhouses,

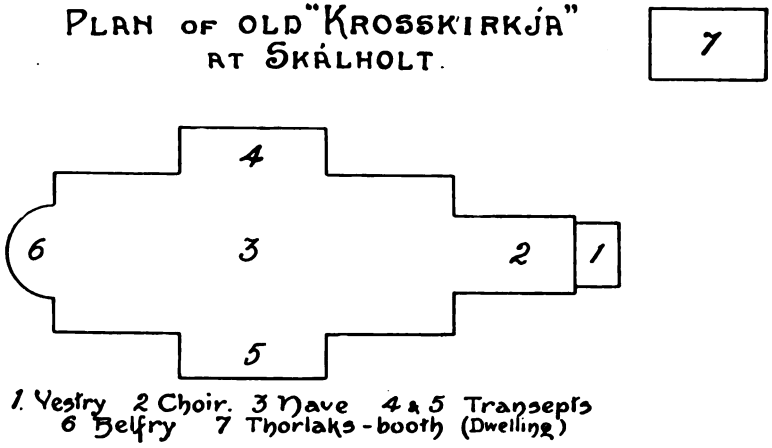

FIG. 5.

offices, school, and, in short, a large block of buildings, though it is permissible to the modern Icelandic traveller to surmise that many of the names in the plan may represent mere turf hovels.[1]

Yet one more note of interest ere we quit this hallowed and enthralling site. Just a little to the north of the

[1] The Cathedral was destroyed in the earthquake of 1784. It was not the same as the Krosskirkja of the plan, as will be seen if the plan is compared with the frontispiece. The Krosskirkja stood a little way from the site of the Cathedral. See "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," p. 20.—ED.

churchyard lies the stone on which Bishop Jón Árason of Hólar was slain for his faith—being the last Catholic bishop of the church in Iceland. He was brought to Skálholt for execution, along with his two sons. (The Icelandic clergy were not celibate; the bishops' wives figuring largely sometimes in the histories.)

A photograph of the stone is also given. It is much to be desired that some fence and monument should be placed to guard a spot so sacred in the annals of the country.

FIG. 6.—SITE OF THE MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP JÓN ÁRASON.
From a Photograph.

Breiðabólstað, yet further southward, had, when I visited it in 1896, a picturesque steading adjacent, where its pastor lived; but it has been rebuilt since then, and I shudder to imagine the contrast between new and old, for the new farm buildings are usually on the most unsightly lines imaginable. Timber and corrugated iron are not perhaps the materials which an architect would exactly choose to embody his fair designs; but if the makers of these buildings would only copy the gabled

outlines of the old farms, they would arrive at something less utterly out of keeping with the scenes in which they are set. Breiðabólstað church contains the wonderful so-called "Fairy Chalice" mentioned in so many travellers' books, an old silver chalice of which the origin

FIG. 7.—THE FAIRY CHALICE.
By W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.
Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." *By permission.*

and acquisition are wrapped in mystery. Another curiosity is the carved figure of a dove on the font cover, a rude figure indeed, with heavy blocks of wood for feet. The font here is near the door, in the orthodox position. There is an altar painting, of no particular merit.

All honour to the neat new timber-built church of Oddi, for it withstood the destructive earthquakes of 1896, and sheltered many of the homeless children of the sufferers. Its site is striking, with the brown water-streaked "Land-isles" between it and the low horizon line on which may distinctly be seen the blue outlines of the Westman Islands group.

Stórinúpur, in Arnasysla, is a church of some pretension, but its chief honour is in its present priest, the poet Valdimar Briem, who is at once the most prolific

FIG. 8.—CENTRAL ORNAMENT OF PATEN AT BREIÐABÓLSTAÐ.
By W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.
Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." *By permission.*

and most spiritual of Iceland's living "skalds." A quiet retiring and even silent man, he has produced the largest collection of sacred poetry and hymnology of any modern Icelandic writer, and some of his poems attain to a very high level. A careful and diligent parish priest, he has attained the rank of "Prófastur" or Dean, and is widely known and respected. He has also received the Danish order of the "Dannebrog" for his talents. The church is large and well-fitted, compared with many. The chancel roof is painted blue with white stars, and vaulted

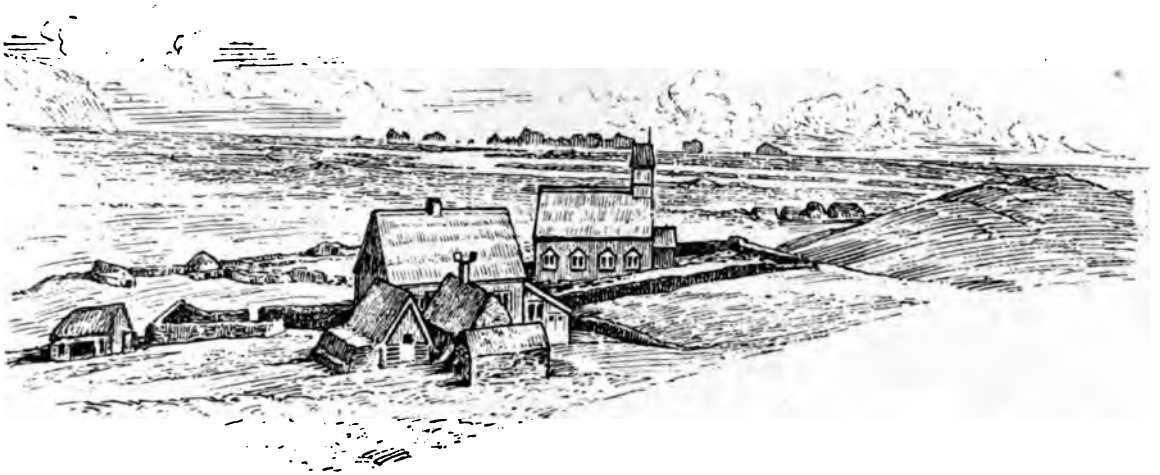

FIG. 9.—ODDI.

From a Sketch by W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." *By permission.*

over; a large and handsome candelabrum hangs from the ceiling. The music is supplied by an American organ, in fair condition, and Arni, the organist, who, after some pressing, was prevailed on to play, did so with great taste and refinement. Stórinúpur, lit. "the Great Mound," or "hillock," stands in the Hekla district, no long distance from the volcano, and suffered badly in the last earthquake. The parsonage has thus been rebuilt, and has one of the most modern Icelandic interiors that I have seen.

Travelling north, through Hvalfjorð and Borgarfjorð, we halt at Saurbær; a church and parsonage situated near the latter fjord, with a glorious view of the enclosing hills, notably "Botn-súlur," the "bottom pillar," or column, which closes the view and the inlet. Here, in visiting the church, the priest showed me a large collection of altar and other vestments of different colours, and in particular a chasuble of very curious old needlework. There is also an old coloured crucifix and a somewhat mediocre picture below it of the Last Supper. Outside the church, however, an object of great interest is the grave of Hallgrimur Pjetursson, the contemporary of Milton, and Iceland's greatest religious poet. Upon it a stone has been placed in later days by his descendants, in loving memory, and bears an inscription to that effect. He was the priest of Saurbær at that time.

Hraungerði is a little church on the way from Reykjavík to Stórinúpur. It possessed, in 1898, a really noticeable altar-piece; a triptych with folding doors; the central panel a representation of the Crucifixion, in strong relief carving, and coloured. There were a number of figures; the different spectators around the cross all most carefully carved, and the various expressions beautifully distinguished. This treasure has now followed many others to the Reykjavík museum, where I have since seen it. There was also at Hraungerði a pulpit, painted with figures of the four Evangelists.

Stafholt, north of the Hvítá, has a wildly picturesque

site in the midst of a wide plain, within sound of the rushing of a great river, over which the wind can sweep with little to check its fury, as on the August afternoon when I attempted to take a stroll and found myself very glad to cling for shelter under the church's wooden wall. What impressed me more than the church was the gate to the small churchyard, which stands between the parsonage and the church; it is broken, but on the wooden board above it is painted in Icelandic a verse from the Third Psalm (thus literally rendered) "I lay me down and sleep, and I awake, for the Lord guardeth me," which I thought a rather novel and very beautiful application.

FIG. 10.—VIÐIMYRI CHURCH.
From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

Viðimyri stands last on the list of churches which seem specially worthy of notice. It is no long journey from the Hjeraðsfloi river, the ford of which has some mournful associations; more than one life has been lost in attempting to cross it on horseback instead of waiting for the surer ferry boat. Viðimyri church is almost the only specimen remaining of a turf church. It looks outside very like a neatly turfed cottage, with the ornament of crossed planks with carved ends on its wooden front gable. Within, it is extremely neat and possesses the curiosity of a double wooden screen enclosing the

sacrarium. It has a very old wooden pulpit, with panel paintings of saints, nearly obliterated with age. There is an altar picture of the Last Supper, not specially striking, and two older and better painted panels of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, which are put aside under the ceiling. It has a pair of brass altar candlesticks, and a rather flimsy modern chandelier; while the tiny building is hung round with paraffin lamps. Two bells, with the date 1630, are hung in a penthouse over the door, and rung from without.

These few rough notes upon the principal churches

FIG. 11.—MIKLIBÆR CHURCH
From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

which have come under my personal observation may, I hope, serve to show that, although Iceland's Church is shorn of her ancient glories, and architecture according to the usual acceptation of the term is unknown in the country, yet her little sanctuaries are not wholly devoid of interesting associations and relics of the past. Moreover these are reverently cared for, as far as circumstances permit, and as might be expected of a simple, primitive, but eminently sterling and God-fearing people.

NOTE.—Books of travel in the latter half of the nine-

teenth century mention many turf churches as still existing in Iceland, but Mrs. H. W. Bannon informs us that the only one, besides Viðimyri, now remaining is at Flugumyri. The latter is in worse preservation than Viðimyri, and both, she fears, are likely soon to disappear, as they are entirely neglected, and even archæologists do not take the interest in them which such interesting relics of the past should arouse. As a contrast to the picture of Viðimyri and an instance of the fate that has overtaken most of these turf churches, we give a sketch by Mrs. Bannon, of Miklibær church, on the Horgá not far from Akureyri in the north of Iceland. The building shown, which is a typical modern Icelandic church, has replaced the former turf church, which is briefly described by W. G. Lock in "The Home of the Eddas," published in 1879. Mrs. Bannon cannot say at what date this was replaced by the present building.

Our thanks are due to her for the sketches she has allowed us to use, especially the interesting representation of old Skálholt Cathedral; also to our President and Mr. W. Holmes, publisher of "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," for permission to use the illustrations taken from that work.—EDITOR.

HOMER AND BEOWULF:

A LITERARY PARALLEL.

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PARALLELS, unless they are scientific, run the risk of being thought fallacious. In literature parallel lines are apt to intersect at unexpected points. A writer, eager to see points of contact, is not content to wait for that infinity whereat, by a mathematical fiction, parallels meet: he may be tempted to force his lines of comparison together at the bidding of caprice, and do violence to strict truth. This is the danger which besets Plutarch: there is just a suspicion that some of his pairs of Lives from Greek and Roman History are due to exigencies of parallelism rather than to absolute fitness. It is not, therefore, without due appreciation of the need of care that I venture to study Homer and "Beowulf" together. The collocation does not imply that Homer is quite the "Beowulf" of Greek literature, or "Beowulf" the Homer of English literature. Such unqualified parallelism would as certainly mislead as if one should label Hesiod "the Greek Caedmon," or perhaps Sophocles "the Greek Shakespeare," and proceed to lay stress on the undoubted resemblances, without equally marshalling the differences.

Yet in the case of the Homeric poems and of "Beowulf" the possible lines of comparison are so many that it is necessary to state those along which this paper does not propose to travel. Here we are confronted with two sets

of poems of the epic order—the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" in Greek of, say, the ninth century B.C., and the "Beowulf" in West-Saxon of, say, the eighth or ninth century A.D. The poems stand at the beginning of their respective literatures. This is the first obvious and superficial parallel between them. It points the way to others. Some of these I beg leave to eschew. I do not propose to approach the closer comparison from the standpoint of archæology, though much of interest might attach to a comparison between the external antiquities or "Realien"[1] of these poems, such as the Homeric and the Viking Ship, the Homeric and the old Scandinavian Hall,[2] the Homeric and the Danish armour,[3] the use and ornamentation of metals in both stages of society. The materials are to hand in the exhibits from Schliemann's excavations at Mycenæ and at Hissarlik, as shown in the Museums at Athens, Constantinople, and Berlin, in finds from northern middens, in remains like the Gokstad ship, and particularly in collections of northern antiquities like that at Copenhagen. It would prove an attractive sub-chapter in anthropology to contrast the Mycenæan civilisation of Homer, a period of transition between the Bronze and the Iron Ages, when one of the epithets of iron implied the difficulty of working it

[1] See Buchholz, "Die Homerischen Realien," 3 vols., 1871-1885; Schliemann, "Mycenae and Tiryns," 1878; Schuchhardt, "Schliemann's Excavations" (Eng. Tr., 1891); Helbig, "Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert, 1884, Zweite Auf., 1887; Stephens, "Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England," 4 vols., 1866-1901.

[2] For Homeric house, see Appendix vi. to Monro's "Odyssey," xiii.-xxiv., 1901; Jebb's "Homer," 1887, pp. 57-61 and Appendix; also "Journal of Hellenic Studies," vol. 7, p. 170.

For ancient Scandinavian house, see Part xiii. of Paul's "Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie," pp. 228-235; Holmberg's "Nordbon under Hednatiden," Stockholm, 1871 (cited in "Beowulf," tr. Clark Hall, 1901, p. 175); "Burnt Njal," translated by G. W. Dasent, 1861, vol. i., pp. xcviii.-cx.; "Ruins of the Saga-Time in Iceland," by Thorsteinn Erlingsson. (Viking Club Extra Volume, 1899)

[3] Lehmann, "Über die Waffen im Ags. Beowulfliede," Germania, xxxi. (xix.), 486-497, 1886. Reichel, "Homerische Waffen, Archäologische Untersuchungen" (Zweite Auf.), 1901.

(πολύκμητος σίδηρος, Iliad, vi., 48), with an age of the "iron byrnie" (isernbyrnan), when the sword is the "choice of irons" (irena cyst), and the hall of Heorot has its doors strengthened with iron bands (iren-bendum).

Nor do I propose to take the standpoint of social evolution, by discussing the relation of society in the poems to the stage of village communities or to clan life, and incidentally the characteristics of "clan-poetry"[1] traceable in each; nor yet from the standpoint of mythology, to inquire curiously how far Beowulf or Achilles may be a sun-god fighting against darkness. Nor do I propose to institute any purely linguistic comparison between Homeric and Anglo-Saxon grammar, though, here again, for those disposed to use it, material exists on the Greek side[2] no less than in those minute German tractates which deal with the genitive[3] or the dative[4] in "Beowulf," or the syntactical use of the infinitive and participle.[5]

It might seem more inviting to recollect that there is a "Beowulf Question" as there is a "Homeric Question." Of both the Homeric poems and of "Beowulf" critics go on asking and go on answering differently the queries—Who composed them? and where? and when? and how far have they been altered by interpolating scribes? If books have failed to solve such conundrums, let not an essay try. One of the wisest dicta of Seneca was his reminder that life is too short for the study of the Homeric Question. If the remark was apposite in the days of Nero, it ought to have much more force now. I am not, therefore, here concerned to compare the textual results of Homeric scholars from the Alexandrian days

[1] See Posnett, "Comparative Literature," 1886 (Book ii.).

[2] Delbrück, "Syntaktische Forschungen," 1871, *ff.* Monro, "A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect," 1884.

[3] Nader, "Der Genetiv im Beowulf," 1882.

[4] Nader, "Dativ und Instrumental im Beowulf," 1882.

[5] Köhler, "Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im Beowulf" (Münsterer Doktorschrift), 1886.

of Aristarchus, with those of Grein and Wülker[1] on "Beowulf"; nor to assess the value of the theories of Wolf,[2] Grote,[3] Fick[4] and others regarding the authorship and provenance of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," and the correspondingly arduous labours of Müllenhoff[5] and Sarrazin[6] on the Anglo-Saxon poem. But a few comments applicable to both epics arise naturally. Occupying a parallel cnronological position, belonging to the childhood of two great literatures, they were not without predecessors. Both in Homer and "Beowulf" there are introduced the singers and the singing of lays which imply the existence of a body of legendary lore from which minstrels drew for the amusement of their auditors. Thus, across the frontiers of both open out vistas into a wider saga-land—in the case of Homer to such groups as the Theban Cycle, the Wooden Horse, the Return from Troy of Greek Champions other than Odysseus; and in the case of "Beowulf" to sagas of the same kindred as "The Fight at Finnsburg," and the Sigmund[7] portion of the "Nibelungenlied."

It is farther noteworthy that among recent writers there is a tendency to doubt the theory that these poems are a patchwork of still earlier lays. Professor Comparetti, in his "Traditional Poetry of the Finns," and Mr. Andrew Lang in the Introduction to that work,[8] as well as in his "Homer and the Epic," have expressed their misgivings about the soundness of the method of

[1] "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie," begründet von C. W. M. Grein, neu bearbeitet u.s.w. von R. P. Wülker, "Das Beowulfslied," etc., 1883.

[2] Wolf, "Prolegomena," 1795.

[3] Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. ii., chap. xxi. (1st ed. 1848).

[4] Fick, "Odyssey," 1883; "Iliad," 1886.

[5] Müllenhoff, K., "Beowulf-Untersuchungen," 1889.

[6] Sarrazin, G., "Beowulf-Studien," 1888.

[7] In "Beowulf," Sigemund is the dragon slayer: this seems an older form of the tale than either the German or the Icelandic, which make his son Siegfried or Sigurd the slayer of Fafnir.

[8] English Translation, 1898.

accounting for Homer adopted by Lachmann [1] and others. The doctrine that early epics are organised agglutinations of anonymous sagas has probably seen its best days. It contains one side of the truth, that the composition of every great poem out of primitive songs requires personal agency; but it misses the other side of the truth, that any such great poem must be composed not by a mere collector or paster, but by a poet. A board of savants might work together on early songs, but the result could not conceivably be a poem. A board of savants is not a board of poets: and one does not hear of boards of poets working together. It is not a poetical, not a harmonious idea. Professor Courthope [2] similarly distrusts the results obtained by Müllenhoff as to the various strata of which he avers that "Beowulf" is composed, and which he claims to be able satisfactorily to separate.

Once more, under this heading, there is the likelihood, approaching certainty, that the material of both was brought across seas to new lands—the "Iliad," in the form of Thessalian lays, transported from Northern Greece to Asia,[3] and the "Beowulf," in the form of Scandinavian lays, transported from the Continent to England.

My real subject is the comparison of Homer and "Beowulf" as literary documents, without asking how they were composed. In both it is the poetry with which I have to deal. It is never practicable to make an absolute divorce between matter and manner, between the thought and the mode of expression. Least of all is this possible here. If poetry ever is a "criticism of life," then early poetry must be a specially valuable index. Hence I propose, after comment on the more obvious qualities of style in the epics, their narrative power, their power of recording character and emotion, to review them

[1] Lachmann, "Betrachtungen über Homers Ilias" (Dritte Auflage, 1874).

[2] "Hist. of Eng. Poetry," vol. i., 1895, pp. 86-88.

[3] "The Achaeans originated Epic . . . the supreme inspiration came to their minstrels on Asiatic soil." Bury, "History of Greece," 1900, p. 65.

briefly as representations of life,—life, not in the sense of the food the men ate, or the raiment they wore, or the ships they sailed in, but rather the kinds of deeds they performed and praised, their manners towards one another, their views on life and death.

The general stamp of the Homeric poetry cannot be better summed up than in the four qualities assigned to it by Matthew Arnold in his lectures "On Translating Homer," and endorsed by Professor Jebb in his "Introduction to Homer"[1]: rapid; plain in thought; plain in diction; noble. I take it that rapidity involves those qualities of force and vigour which seem to me so characteristic of both poems. It is the power of telling a narrative with effect—the fundamental gift of the epic poet. On this count of rapidity, and on the other two, of plain thought and plain diction, "Beowulf" holds its own with Homer: on the fourth count the palm is undoubtedly Homer's. He transcends "Beowulf" in sustained nobility of thought and of plan and of language. For "Beowulf," though containing much that is noble, and though making a closer approach to Homer than do ballads, does not succeed in keeping to a Homeric pitch.

Again, it suffers from its comparatively small scale—it is, roughly, about an eighth of Homer's length. In strictness "Beowulf" has not attained to epic proportions. Besides, it has reached a less developed stage of literary art; for its rugged alliterative lines do not rival Homer's diversified control over language, nor his power of handling so fine a metre as the Greek hexameter. But with all this, there remains amazingly Homeric quality in the narratives of "Beowulf." Homer, in brief, may be more artistic, but he is not more masculine. Take Beowulf's struggle with the monster Grendel in the Hall, or his yarn of how he fought the water-beasts during his swimming match with Breca, or the description of the fire-drake's fury against the whole land after his

[1] 1887, p. 12.

treasure had been invaded, and, pitted against anything in Homer for dash, nerve, and breathless excitement, the Anglo-Saxon poet is not outmatched.

In illustration of the passage last mentioned, I offer a rendering of its latter portion [1]:—

Then gan the guest-fiend live gleeds to spew forth,
Bright homesteads to burn. The blazing beam stood out
In anger against men: nor was there aught alive
The loathly lift-flyer was willing to leave.
That worm's warfare was widely beheld—
The crushing foe's cruelty close and afar—
How the fight-scather for the folk of the Geats
Brought hatred and humbling. To his hoard he shot back,
The dark hall of his den, ere the hour of the dawn.
The folk of that country he had compassed with flame
With bale and burning brand. He trusted in his barrow,
His fighting and fortress. That fancy played him false.

The real proof of the epic power of "Beowulf" lies in the readiness with which its great scenes flash back on the memory. It has its intense and unforgettable moments, as when Grendel, prowling round the hall in the dark, feels a grip such as he never felt before, that of thirty men's strength; and again, moments of sickening suspense, as when Beowulf lies, to all seeming, hopelessly exposed to the mere-wife's seax. They recall the intense moments of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," like old Priam's entrance, so unlooked-for, so dramatic, into the tent of the man who slew his son, or that point in the Trial of the Axes, when the stranger, who is Odysseus in disguise, leaves the hall with the neatherd and the swineherd and asks, if their master were to come back, with whom they would side, or that dark interval of disbelief before the dawn of recognition of her husband by Penelope.

Of Beowulf's three fights—with Grendel in the hall,

[1] The whole passage consists of ll. 2287-2323, "þa se wyrm . . . geleah" ("Beowulf," Early Eng Text Soc., ed. by Zupitza, 1882). The rhymed fourteeners of Lieut.-Col. Lumsden's translation do justice to the rapidity of the original; but they alter the metrical movement, and do not seem to me literal enough in expression.

with Grendel's dam under water, and with the fire-drake—the most powerful is the first. Granted that Homer, whether in the "Iliad" or the "Odyssey," moves on a more massive scale, and granted that the "Fight at Finnsburg," or the surrounding of Njal's house in the "Saga of Burnt Njal" may recall the "Iliad" more closely, still here the poet reaches the highwater mark of realism. As we read, we believe in Grendel. The struggle has the thrilling potency of Grettir the Strong's struggle with Glam's wraith in the famous "Grettis Saga."[1] The grim tug of war is as human as the "Iliad": that is why it reads more convincing, if less romantic, than the conflicts with Grendel's dam and the fire-drake, or the butchery of Odysseus' sailors by the Læstrygonians in the "Odyssey." Grendel, stalking across the moors from the swamps under cover of night into Heorot, arouses a compelling shudder, as genuine as the nervous feeling that may beset men even in ages of enlightenment, and force them against reason to believe in the possibility of mysterious and superhuman attack amid the still shadows of the dark. Others perhaps feel it like the resistless dread which pervades some dreams.[2] The sense of dread, when we know the monster *will* come back to King Hrothgar's hall to claim his nightly prey, is even more vivid than in the situation where the man-eating Cyclops returns to his cave to find Odysseus and his men within, and equal to our breathless anxiety while the blinded giant is groping over the sheep beneath which the Greeks lie hid. The appeal to awe in "Beowulf" is helped by the setting in Scandinavian scenery—the tossing northern seas, the bleak wind-swept headlands, the wild haunted bogs, lit only by the eerie will o' the wisp. Where Homer makes the most graphic appeal to awe is in the Slaying

[1] It is worth while recalling Vigfusson's theory that "Grettis Saga" here has borrowed from "Beowulf." See "Corpus Poeticum," vol. ii., pp. 501-3, and "Sturlunga Saga," 1878, Prolegomena, vol. i., xlix.

[2] "grim, unrelieved, touching close upon the springs of mortal terror, the recollection or the apprehension of real adversaries possibly to be met with in darkness." W. P. Ker, "Epic and Romance," 1897, p. 200.

of the Wooers, the effect of which is enhanced by the omens and forebodings of "second sight" that have gone before.

Coupled with the gift of strong, vivid, telling narrative, both poems have dramatic and lyric elements. Though there may be nothing quite so dramatic in "Beowulf" as the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in the first book of the "Iliad," or the interview with the deputation in Achilles' hut in the ninth book, yet the speeches in Hrothgar's hall are admirably managed. A highly dramatic turn is given (2047-2056) to the episode of the Danish bride Freawaru, married to a prince of the Heathobards, when at the beer-drinking an aged spearman recognises a Heathobard sword worn by a Dane, and eggs young Ingeld to vengeance in the words:

> Couldst thou, my good chief, know the glaive again
> Which thine own father to the fight bore,
> Under his helm of war, the hindmost time—
> The dearloved iron; where the Danes slew him,
> Lords of the field of carnage, when Withergyld[1] lay low
> After the fall of heroes— those hardy Scyldings?
> Now here of those slayers the son, I know not whose,
> In fretted-armour proud, paces the hall-floor,
> Boasts of the murder, and that treasure bears
> Which thyself by right shouldest rule.

For lyric and elegiac power the touching description in "Beowulf" of a father's grief for his dead son has a pathos comparable with Achilles' grief for Patroclus.

One pervading quality of both epics is a certain naïve freshness which has a double portion of charm for the jaded readers of more sophisticated ages. In the days of those poems the world was younger; hence the plainness already alluded to. Examples are abundant. A concrete work of art, or an abstract phenomenon like a reflection, an emotion, a character is always conveyed in simple terms. There is something very engaging about this primitive delight in works of skilful handicraft, as if man were still in the childhood of the race, and his

[1] *Or* "when vengeance failed."

implements and ornaments were toys to be admired. So the Northern poet signalises Beowulf's coat of mail as the work of Weland,[1] or the sword in the sea-cave as belonging to the Eotens[2]; and the Southern poet dwells on[3] the shield of Achilles as the work of the god Hephaistos, and is careful to say[4] that Agamemnon's sceptre was curiously made by the same god. If a reflection occurs to the poet, he is not afraid that it has occurred to hundreds before him. He had no horror of the simple. Three separate times does the author of "Beowulf" make the comment, "That was a good king" (þaet waes gōd cyning). He sums up the reference to Hrothgar's men at the close of Part I., as they turn to sleep in the hall, "They were a noble folk" (Waes sēo þēod tilu, 1250). "'Tis sorrowful for an old carle to bide that his boy swing upon the gallows in his youth" (2444-2446). "Of course it is," some modern critics would remark, "that is obvious"; and the modern decadent poet would not venture to say it. So in Homer there is this habit of simple reflection of the semi-proverbial order. And the reader of to-day experiences the pleasant intellectual shock of finding a truism, a saw, stated forcibly, with belief, and without compunction. The ages of literary self-torment had not yet begun.

The treatment of human emotions in both epics is in this same naïve manner. There is a freshness of outlook on man's feelings as well as on man's works and man's thoughts. A fighter at Troy or a thegn of Hrothgar's is not easily imagined as *blasé*. The topmost feeling bursts into expression. The hero feels he is brave, and says so:

> Hail to thee, Hrothgar! I am Higelac's kinsman, and tribe-thegn. I have undertaken many deeds of daring in youth . . . I quelled a giant brood, I slew sea-monsters on the waves by night, I dreed dire distress, avenged the Weder's feud.[5]

[1] "Beow.," 455. Weland, the smith of Germanic legend, is the Völund of the Edda.

[2] ealdsweord eotenisc, "Beow.," 1558. [3] "Il.," xviii., 458, etc.

[4] "Il.," ii., 101. [5] "Beow.," 407 *seq.*

These are words in Beowulf's first speech to the King at Heorot. Compare the words spoken by Odysseus to the King of Phaeacia:

> I am Odysseus, son of Laertes, who am in men's minds for all manner of wiles, and my fame reaches unto heaven.[1]

This is the true old epic and manly strain: it is not to be dismissed, after the fashion of some commentators, as boastfulness. It is a heroic confidence which pairs with the moral confidence of the developed ideal man in Aristotle's "Ethics," who knows his perfections and does not think it necessary to include humility, lest it should savour of mock-modesty. Here, then, we move among the elemental human emotions and their frank pourtrayal. King Hrothgar bursts into tears when he has to part from Beowulf, as the sailors of Odysseus do over their lost[2] comrades. Beowulf passsionately storms against Hunferth for his insolence at the banquet, as Achilles storms against Agamemnon for his highhandedness: in their hot temper both utter the same taunt about being drunk.[3]

The character-drawing in both epics is sharp and life-like. Its merit is truth to heroic man, who, it seems to me, might be epitomised in Pope's admirable line—

> A being darkly wise and rudely great.

The test of clear outline is the reader's memory. The mental pictures of Beowulf, the two Kings Hrothgar and Higelac, the two Queens Wealhthow and Hygd, Hunferth the scoffer, and Wiglaf the trusty thegn, are as lasting as the pictures of Achilles, Agamemnon, Odysseus, King Priam, Helen, and Penelope. I do not for a moment think the northern characters equal the Homeric in finesse, in fulness, or in variety; but if the content is less, for clear impression they hold their own. There is nothing so psychologically subtle in "Beowulf" as Homer's Athene; for she is the

[1] "Odyss.," ix., 19, 20. [2] *e.g.*, "Odyss," ix., 294.
[3] *cf.* beore drunceu, "Beow.," 531 and οἰνοβαρές, "Il.," i., 225.

apotheosis of mind. Nor is there anything corresponding to Homer's mastery of the mind of girlhood in Nausicaa. But the hero, in intensity and indomitable hardihood, is a worthy counterpart of Achilles. When Beowulf is safely home at Higelac's Court, the poet pauses to summarise his qualities (2177-2189) in words which I shall try to render with due regard to closeness and to alliteration:—

> **Thus boldly bore himself Ecgtheow's bairn,**
> **A wight in warfare well known, and in brave works.**
> **He did according to duty, never smote in their drink**
> **His mates of the hearth. His was no harsh mind,**
> **But stout in the strife, he guarded with greatest skill**
> **Of humankind the glorious gift that God**
> **Had lent unto him. Long was he lightly esteemed;**
> **For the children of the Geats did not count him courageous,**
> **Nor would a leader of war hosts award him**
> **Much honour on the mead-bench.**
> **Strongly they weened that he was a slack one,**[1]
> **An atheling unready. Reversal came,**
> **For that fame-blest man, of every biting flout.**

This character is developed in the second part, where finer issues are involved in the question—Shall the King give himself for his people to kill the fire-drake? And as he lies dying, reviewing his past, and feeling the tender pathos of childlessness, he can solemnly claim to have been brave, a goodly ruler, not treacherous, true to an oath (2730-2740). And the last words of the poem leave the Geatfolk mourning for "a mighty king, mildest of men, kindest to men, gentlest to his folk, and keenest after praise" (3180-82). It is full of fascination, this temperament, cheaply rated as sluggish in youth, and wakened by the stress of need and peril into brilliant action. The practical turn is seen in all his deeds, and rings through his words to the King, disheartened by the murderous raid of Grendel's mother:

> **Sorrow not, wise man. . . . Better for each to wreak his friend than greatly mourn. . . Win glory before death. That is best at last for the dead warrior (1348-1389).**

[1] **þæt hē slēac wǣre.**

This is Homeric in spirit. Indeed there is a certain refinement in Beowulf's gentleness and self-sacrifice which one usually misses in Achilles, of whom Horace's line is almost true:

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer.

I say almost true; for one cannot forget the great scene in the "Iliad" where King Priam has kissed the hands which have slain so many of his sons, and reminded Achilles of his own old father at home:

> **He stirred within Achilles desire to make lament for his father. And he touched the old man's hand and gently moved him back. And as they both bethought them of their dead, so Priam, for manslaying Hector, wept sore as he was fallen before Achilles' feet, and Achilles wept for his own father and again for Patroclos; and their moan went up throughout the house.**[1]

I have compared thus slightly Beowulf with Achilles, because he seems a closer analogue than the deeper and cleverer character of Odysseus. But if Odysseus is less akin to the hero Beowulf, the "Odyssey," as a book, is a truer parallel to the poem "Beowulf" than the "Iliad" is. For in the "Odyssey," despite the digressive episodes which, like "Beowulf," it contains, there is more definitely than amid the multifarious warfare of the "Iliad," one hero overshadowing all other figures. There is the blend of war elements and home elements. The dangers of the "Odyssey," too, are closer in kind to the dangers in "Beowulf." For example, the Laestrygonian cannibals with their ogress queen "huge as a mountain peak," and the godless Cyclops, make better parallels to Grendel and his dam clutching their victims than anything in the "Iliad." The "Odyssey" presents a wonderland wherein we might well encounter the fire-dragon that guarded the hoard; and the "Odyssey" presents the nearest analogies to the feeling of dread which "Beowulf" can awake.

Broadly, too, the epics are alike in recounting a moral

[1] "Il.," xxiv., 507-512 (Lang, Leaf and Myers' trans.).

triumph.[1] Right wins finally. Beowulf is throughout the redresser of wrong. In the "Iliad" the Greeks have invaded Asia to avenge the wrong done to Menelaus; they suffer for the wrong their chief does to Achilles, but in the end Troy is ruined because of the wrong done by Paris. In the "Odyssey," disobedience ruins Odysseus' comradès, while patient endurance brings him home, and the outrageous slights put on Penelope and Telemachus are avenged.

In the minor points of expression, there are those frequent resemblances natural in long poems intended for recitation. This conventional element appears in repetitions of phrases and epithets. Like a regular formula we find: "Hrothgar spake, helm of Scyldings,"[2] "Beowulf spake, son of Ecgtheow,"[3] just as in Homer "To him in answer spake Hector of the glancing helm,"[4] "To him then spake the glorious son of Lycaon."[5] This stock of fixed language is part of the legacy inherited in both cases from older poems, and it is freely echoed in other Greek and Anglo-Saxon poems after the epic manner. We expect these recurrences—only in Homer it is more a recurrence of epithet, and in "Beowulf" more a recurrence of "kenning" or poetical synonym. Thus we expect in the Greek the dawn to be the "rosy-fingered" (ῥοδοδάκτυλος), and the sea to be the unharvested (ἀτρύγετος) or the "much-resounding" (πολύφλοισβος), and a ship to be "rolling on both sides" (ἀμφιέλισσα). And in the Saxon we expect the sun to be the "world-candle" (woruld-candel, 1965) or "gem of the heavens" (heofones gim, 2072), the sea to be the "gannet's bath" (ganotes baeð, 1861) or "swan-road" (swan-rād, 200) or "whale-road" (hron-rād, 10), the ship to be a "sea-goer" (saegenga,

[1] I do not mean by this the definite allegory which Professor Earle sees in "Beowulf." ("The Deeds of Beowulf," 1892, Introd., pp. lxxxvii., *sqq.*)

[2] *e.g.*, Hrōðgār maþelode, helm Scyldinga, "Beow.," 456, 1321.

[3] Bēowulf maþelode, bearn Ecgþowes, "Beow.," 631, 1383, 1473.

[4] τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ, "Il.," vi., 520, with slight variations, *e.g.*, in vi., 263, 359, 440.

[5] τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Λυκάονος ἄγλαος υἱός, "Il.," v., 229, 276.

1908), a "wave-floater" (wēg-flota, 1907), though in addition to synonyms, there are picturesque epithets, especially for ships, like "ring-prowed," and "foamy-necked" (hringed-stefna, 32, 1131, fāmig-heals, 1909). In the same style, the harp is the "wood of pastime" (gomen-wudu, 1065, gleo-beam, 2263), and a king is a "wealth-bestower" (sinc-gyfa), "ring-dispenser" (beaga-brytta), "shield-warrior" (rand-wiga), "earls' shelter" (eorla hleo).

One striking difference is the scarcity of similes in "Beowulf." There are only five, all simple. A ship speeds over the water "most like a bird" (fugle gelīcost, 218), the uncanny light from Grendel's eyes is "most like flame" (ligge gelīcost, 727), the claws of the monster's arm are "most like steel" (stȳle gelīcost, 985), the light that gleams in the dark cavern after the stabbing of the hag is "as when from heaven brightly shines the candle of the firmament" (1571-72), and the sword-blade in Grendel's venomous blood "all melted most like to ice when the Father loosens the bond of frost" (1608). The contrast is not solely in number as against Homer's two hundred and thirty.[1] There is neither the beauty nor the pleasing elaboration of Homer's similes.[2] This suggests to my mind a difference of literary method. The northern poet prefers synonym to epithet, he prefers metaphor to simile. The effect of his descriptions is often produced by stroke upon stroke, as it were by so many blows from a hammer. Beowulf's route as he tracks Grendel's dam was by "steep stony slopes, narrow paths" (stige nearwe); the poet must add they were so confined that "thereon one walks alone (enge ānpaðas), an unknown way, sheer headlands, many dwellings of sea monsters." As elsewhere in "Beowulf," from these redoubled strokes, these phrases piled on one another, the

[1] Gladstone, "Homer" (Primer, 1878), p. 150.

[2] "The Similes of Homer's Iliad" are collected and translated by W. C. Green in a volume of 1877. The "Odyssey" contains about forty only. For a literary criticism of the similes, see Jebb's "Homer" (1887), pp. 26-31.

picture gains in intensity, but not in extension. It is strength rather than witchery of language.

And the northern method is not only the method of the redoubled strokes, it is the method of the broad strokes. The Greek method is that of the varied stroke and of the fine stroke. Thus, while there is sturdy realism in both Homer and "Beowulf," there is a keener eye for detail in Homer. Take the detailed account of landing a ship at Chryse (Il. i., 430-437): there are noted the furling of the sails, the lowering of the mast by the fore-stays to the crutch, the mooring-stones and hawsers. Similar detail accompanies the beaching of a ship (Il. i., 485-6), the arming of Agamemnon (Il. xi., 17, *seq.*), and, as an elaborate example, the making of the shield of Achilles (Il. xviii.). The games in memory of Patroclus in the "Iliad," and those at Alcinous' Court in the "Odyssey," contain far more minutiæ than the account of the celebrations at Heorot. So, if we contrast the burning of Beowulf's body with that of Patroclus (Il. xxiii.), the older poet contrives to take us back to the cutting of wood in the forest for the funeral pile—a scene of axes, ropes, mules, oaks, the noise of the splitting trees, the furrowing of the earth as the beasts draw the logs plainwards. Are mules to be harnessed to a chariot? Then (Il. xxiv.) we are made to see frame, yoke, yokeband, and pole—almost each ring, pin and knob.

In some ways the greater vagueness of "Beowulf" is a stouter challenge to the imagination, as a drama with tempered scenic display may be the more provocative of thought and emotion. It seems to me not without significance that, when in "Beowulf" we do find that interest in detail which is the exception rather than the rule, it is frequently excited by external features of land or sea. As Beowulf and his men, starting on their voyage to Heorot, climb the side of their ship, while the waves break on the sand, and the foamy-throated ship speeds before the gale across the sea like a bird, it is external nature that seems most to appeal to the poet. He does

not tell of sails or oars like Homer, but he does go on to tell how

> **about the same time on the second day the curvèd prow had fared so far that the voyagers saw land, the sea-cliffs shining clear, the mountains steep, the vasty headlands (221 *seq.*).**

So, following the realism of Beowulf's description of the sea monsters slain by him and cast up in heaps upon the beach, there is a sunrise at sea (569-572):

> **Light came from the east—bright beacon of God: the billows subsided, so that I could behold the sea-nesses, wind-swept walls.**

And again, when Hengest and the Danes wait during the winter in the Frisian country meditating revenge, it is the coming of spring that attracts the poet:[1]

> He thought of his home,
> Though he might not thrust thorough the seas
> His ring-prowed ship. Ocean seethed with storm,
> Waged war with wind. Winter locked the waves
> Fast in icy fetter, until a fresh year
> Came upon men's garths, even as yet come
> Those days of faultless weather that without fail
> Observe their season. Then was winter shaken,
> Earth's bosom fair.

On the whole, I think for impressive description of nature, the advantage lies with "Beowulf." While I do not overlook Homeric passages like the fine storm in the forest (Il. xvi., 765 *seq.*) and the likening of the tears of Patroclus to "a fountain of dark water that down a steep cliff pours its cloudy stream" (Il. xvi., 3), still I find no Homeric landscape with so strong an impress as the monsters' home in "Beowulf."[2] That has caught the real spirit of wild northern scenery, whether Scandinavian or, as Haigh[3] maintained, Northumbrian. It contrasts with the tamer landscape of later Anglo-Saxon poems like the "Phœnix":

[1] "Beowulf," 1130, *seq.*
[2] "Beow.," 1357 *seq.* [3] "The Anglo-Saxon Sagas," 1861.

> In a darksome land
> They dwell, wolf-haunted slopes, and windy headlands.
> Fearful the fen-path, where the stream from the fells
> Underneath the nesses' mist downward works its way,
> A flood below the land. Not far it is from hence—
> A mile by measure— that the mere standeth.
> Over it droops foliage deadened with frost-rime,
> A forest fast by its roots overshadows the waters.
> There may men every night a mischief-marvel see—
> Fire on the flood.

And so on. No man dare make acquaintance with that abyss; the hart pressed by the hounds will die rather than enter this holt. The place is accurst.

> Thence the wave welter is upwards whirled
> Wan to the skies, when the wind stirreth
> Loathly weather up, till the lift lowers
> And the welkin weeps.

If one draws farther distinctions in style, they must be touched on lightly. Broadly, "Beowulf," as already remarked, is scarcely an epic in the Homeric sense: it lacks the massive proportions; and it is not so well constructed, not so much a unity as the "Odyssey." If farther one notes the infinitely greater variety of Homer, one is prepared to find much that is Homeric missing in "Beowulf." This superior variety in the Homeric poems is due not simply to their greater length. Rather, it is part of the subject. The Trojan War gave scope for a galaxy of leaders on either side: the Return of Odysseus for a series of ever shifting adventures and scenes. One entire division prominent in Homer is absent in Beowulf —the gods and goddesses, with their plans and partialities and intensely dramatic traits. One may imagine how "Beowulf" would gain in variety, and yet probably not in human interest, if Woden and Thor and Loki and Freia were in its story. The men of the poem are men of pagan times, yet their gods are resolutely banished. Still, I find it hard to sympathise with Mr. Arnold's theory [1] that the

[1] "Beowulf," ed. T. Arnold, 1876, Introduction. Also "Notes on Beowulf," T. Arnold, 1898, pp. 114-116.

author was an English ecclesiastic, perhaps a missioner to the Continent, who pruned a legend which he regarded as improperly heathen. For a Christian zealot, the poet, whoever he was, seems to betray too genuine an interest in the Scandinavian pagan life and thought which make the background. Once indeed (170-189) it is recorded that Hrothgar's folk, harried by Grendel, had recourse to offerings at shrines of idols, and prayed aloud to the Destroyer of Life; forthwith the Christian author or reviser proceeds to condemn this devil-worship, and later, with some inconsistency, makes Hrothgar thank "Holy God" for sending Beowulf to help the Danes (378). But with all the Christian additions, or interpolations[1] as some would call them, the heathen substratum continually crops out—a gloomy fatalism set by the side of Homer's joyous paganism. And if the heathen gods have vanished, there are still romantic creations of northern folklore left; eotens and nicors and a fire-dragon—wonders as great as in the "Odyssey."

Then we miss Homer's humour—a quality most frequently associated with the gods themselves. Zeus can laugh, and Aphrodite loves a smile. When Grendel laughs it is the laugh of malignity. The shrewish Hera, the hobbling Hephaestus, the trick played on Ares and Aphrodite, the burlesque episode of Diomede getting the best of the barter with his guest-friend Glaucus, the pun at the expense of the Cyclops, and that most grotesque of scenes when Odysseus reappears in the house of Æolus asking for more windbags, have no parallels in the sober Anglo-Saxon.

It remains to indicate briefly how similar in many ways is the life which these poems reflect. Both are pictures of a heroic age—broadly similar in social organisation, in manners, in ways of thinking on life and death. Rhapsode and scōp alike tell of brave men's deeds and words

[1] *e.g.*, The minstrel, whose music is hated by Grendel, sings of *Creation* like Caedmon. The eotens and monsters of the North are described as "Cain's brood."

and thoughts in the virile manner that makes the blood tingle. Whether in Scandinavia or in Greece, we can find ourselves at a King's Court crowded with retainers who drink in his hall and listen to lays which celebrate hardihood. Woman, in both cases, is a refining influence. Hrothgar's queen and Higelac's queen serving the guests with the mead-cup inevitably recall Helen's entertainment of the visitors to Sparta in the "Odyssey." There are songs and tales at Hrothgar's Court, just as at the Court of Alcinous in Phaeacia. There is a similar blend of courtesy and roughness, of refinement and barbarity, setting the very life of the times before us. With the cautious, half-suspicious reception by the coast-warden of Beowulf and his Geats when they land, one may compare the Greek suggestion that newcomers may be pirates. To match the courteous welcome given at Hrothgar's Court, we have the delicacy wherewith Bellerophon is entertained nine days by the King of Lycia before he is so much as asked his errand (Il. vi., 175 *seq.*), and the like delicacy in virtue of which Odysseus is not asked to declare his name at the Court of Alcinous till the second day. But Court etiquette does not prevent insult; Hunferth mocks Beowulf, as Euryalus mocks Odysseus (Odyss. viii.)

Both ages are ages of feud and bloodshed. Dane fights Frisian, and Swede raids Goth as freely and frankly as Greek faces Trojan. Life is rated cheap. It is useless to ask for quarter. Agamemnon without a qualm slays the suppliant Adrestus whom Menelaus is minded to spare (Il. vi., 62). There are understood usages which have the force of law. Manslaughter may be atoned for with a price: for their fighting champions are rewarded with gifts: cowardice in followers is despised: the rights of hospitality are to be respected. Heremod went into exile because he slew his messmates in passion: he is contrasted with Beowulf's gentleness (1710-1723). The true ideal of manhood has been already seen in the character of Beowulf. We meet, in fact, the

same kind of men and of usages as are more fully pourtrayed in the Danish history of Saxo Grammaticus.[1]

Their outlook on life is best understood from their pleasures, and their attitude towards fate and towards death. Life for the Scandinavian and the Greek was worth living. Its very hardships gave it zest. The "joy of life," says the poet, was tasted by Grendel only for a little while after his escape from Beowulf's strong grip (lytle hwīle līf wynna brēac, 2097). Beowulf, dying of his wounds, knows "his day of life, his joy of earth, is done" (2727). King Hrethel, dying of grief for his murdered son, "gave o'er the joy of men" (2469). So the ghost of Odysseus' mother says her longing for him has reft her "of sweet life" (μελιηδέα θυμόν, Odyss. xi., 203). The same pathetic yearning for lost life marks Achilles' words, "Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that be departed" (Odyss. xi., 489 *seq.*).

So much for the general feeling. The specific pleasures are similar in both ages. There is the Norse joy in battle, to keep pace with the Homeric χάρμη. There is the joy in sports such as racing, to vie with the Greek love of games. There is the joy in feasting and carousal; so that the northerner could say amen to the words of Hector's mother, "When a man is awearied, wine greatly maketh his strength to wax,"[2] if only he changed his "wine" for "mead." There is joy in minstrelsy.[3] Even amid the melancholy lament of the treasure-hider in "Beowulf" there is the poignant remembrance of the sport and laughter of the banquet (2249 *seq.*).

If these are the main pleasures, the main duties were for the chief, bravery and generosity, and for the thegn,

[1] See Prof. Elton's translation of first Nine Books of Saxo (Folklore Society, vol. xxxiii., 1893), and especially Professor York Powell's arrangement of Folklore subjects in the introduction.

[2] ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει. "Il.," vi., 261.

[3] þaër waes gidd ond glēo, etc. "Beow.," 2105 *sqq.*

bravery and loyalty to the chief. The general heroic attitude towards conduct, though here and there overlaid with Biblical glosses, is perfectly clear. There is a frank acceptance of duty: man must face calmly any odds: life is controlled by fate, or Wyrd, one of the three Norns. When all is said and done, as Beowulf himself declares, "Wyrd must ever have her way"[1]; but here comes the bravery of it all—it is still worth while to struggle, even against destiny; for "Often Wyrd saves an undoomed earl when his courage is good" (l. 572). This noble, practical attempt to reconcile Free Will and Predestination is worth scores of subtleties by philosophers and theologians. The ideal of loyalty is Wiglaf. He denounces the retainers who have failed Beowulf in his last fight: cowards he holds to be ungrateful to their prince and disgraced. When he aids Beowulf against the fire-drake, he has the spirit of Bjarke in Saxo,[2] who will face Odin just as a Homeric hero will face a god in battle:

> **While life lasts let us strive for the power to die honourably and to reap a noble end by our deeds. . . . We shall be the prey of ravens and a morsel for hungry eagles, and the ravening bird shall feast on the banquet of our body. Thus should fall princes dauntless in war, clasping their famous king in a common death.**

Bjarke speaks knowing the risk he runs, even as Hector knows that doom will come on Troy, but has "learnt ever to be valiant and fight in the forefront of the Trojans" (Il. vi., 447). The same heroism marks Hector's reply to Polydamas, who is appalled by the sight of a bird as an omen (Il. xii., 238 *seq.*). "Thereto I give no heed . . . one omen is best, to fight for one's country." It is the spirit of the ballads, "That Weird shall never daunton me," as Thomas the Rhymer says of the hazard he encounters of being taken to Elfland. Submission to Destiny is undeniably Homeric; for Destiny is recognised as over both gods and men. But fatalism

[1] **gaeð ā wyrd swā hio scel.** "Beow.," 455.
[2] "Saxo," ii., § 66.

contrast. The craft is not merely that of Odysseus "of many devices," who spies upon the Trojans in the *Doloneia* of the "Iliad," and bears his share in the ruse of the Wooden Horse, more than once alluded to in the "Odyssey,"—it is craft in literary management, in handling the theme, in conjuring with those wonderful Greek words of the varied vowel music which sound so differently from the firm, rock-like consonantal endings of the Anglo-Saxon words. The plain words possess an undeniable attraction of their own. It is that of the cold, grey, but bracing, North in contrast to the warm, golden, alluring South or the purple East. "Beowulf" should take the reader from his easy chair to a northern hall where the scōp strikes the harp to each alliterative word and sends his chant home to the heart of chieftain and thegns used to fighting on land and sea. That is the setting of fancy wherein it is fairest to judge the poem. But Homer has at least this advantage, that, great as was his effect in the mouth of the rhapsodists, his poetry does not lose in the study. I incline to think that of all the testimonies to the superiority of Homer this is the most convincing.

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

IN the last number of the SAGA-BOOK, Part I. of the present volume, the letter-press describing the illustrations on pages 161 and 162 should read as follows:—

Fig. 16.—TYMPANUM AT RIDLINGTON CHURCH, RUTLAND.

Fig. 17.—TYMPANUM AT LATHBURY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

In the Notes on the Illustrations on page 167 for Fig. 16 read "Fig. 17," and for Fig. 17 read "Fig. 16."

WE are glad to see that Mr. H. L. Brækstad, Vice-President, has been appointed Norwegian Vice-Consul in London, and offer him our hearty congratulations.

THE best thanks of the Club are due to the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., Hon. District Secretary for Somersetshire, who has kindly prepared the Index to Vol. III. of the SAGA-BOOK, which we issue with the present number.

WE understand that the "Visit to Denmark," referred to in Part I. of this volume (pp. 241-2), proved very successful and enjoyable. Among other attractions our President gave illustrated lectures on the Remains of the Viking Age in England. The fifth "Visit to Denmark" is fixed for August 6th to 18th this year, and Miss F. M. Butlin has arranged for a similar "Visit to Sweden" from August 27th to September 8th.

A USEFUL addition to the study of ancient ship-building by Fr. Nordin is chronicled in the Bibliography. It shows how the Viking-ship type varies on the sculptured monuments of Gotland from the seventh to the tenth centuries. Some of the Runic stones represented have only been found recently, and the work is a valuable addition to the subject which our Vice-President, Mr. Eirík Magnússon, dealt with so exhaustively in the SAGA-BOOK of last year.

THE past year has been full of events so important to the Scandinavian peoples that it is impossible to pass them by in silence, though they trench on the domain of politics, from which the Viking Club stands aloof. We may, however, at least pay a tribute of respect both to Sweden and to Norway, in view of the singular dignity and moderation displayed on either side at a great crisis of their national life, and express the hope that a firm friendship between the northern kingdoms will ere long replace the old political bonds.

THE Norse mythology in the form in which it has reached us stands so much apart that studies of it from the point of view of comparative mythology are rare. An addition to this branch of literature is now appearing in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* under the title of "Homer's Knowledge of the High North and the Kirkê (Circe) Tale," by Dr. Karl Blind. In this essay the author shows a great many points of contact between the beautiful and melodious Enchantress of the Kimmerian North and a Teutonic Love-Goddess of the same qualities and of a kindred name.

AT the Ulster meeting of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in July last, reported in *The Antiquary* for August, Mr. F. S. Milligan in the course of a paper on "Some Recent Antiquarian Finds in Ulster," said that in 1903 he found in the Ards peninsula a splendid bronze brooch of the Viking period and a Viking helmet. The latter were very scarce, and only three had been found in Sweden itself. Only the week before the meeting he had been given a beautiful Danish pin, which had been picked up at Clontarf, and had probably fallen from one of the warriors during the great battle.

DR. G. A. AUDEN, our Hon. District Secretary for York, gave a lecture recently before the Yorkshire Philosophical Society on "The Remains of Danish Sculpture in Yorkshire and Derbyshire," in the course of which he pointed out that, besides the strong Danish element in York, the Danish monuments in Yorkshire were found to a very large extent within a radius of twenty miles round Leeds, Ilkley, Collingham, Thornhill and Dewsbury. This year the British Association is visiting York, and Dr. Auden has suggested to us that another year we might, with advantage, make it the object of an excursion.

MR. ROLAND ST. CLAIR, a member of the Club for many years, author of "The St. Clairs of the Isles," while home on a visit from New Zealand in 1905, was fortunate enough to discover in Orkney a manuscript catalogue of old deeds and documents containing the names of several which were described as written in "Norn," the old Norse (Norrænn) dialect of Orkney and Shetland. It is to be feared that the documents themselves are lost, but any additional evidence of the former use of the old tongue is of value. We hope the catalogue will be printed in the projected "Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore."

A PARAGRAPH appeared in several papers early in December last stating that during the construction of a dyke in Emden, near Hamburg, an ancient vessel had been discovered, which was believed to date back to the days of the Vikings. We have been unable to obtain any particulars of this discovery, or any confirmation of the date ascribed to it. Since the remarkable discoveries in Norway of ships of the Viking age the tendency has been to call all old vessels that have been discovered in the north of Europe "Viking ships," just as a hundred years ago they would almost certainly have been called "Roman galleys."

Chambers's Journal for September, 1905, contained an article by Mr. R. Stuart Bruce, one of our members, which under the title of "An Echo from the Invincible Armada," gives the story of the wreck on Fair Isle of "El Gran Grifen." The vessel was the flagship of Admiral Don Juan Gomez de Medina, who got safely to land with his crew, numbering between two and three hundred men, and remained on the island for some six or seven weeks. Thence they were taken to the Mainland in Shetland, and after a brief stay there proceeded to France in a Shetland vessel. A few relics of their stay are still preserved in Shetland and Orkney.

A VERY interesting production is Mr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's translation of "Voluspá," of which he has kindly sent us a copy, one of 40 printed at the Kandy Industrial School in Ceylon. That the ancient sacred poem of the dwellers in Northern Europe, preserved in an island on the verge of the Arctic Ocean, should find a translator and be reproduced in an island in the Indian Ocean, surely shows that, though East and West may never meet, the spell of great literature is world-wide. Mr. Coomaraswamy's rendering is not merely a literary curiosity, but shows a very remarkable grasp of the poem and command of English.

AT a meeting of the Folk-Lore Society in December, 1905, Mr. C. J. Tabor exhibited a "Thor Cake" from Oldham, Lancashire. The cake, which is called in Sheffield a "Thar Cake," is eaten on the fifth of November, and seems to be known in various parts of Yorkshire and the north of England under the name of Parken Cake. The fact that it has to be broken, and must not be cut with a knife, seems to point to its being a survival of a very ancient custom or rite, but beyond the resemblance of the name to that of the god Thor, which may be accidental or superficial, no evidence was forthcoming in favour of a Scandinavian origin.

THE struggle of the Danish population in Sleswick, still clinging to their ancestral language and sentiments in spite of forty years under German rule, is the underlying motive of a novel which may interest many members. "Thy People shall be my People, or Karen Jurgens of Egtved," from the Danish of Mrs. Kieler, translated by Clara Bener (Jarrold & Sons), is a vivid picture of farming folk in the north of Sleswick, brightly told in spite of the tragic plot. A book like this of course loses greatly in translation, but is much to be welcomed by those who desire a more intimate knowledge of life and its problems in the borderland where Scandinavia and Germany meet, but cannot mingle.

BESIDES the various works by Professor A. Bugge noticed in our Review columns, a treatise by him upon the influence of the Western lands upon the culture of the dwellers in the North was published by the Christiania Scientific Society. The full title will be found in the Bibliography. The author was awarded the Fridtjof Nansen prize for this very important work, in which he shows that the Vikings came to

the Western Isles two centuries earlier than is generally supposed; and points out how the early Vikings adapted to their own use the culture they borrowed, and how Harald Fairhair modelled his court, his taxation and his system of government on that of Charlemagne.

IN *The Standard* of January 18th, 1906, it was stated that a labourer breaking stones at Wanborough, in Wiltshire, the site of an old Roman camp, discovered a ring, which he sold for a few shillings. The paper stated that experts who had seen it pronounce it to be of great interest and value, as an inscription upon it seems to show that it was a betrothal ring belonging to Burhred, King of the Mercians, who in the year 853 married Æthelswith, daughter of Æthelwulf, King of Wessex. The marriage took place at Chippenham, some eighteen miles from the place where the ring was found. The account adds that the ownership of this valuable relic was to be decided by a treasure trove inquiry.

A LITTLE book, which promises to be most valuable to all interested in the Danish language, has been recently published under the title of "How to learn Danish," by Frøken Henni Forchhammer (Gyldendals Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, Copenhagen). Miss Forchhammer, a sister of Finsen's successor at the famous Light Cure Institute, and a pupil of Professor Jespersen, is well known as a teacher of English and Danish on scientific methods. Her book consists of a very much simplified account of the pronunciation, which is the great difficulty of Danish, and of copious phrases, arranged as conversations, with English, Danish, and Danish pronunciations given in parallel columns. It is introduced to the reader by the President of the Viking Club in a short preface.

WE learn from Pastor A. V. Storm that on October 27th, 1905, a new runic stone was discovered at Aarhus in Denmark, in the Eastern foundation of the Church of our Lady. The stone was well preserved, and is one of the best hitherto found. The runes are from 4 to 6 inches high, and they read as follows:—

Toste, Hove and Trebjörn set up this stone after Asser, son of Sakse, their fellow, the most brave Swain (Danish: Svend). He died fully as a worthy man. He owned ship together with Arne.

The runes point to a period shortly after the year 1,000. Toste is common in Danish inscriptions, Trebjörn is rarer. The name Sakse is best known from the historian Saxo Grammaticus. The word "son" is omitted on the stone. It has only "Sakses Asser."

A CORRESPONDENT of *The Globe*, writing from Kiel on October 3rd, 1905, reported a discovery of "prehistoric" harbour-works in "Oldenburg." He stated that Dr. Knorr, the keeper of the Kiel Museum of Antiquities, in the course of a series of scientific explorations near the "Danework" had brought to light an extremely interesting example of prehistoric work in the shape of a large piece of timber-work, which seems to have been used in making some kind of quay, or river frontage. The timber-work consists of two parallel beams, which are connected by short, strong

baulks of wood. The account concludes with some remarks on the "Hethaby" that formerly existed "near Oldenburg." Our District Secretary for Denmark informs us that this account is substantially correct, but that the works should be styled "protohistoric" rather than prehistoric, and that they can hardly be said to be near "Oldenburg," according to the modern use of the word. As a matter of fact the discovery was made within the semi-circular wall described in Mr. Kjær's paper on the Danework (page 316), which, as stated in the paper, has been conclusively identified as the site of the ancient trading town of "Hedeby," and there is no doubt that the works described are part of a quay, or pier, belonging to the old port on Hedeby Gulf.

WITH regard to the use of the terms "Germanic," or "Gothic," Dr. Karl Blind sends this further note:—

> *The Germanic Race.* In regard to the question, so strangely raised, as to whether "Germanic" or "Teutonic" should any more be used as a comprehensive word for the great stock to which Germans, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Icelanders, Dutch, Flemings, the majority of the Swiss, and the English belong, a few further facts may be useful. The sea between Germany, Scandinavia, and Britain was by the Romans and the Greeks called "Germanicum Mare" and "Okeanos Germanikos." Tacitus includes Sweden in his "Germania." Of the High North, Pomponius Mela (*De Situ Orbis, iii.*, 6) says:—"*Scandinavia* quam adhuc *Teutoni* tenent." The very name of the Teutons means "the Folk," the people or race at large—a good general term. On the other hand, the word "Goth" is—though very wrongly—often used in English as an offensive expression! If any chip from the old block refuses taking "Germanic" or "Teutonic" as the common word for the vast race from which the kindred northern and western populations have branched off, he must settle that point with two eminent Scandinavian poets. Quite recently, Björnstjerne Björnson spoke of "the *Germanic* race" as including the Teutons, the Northmen, and so forth. Ibsen, in a letter, said that, "having begun by considering himself simply a Norwegian, he broadened out afterwards into a Scandinavian, and still later on took '*Teutonism*' as the larger term." Gothic—like Frankish, Suevian, or Swabian, Bavarian, Angle, Saxon, Hunic, Rugian, etc.—can only be used as a tribal name. Goths and Hunes (not to be mixed up with Hunns) are now extinct German tribes.

Arguments on both sides were set forth at length in Part I. of the present volume, pp. 243 and 244. We do not think further discussion would be profitable, and must leave the matter to the judgment of individual members.

WE extract from an account in *The Daily Graphic*, of August 29th, 1905, the following description of a find made in Jutland:—

> At Vendsyssel recently some potsherds were disinterred which were marked with small white dots. The authorities of the Museum at Hjorring, obtaining the fragments and putting them together, found that 117 of the pieces thus fitted resulted in the reconstruction of an earthenware jar, and that the dots resolved themselves into an ornament of unusual interest, for they represented a horseman with sword in hand, who with two dogs was pursuing two deer and two uruses (bos urus), an animal which has long been

extinct. This newly discovered jar serves to elucidate the decoration of a large, silver, cauldron-like vessel, found also in Denmark some years ago, and thus an advance is made in the branch of archæology to which these objects belong.

The account is illustrated from two photographs of the jar. Some reports of the find ascribed it to the Viking Age. With regard to this find Mr. Hans Kjær, to whom we are again indebted for information, writes:

> With respect to the find from Vendsyssel of a "Viking Age Jar," I may say the following. It is quite correct that an earthenware vessel was found with primitive figures marked out by lines of incised dots. The outline of the figures is printed in chalk. A single vessel like it is known, but that has linear ornamentation. The jar is from the third to the fifth century A.D., so does not belong to the Viking Age. Its importance has been exaggerated to an extraordinary degree, but a very valuable investigation of the place where it was found has since been taken in hand and when an account of it with details is ready, I shall be very glad to include it in a Report, but that cannot be this year.

In reply to an enquiry as to whether he knows any authority for the winged helmet, which is the conventional head-gear of a Viking chief in romances and on the stage, Dr. Karl Blind writes:—

> I can only say that I do not know of any winged helmet having probably been worn by Vikings. So far as there are any representations, they had caps, or morions, without such adornment. Historically we find from Herodotos (vii., 76) that one of the Thrakian tribes in the army of Xerxes had brazen helmets, with the ears and horns of an ox in brass, and above them, crests. The Thrakians were kindred to the Germanic race; more specially to the Norsemen, partly also to what would now be called Teutons.
>
> In Plutarch ("Caius Marius"), the Kimbrians,—whom he describes (as Tacitus does the Germans) as of tall stature, and blue-eyed, and whose name he derives from the German language,—are said to have worn helmets with the head and open jaws of frightful wild beasts, above which *high plumes* were fixed. They wore white shields. (Odin wore a white shield.)
>
> The Kimbrians came from what is now Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland. Of German tribes, the Herulians apparently came originally from Scandinavia, migrating as far as what is now Bavaria in Germany, and even to Asia Minor. The winged, white-plumed helmet may, therefore, have been used, in ancient times, also in Scandinavia; the Kimbrians, of yore, dwelling midway between Scandinavia and Germany, and wearing, as shown, those helm ornaments.
>
> Odin-Wodan, in his quality of God of Battles, wore a helmet. In modern sculpture, at least, wings are added to it, which fits him well as the all-pervading World-Wanderer and Stormy Leader of the nocturnal Wild-Chace. Probably, Wing-Thor (Vingþórr) also means the Winged God of Thunder. In the Eddic "Lay of Alvis" he says of himself:
>
> Vingþórr ek heiti;
> Ek hefi viða ratað.
> (Wing-Thor I am hight;
> Wide I have wandered)—
>
> and according to this idea, he might have got the wing attribute represented in his helmet, like Hermes, the much-travelling God, in his cap and shoes.

The Globe of October 10th, 1905, calls attention to the approaching disappearance of the Rue du Petit-Pont in Paris, and with it of a tablet which commemorates an incident in the siege of Paris by the Norsemen in 886, when a sudden rise in the river swept away part of the bridge over the Seine which gave the street its name. Twelve of the garrison were cut off, and defended the wooden tower guarding the bridge-head till it was set on fire, when they sallied out and perished to a man. Mr. E. Hailstone informs us that the tablet, put up in recent years by the Municipality at the expense of the "Societé de Vieux Paris," was affixed to the eastern side of the corner house, situated on the south-western end of the Petit-Pont, in the Rue du Petit-Pont. The inscription ran as follows:—

A LA TETE DU PETIT PONT
S'ELEVAIT LA TOUR DU BOIS
QUE DEFENDIRENT
CONTRE LES NORMANDS
PENDANT LA SIEGE DE 886
LES DOUZE HEROS PARISIENS

ERMENFROI	HERDI	HARDRE
HERVE	ARNAULD	GUY
HERLAND	SEVIL	AIMARD
OUACRE	JOBERT	GOSSOUIN

C. F. Keary, in "The Vikings of Western Christendom," gives an account of the siege based on the Latin poem of the monk Abbo, who was an eye-witness of it, and records this incident, though the names, quoted from the Latinized version, differ slightly from the French forms of the tablet. The Christmas number of *L'Illustration* for 1905, in an article on old Paris, gives a plan of the city as it was in 886, with a picture representing one of the assaults of the Northmen upon it.

Dr. Dukinfield Astley has sent us the following account of "Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik," an important work on early ornamention by Dr. Bernhard Salin, of Stockholm, which has been translated into German from the Swedish manuscript by Miss J. Mestorf, and is published by Messrs. Asher & Co. (*Berlin* and *London*):—

> This is an exhaustive treatise, with over 700 illustrations, on the various types of fibulae in gold, silver and bronze, dating from the fourth to the ninth centuries, which have been found in interments in all parts of Europe and the British Isles, together with a dissertation on the ornamentation of Irish manuscripts which exhibit the same or similar types. To all these the author assigns a Germanic origin. He shows how amid all the variety of intricate patterns with which they are decorated, curved and straight, spiral and twisting, yet the basis of the ornamentation is one and the same. The barbaric artist was endeavouring to record his impressions of the animal world, and behind all the intricacies of line there lies buried the form of beast, or bird, or fish. Even when the eye of the ordinary reader can see nothing but curve and loop and spiral and the so called rope-ornament, the author points out the head and neck, eye and mouth, body and thigh and foot of the disguised animal. The author distinguishes three

main styles, which spread in turn from Germany eastward, westward and northward, and which finally entered the British Isles from Scandinavia. Here they exercised a wide influence on Anglo-Saxon art, and, meeting later the products of the cognate art of La Tène, gave birth to that development of "Late-Celtic" art which finds its high-water mark in the work of the artists who adorned the Irish and (so-called Saxon) MSS., the books of Kells, Durrow and Lindisfarne. This is the most interesting result, to members of the Viking Club, of the investigation into the origin and provenance of this method of ornamentation, which belongs to the same class as that seen on the Danish sun-chariot recently described in the SAGA-BOOK (Vol. III., pp. 381-394), and was also characteristic of the Bronze Age. The author points particularly to the fact of similar antiquities being found in larger quantities in Jutland and Norway than in other parts of Scandinavia as evidence of a migration of kindred races from Germany northwards in later periods of the Age, whence the art was carried by the Jutes and Saxons, and later on by the Danes, wherever the prows of the sea-rovers' ships found land. Hence its prevalence in Saxon England and in Ireland, where there were large Scandinavian colonies early in the Christian era.

DEATH-ROLL.

WE regret to have to record the death of the following members :—

MR. H. F. HALL.

Mr. Hall, of Oaklands, Sheffield, who died in June, 1905, was a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902.

THE REV. ALLAN MCDONALD.

The Rev. A. McDonald, who died last autumn, was the Roman Catholic priest at Eriskay, South Uist, where for many years he had been a devoted worker among the fishermen and crofters of the Southern Hebrides. He had been since 1898 a member of the Viking Club and Hon. District Secretary for the Hebrides (Long Island). He was an enthusiastic collector of folk-lore, and had of course splendid opportunities, one result being the paper on "The Norsemen in Uist Folk-Lore," which was read in January, 1900, and printed in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., Part 3. It is to be feared that much of the material he had collected has perished with him.

THE REV. CANON THORNLEY.

The Rev. John James Thornley, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, hon. canon of Carlisle and vicar of Kirkoswald, Cumberland, who died December 1st, 1905, aged 63, was a keen antiquary, and wrote on traditional children's games and the cup-and-ring markings of Bronze-age stones in his neighbourhood. He taught himself Icelandic, made some unpublished translations from the Sagas, and gave lectures on Kormák's Saga and other subjects connected with Northern antiquities. He joined the Viking Club in 1903.

REVIEWS.[1]

ORIGINES ISLANDICAE.

A collection of the more important Sagas and other native writings relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland. Edited and translated by GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON and F. YORK POWELL. 2 vols. *Oxford, Clarendon Press*, 1905. *Price £2 2s. net.*

A GENERAL review of the contents of these volumes would be of very little, if any, use. In a large measure it would have to be an expression of my individual estimate of the performance of the Editors' joint work; but want of space would debar me from bringing forward in sufficient copiousness evidence to justify that estimate. Many people would therefore have their doubts as to the justice or even the fairness of my views.

I have therefore preferred to write a special review which can be of some use, at any rate; and to that end I have selected the "Landnáma-Bóc" and the "Libellus Islandorum" only. This I justify on the ground that of all the historical records contained in these volumes these two are far and away the most important: "Landnáma-Bóc" as laying the *topographical* and *genealogical*,—"Libellus" as providing the *chronological* foundations of the history of the Icelandic race. A further justification of my selection lies in the fact that of these two works the one has been translated before into English in an unsatisfactory manner, the other not at all. Fairly stating the case, it must be granted that, to a foreigner unfamiliar with Icelandic accidence, both these books have their pitfalls, into which it is only too easy to fall.

[1] Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 59, Oakley Street, Chelsea, S.W., who will quote prices.

Therefore, since the English reader is supplied with the original text, he should also be provided with a true key to it—a fairly reliable translation, in which respect that of the "Origines" is capable of improvement, as the following notes will show. And as our Society is the only public body in the country which professes to make "Northern research" its programme, it is in the fitness of things that at least such of its own members as are interested in these primary sources of Icelandic history should be placed in a position to get at a true understanding of their verbal meaning. To effect this purpose it is necessary to draw the readers' attention to the translation of "Landnáma-Bóc" and "Libellus" in some detail from beginning to end, minor faults being overlooked. Nearly every paragraph below consists of the three elements: original context, followed by the translation of the "Origines," and my suggested amendment. Almost all quotations refer to page, and line of the Icelandic text, from which the corresponding passage of the translation below can be easily verified.

Observations relating to Dr. Vigfusson's orthography, treatment of MSS., his idea that Are was the author of "Landnáma-Bóc" and wrote the "Libellus" for the perusal of some foreign magnate; the translations of personal names, besides many other matters, must be set aside for the one most important purpose of securing an approximately trustworthy translation. Peculiar characters employed by Dr. Vigfusson are replaced by ordinary ones.

Throughout this paper S. stands for "Sturla's book," Cd. for "Hawk's book," the chief authorities for the text.

"Landnáma-Bóc."

Page 13 8-9. en þat es víða um daga, at sól sér eige þá es nótt es lengzt :—"and the sun is not seen in the longest night"; instead of: but in many places it happens that in the day-time the sun is not seen when the night is at its longest.

P. 14 16. ok es þá siglt fyr norðan Hiallt-land,—þvi at eins sé þat at all-góð sé sióvar-sýn. The — indicates, presumably, that it stands for something missing, which indeed it does. The Editor has expunged the words: svá at, without which the text makes neither grammar nor sense. He printed the same text in "Icelandic Reader" correctly, but missed the point of it. I gave the right interpretation of the passage many years ago. Now it re-appears, mutilated, but rightly understood, though inaccurately translated, because by the excision of "svá at" the words: "því at eins" became untranslatable. Reduced to natural grammatical order the passage, after "Hiallt-land," reads: svá at sé þat (= þat sé, *i.e.*, sjái, *prospiciatur*) því at eins at (on condition that, provided that) sióvar-sýn sé allgóð. The rendering is: "and then the course sailed is north of Shetland, within sight of land, if there be a very clear day"; instead of: and then one sails to the north of Shetland so (far) that it may just be descried when the out-look at sea is very clear.

P. 15 5 En dœgr-sigleng es til Úbyðga á Grœn*a*-lande or Kolbeinsey í norðr:—"And it is one day's sailing to Greenland out of Colbansey in the north." The main point: til Úbygða, to the Deserts, is left out in the translation, whereby the geographical statement fails to convey the true sense of the original. "Úbygðir" here is the eastern and north-eastern coast of Greenland, the nearest point of which, in favourable circumstances, might, perhaps, be reached from "Colbansey" in four-and-twenty hours. But to "sail to Greenland" invariably meant to sail to the habitable districts on its western coast, which would take many days' sailing from "Colbansey."

P. 15 9-11. En es hann siglðe í gœgnom Pettlandz-fiörð, þá sleit hann undan veðr, ok rak hann vestr í haf:—"But as he was sailing through Petland's frith, a gale broke his moorings, and he was driven west into the sea." Gardar could not be sailing and be moored at the same time. The meaning of: veðr sleit hann undan—a very

common phrase in seamen's language—is: a storm tore him off (from land).

P. 15 13-14. Skiálfande is here translated Quaker, but 270 19: Shelving-bay.

P. 15 14-15. þá slitnaðe festren:—"Then the moorings broke." But the festr here is the painter by means of which the cockboat was attached to the ocean-goer—fyr útan Skuggabiörg:—"out east of Scugga-berg"; exactly the opposite:—west of S. Night-farer's bight on the *western* side of Skialfande is still a well-known locality. The context states that Gardar landed "on the *other side* of the frith," that is, opposite to that, where "Night-fare's-bay" was, and stayed at House-wick, a dwelling place still existing, on the *eastern* shore of "the Quaker."

P. 15 20. Naddoðr . . . mágr Olvéss Barna-karls:—"Naddodh . . . brother-in-law of Alwe Bairn-carle"; but Naddodh married Iórunn, *daughter* of "Alwe" (Landnáma-Bóc, V., 13 4); therefore, read: son-in-law.

P. 16 3. gengo þeir þar á en hæsto fiöll, at vita, ef þeir sæe nockorar manna-vister eða reyke:—"they walked up the highest *mountain* to see if they could see any abode of men or smoke"; instead of: there they walked up to the top of (*á*) the highest *mountains* to ascertain if they could see any, &c. Only the plural, mountains, is a correct rendering of the plural fiöll, and only the plural gives correctly the idea the author had in his mind. To the north of "Reyd-frith" was Eski-firth, to the south of it "Faskruds-frith." To ascertain whether signs of human abodes were present in these neighbouring bays on either side, it was necessary to ascend the highest mountains on both sides of "Reyd-frith." Hence the importance of rendering the original literally in this instance.

P. 17 10-18 1. Floki, son of Vilgerd, one of the early discoverers of Iceland, took with him three ravens on which, at a great sacrifice in Norway, he had invoked Oden's blessing (blótaðe) to the end that they should serve him as pilots to the land he went in quest of. He stopped at the Faroes on his journey. After leaving

those islands and sailing for a time the following incident happened: (21) Ok es hann (Flóke) lét lausan enn fyrsta, fló sá aftr um stafn:—"But *where and* when he let loose the first (raven), he flew *back to the bows*"; instead of: And as he let loose the first, it flew *aft over the stern; i.e.*, in the direction of the land which Floki left behind last, the Faroes. This literal meaning of the original is unmistakably borne out by the words that follow immediately: annarr fló í loft upp, ok aftr til skips: þriðe fló framm um stafn, í þá átt es þeir fundo landet, which are correctly translated.

P. 18_{2}. Þeir kómo austan at Horne:—"They made it (the land) *on the east* at Horn"; instead of: They came *from the east* up to Horn.

P. 18_{10}. Vár vas helldr kallt: "It was then very cold"; instead of: The spring was rather cold.—Þá geck Flóke norðr á fiöll:—"Then Floce walked north*ward to a mountain*"; instead of: Then Floke walked north upon (á) the mountains.

P. 19_{3}. The vernacular dat. of Fialir, Fiölom is, in the form of "Fiolom," adopted here by the Editor and translator as the name for this the southernmost district of the Firth-folkland in Norway; but *see* 220_{9}.

P. $19_{9\text{-}10}$. Ok es þeir kómo heim, mælto þeir til sam-fara með ser annat sumar:—"And when they came home they agreed to go forth in fellowship *with them another* summer"; instead of: And when they came home, they bespoke (mælto með ser) a joint roving the *next* summer.—The situation is this: the foster-brothers, Ingolf and Leif, had been out on Viking cruise with the three sons of Earl Atle, Hastein, Herstein and Holmstein. On their return home the foster-brothers, on one side and the Earl's sons, on the other, bespoke another joint cruise the next summer. But the translation leaves it unaccounted for who "they" are, and who "them" are, with whom "they" agree to go forth in fellowship another summer; all in consequence of the point being overlooked that ser, in: mælto með ser, has a reciprocal, not a demonstrative, sense.

P. 20 2-3, 6-7. Þá fóro þeir Leifr í hernað . . . fór Hersteinn at þeim Leife . . . sættosk þeir at því, at þeir Leifr guldo eigner sínar þeim feðgom :—" Then Leif and *his fellows* went a-warring . . . Herstein *set out with a mind to* fall upon Leif and *his fellows* . . . they were set at one on the terms that Leif and *his fellows* should pay their lands as weregild to Atle and Ha-stan "; instead of: Then Ingolf and Leif went a-warring . . . Herstein fell upon *Ingolf and* Leif . . . They were atoned on the terms that *Ingolf and* Leif yielded up their landed property to Atle and Ha-stan. The mistake here pointed out is the more singular because 19 20-20 1: ok veitte þeim Ingolfe, is almost correctly rendered " and gave help to Ingolf and Leif," instead of: to *Leif and* Ingolf.

P. 20 9. es þá vas Ísland kallað :—" and which was called Iceland "; instead of: which *then* was called Iceland. The temporal adverb þá, *then*, is much more important than the Editors seem to realize, because it gives clearly to understand that by the time that Ingolf and Hiorleif went to Iceland for the first time—say 869—the former names of the island: Garðarshólmr and Snæland, had been, according to the author's meaning, forgotten, or discarded.

P. 20 13. Efter þat varðe Ingolfr fé þeirra til Islannz-ferðar :—" After this Ing-wolf *got all his stock together* to go to Iceland "; instead of: After this Ingolf laid out all *their* (*i.e.*, his own and Hiorleif's) money on a journey to Iceland.

P. 23 19-20. En Ingolfr nam land miðle Olfus-ár ok Hval-fiarðar . . . ok öll nes út :—" Ing-wolf took land in settlement between Aulfus-mere and Whale-frith . . . and all the ness to the west "; " öll " being the acc. plur. neut. of allr and agreeing with " nes," it follows, that " all the ness " must be changed into: " all the nesses "; for the Landnáma-author has in his mind all the nesses in Ingolf's land-take west of, not " Brynie-dale " [1] as the translation has it, but Brynie-dale's-river, namely:

[1] Elsewhere this name is rendered Byrnie-dale, 30 10.

Kialar-nes, Gufu-nes, Laugar-nes, Seltiarnar-nes, Alftanes, Rosmhvala-nes, Reykia-nes. All these nesses went under the collective name of Nes = The Nesses, cf. 96 20, 188 20.

P. 24 14. bast . . . siðaðr :—" of the best conversation "; instead of: the best " religioned," *i.e.*, the most religious.

P. 25 6. ok es frá þeirra afkvæme mart sagt í þesse bók :—" and from them is *the greatest race* that is told of in this book "; instead of: and *of their offspring* many things are told in this book.

P. 26 8. fór vestan :—" *came* from the west "; instead of: *went* (away) from the west. This inaccurate translation of fara is met with over and over again.

P. 27 17-18. reistu þar kirkjo ok bú þar :—" Do thou raise thy church and *homestead* there "; instead of: Do rear there a church and *dwell* there (bú imper. of búa, not acc. of bú, abode, dwelling; for, in that case, the local adverb " þar " could not be repeated after " bú ").

P. 28 8-10. kom hann (Collr) þar sem Collz-vík heiter, ok braut hann þar skip sítt. Þar vóro þeir um vettrenn. Hásetar hans námo þar sumer land, sem enn mon sagt verða :—" and he (Coll) reached the place called Colls-wick, and there his ship was wrecked. His crew *got to land* [1] some of them, and *shall be told after* "; instead of: He came to a place which is called Coll's-wick and wrecked his ship there. *There they remained through the winter* (omitted). Some of his crew *took land in settlement* there, as will be told of further on.

P. 28 11. . . . siglðe braut með lið sítt :—" sailed away with all that he had "; instead of: sailed away with his company.

P. 28 17. nam land á miðle Mógils-ár ok Úsvífrs-lœkjar :—" took land in settlement between Mo-gils-river and Os-wif's becks." Here lœkjar is gen. sing., and the error of making more than one beck a boundary on one side of a " landnám " is only explainable on the ground that the

[1] A translation of " nema land "; which has only one meaning in " Landnáma-Bóc," and is, in hundreds of cases, correctly translated.

translator took "lœkjar" to be some plural form of "lœkr," a mistake repeated several times.

P. 31 15. Þeir brœðr skifto löndom með ser:—"these brethren *exchanged land with each other;*" instead of: these brethren *divided the land between them.* The context here is very clear. These brothers took, on arrival, jointly the broad countryside of Akraness from Calman's-river, in the south, to Trout-water, in the north; then arose the question how to divide the land between them, and it was settled by making the mountain Reyner a middle boundary, so that Thormod got the portion from Reyner south to Calman's-river, while to Ketil's lot fell that from Reyner north to Trout-water.

P. 31 17-20. This Ketil was the father of Berse, the father of Thorgest, the father of Starri, the father of "Cnatt," the father of Asdis, es átte Klœingr Snæbiarnar son[1] Hafnar-Orms:—"whom Claeng, Snae-beorn's son, the [father] of Haven-Worm, had to wife"; instead of: whom Klæng, the son of Snæbeorn the son of Haven-Worm, had to wife. According to the *original text* and according to the *translation* we have then:—

Original text.	*Translation.*
Haven-Worm	Snæbeorn
Snæbeorn	Klæng
Klæng	Haven-Worm

Haven-Worm had a son, Thorgeir Hewn-cheek, who fought in the battle of Fitiar, 961[2]. Thorgeir must then have been a man of twenty, at the least, and his father not less than forty (b.c. 920); if Klæng was Haven-Worm's father, he (Klæng) must, presumably, have been twenty years older than his son, born then about 900. But he marries Asdis, the *sixth* in descent from a man (Ketil) who settles in Iceland about 890; so that by the translation about thirty years are set apart for the life of five or six generations.

[1] After son the Editor puts in [?], which seems to have no meaning.

[2] He was of the body-guard of K. Hakon the Good. Origines I. 35 17-36 2.

P. 32 11. þeir kómo at garðe Þórgeirs ens Hörðzka í Hollte :—" they came to the *house* of Thor-gar the Haurd at Holt." But in this same paragraph we read :— Þórgeirr vilðe þá eige hafa við hús sín :—" Thor-gar would not have them *in his house ;* " instead of : would not have them (by, against, *i.e.*) *near* his house. It was, of course, an impossibility that a Christian, at this time, should of his own free will come to live under the roof of a heathen for a moment. The obvious sense of " garðr " here is *fence ;* the wall built round the home field and constituting the boundary of the precincts of the heathen's dwelling-place. There, not " in his house," but outside it, in the neutral ground of open nature, the Christian party led by Asolf " pitched their tent."

P. 33 15-17. vanðesk fiós-kona ein at þerra fœtr sína á þúfo þeirre es vas á leiðe Asolfs. Hána dreymðe, at Ásolfr ávítaðe hána um þat es hon þerðe fœtr sína saurga á húse hans :—" One of the cow-girls was wont to wipe her feet *on* the hummock that was over As-wolf's tomb. She dreamed that As-wolf warned her not to wipe her dirty feet *in* his house " ; instead of : *on* his house, *i.e.*, the tomb, into which, of course, she did not descend.

P. 33 21. munk-lífi : " the life of a monk " ; instead of : monastery. There is abundant evidence to show that munklífi only means monastery. The Oxford Icel. Dict. knows no instance of the word in the sense given to it here. The monastery in question was that of Bœr, the first house of the kind established in Iceland.

P. 33 22. Einn þeirra dreymðe, at Asolfr mælte við hann :—" One of them dreamed that As-wolf *had said* to him " ; instead of : that Asolf *spake* to him.

P. 34 2. Húskarlenn gat keypta þúfona :—" The house-carl bought the hummock " ; instead of : the house-carl managed to buy the hummock ; for " gat " implies that in the matter of the purchase there were difficulties to overcome.

P. 34 19. nam Hvalfiarðar-strönd ena neðre :—" took in settlement *Nether* Whale-frith-strand " ; instead of :

the *northern* Whale-frith-strand. This comparative, otherwise spelt "nœrðre," is misunderstood in this manner nearly all through.

P. 35 7-8. hans son var Þórgeirr faðer Ió-steins; so also Sturla's text and Index I., but Hawk's book, on the basis of which the text in this case depends, reads "Holmsteins," and that reading is silently adopted by the translator. But why the correction then was not carried into the text, nor noticed in the corrigenda, seems strange. However, "Ió-steins" is the proper reading.

P. 35 11. Berjadals-á:—"Borg-dale-water"; instead of: Berry-dale's-water. The translator has taken "berja" for gen. pl. of berg, which he translates "Borg," whereas it is gen. pl. of ber, a berry.

P. 36 3. Brœðr tveir bioggo í lannáme[1] Finnz ok Orms, Hroðgeirr enn Spake í Saurbœ, en Odd eirr at Leir-á. En þeir Finnr ok Ormr *keypto þá braut*, því at þeim þótte þar þrönglennt:—"Two brethren dwelt in the settlement of Finn and Worm, Hrodgar the Sage in Sowerby, and Ord-gar at Lear-water; but Finn and Worm *brought* them out, for they thought they were crowded there." With the exception of "brought," which must be a misprint for: "bought," this passage is correctly translated. The more surprising is it to find the same incident which, p. 221 20-22, is thus stated—Hroðgeirr enn Spake ok Oddgeirr bróðer hans vóro Vestmenn, es þeir Finnr enn Auðge ok Hafnar-Ormr *keypto braut* or land-náme síno—translated in this manner:—"Hrod-gar the Wise and Ord-gar, his brother, were Westmen, to whom Fin the Wealthy and Haven-Worm *sold land out of their settlements*"; instead of: Hrodgar the Wise and Ord-gar, his brother, were Westmen whom Finn the Wealthy and Haven-Worm *bought out of their* (Finn-Haven-Worm's) settlement. An additional aid to the right understanding of this passage was, in both instances, supplied by the statement that the Westmen went east to "Rawn-gerding-Rape"—"Rape of Rawn-garth," and settled land there.

[1] This wrcng form is without authority in the MSS.

P. 36 12. Úlfr óargi:—"Wolf the lion"; instead of: Wolf the dauntless. Is this translation to be accounted for by the fact that in thirteenth and fourteenth century translations from Latin originals the lion is sometimes referred to as "et (or hit) óarga dýr," "the dauntless beast"? but that does not change the adj.: "óargr" into the noun: lion; and Wolf's honourable by-name existed centuries before "et óarga dýr" appeared in Icelandic writings. In the case of Þorbiörn enn Óarge, 227 15, the translator has changed his mind and rendered the by-name: "Fierce," which at any rate comes nearer than "lion" to the sense.

P. 36 15. Haraldr . . . lét drepa Þórolb norðr í Alost á Sandnesi af róge Hildiríðar-sona:—"Harold . . . had Thor-wolf slain north in Alost on Sandness, out of a feud with (*in Corrigenda*: "through a false charge made by") the sons of Hild-rid"; instead of: had Thorolf slain north in Alost *at* Sandness (Thorolf's home) through slander by the sons of Hildirid. In excuse of the translator it may be observed that in poetry "róg" frequently means even "feud"; "false charge" is a needless paraphrase.

P. 36 17-18. Þvi at þeir höfðo þar spurt til Ingolfs vinar síns:—"for they had heard news thereof from Ing-wolf their friend"; instead of: for they had got news of their friend Ingolf being there (in Iceland).

P. 36 19-21. Þar tóko þeir (Kveld-Úlfr and Skalla-Grímr) knörr þann es Haraldr konungr lét taka fyre Þórolbe, þá es menn hans vóro ný-komner af Englande, ok drápo þar Hallvarð Harðfara ok Sigtrygg Snarfara, es því höfðo valdet:—"There they took the cog which King Harold had had taken from Thor-wolf when his men were just come from England, and they slew there Hall-ward Hard-farer and Sig-tryg Fast-farer, *who were in command of her*"; instead of: *who had brought it about, i.e.*, the seizure, at the King's behest, of "Thor-Wolf's" ship, which, by the way, was not a cog but a large ocean-goer.

P. 37 1-2. Þar drápo þeir ok sono Guthorms Sigurðar

sonar Hiartar, brœðrunga konongs:—"They also slew the *son* of Guth-thorm, the son of Sigrod Hart, the first *cousin* of the King"; instead of: *There* they also slew the the *sons* . . . first *cousins*, etc.

P. 37 19-20. ok leiddo þar upp skipet sem geck:—"and there berthed their ship as far as they could float her"; instead of: and towed up the ship as far as she would go.

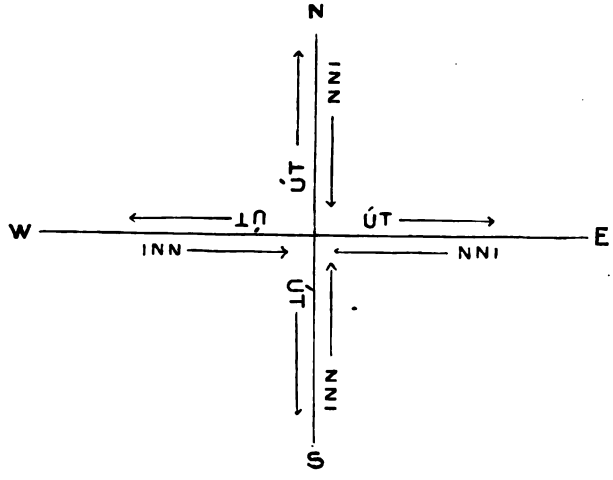
P. 38 10. Skalla-Grímr vas þar um vettrenn sem hann kom af hafe:—"he stayed there *through the winter he came over sea*"; instead of: Skalla-Grim was *there* through the winter *where* he hove in from the main. He landed in the summer, as all settlers did, there was therefore no question of "the winter he came over sea." Winter voyages to Iceland were unheard of at this time and for centuries afterwards.

P. 38 12. Hann nam land útan frá Sela-Lóne ok et œfra til Borgar-hrauns, ok suðr allt til Hafnar-fialla:—"He took in settlement the land *outward from* Seal-wash and up to Borg-raun and all south to Haven-*fell*"; "out" in "outward" is a translation of út, which the translator otherwise correctly renders "west" in the topography of the West-Quarter; "outward" therefore must mean west-ward, which is exactly opposite to the meaning of the original: He took land *east-away* from Seal-wash and up to Borg-lava and all the way south to Haven-*fells*. Seal-wash was the western boundary of Skalla-grim's "land-take," and as út here means west, útan must mean: *from the west* = east-away.

Attention must be drawn to the fact, that the local adverb út varies in sense in accordance with the quarter of the compass which each side of the island faces. "Út" points invariably in the direction *towards the sea* while its constant concomitant "inn" equally invariably points in the direction of *the centre of the land*. The diagram on the next page gives at a glance the geographical sense of the two adverbs in "Landnáma-Bóc."

The translator seems to have thought that út could geographically *only* mean west; therefore, in the west of

Iceland, he seems not to make a mistake in the translation of it—of course he frequently uses the vague "out" instead of the real geographical term. But in the other quarters, when he resorts to the terminology of the compass, he makes serious mistakes.



P. 39 16. Hrúta-firðe :—"Ram-fell"; instead of: Ram-frith.

P. 41 2-3. Hann gaf Signýjo systor sínne Signýjar-staðe, ok bió hon þar :—"He gave his sister Signy Signy-stead, and there *he* dwelt"; instead of: *she* dwelt.

P. 42 1. Rauðs-gil, named after Rauðr, a person, is here given as Red-gill, while 47 14 Rauða-lœkr is rendered "Red's-beck," where the element "Rauða" must be the gen. of "rauði," red iron ore, haematite, which colours bog-land water-courses all over the country.

P. 43 4-5. Þeirra börn vóro þau Ceallakr at Lunde í Syðra-dal, *föður* Collz :—"Their children were these : Ceallac of Lund in Suther-dale, *the father of Magnus*, the father of Coll . . . "; instead of: Their children were : Ceallac of Lund the father of Coll. Both Hawk's book and Sturla's book agree in this reading.

The *Corrigenda* make no reference to this discrepancy between text and translation. In the index Coll figures as son of Ceallac. So also in the standard editions of 1843 and 1900. No Magnus Ceallacson is known to have existed, nor any Coll Magnusson. Föðor *(patris)* should read faðer (pater) Collz.

P. 44 8-9. Hann drucknaðe í Hvít-á, es hann hafðe faret suðr í Hraun at hitta friðlo sína :—" He was drowned in White-water as he was going south *on to the lava* or rawn to visit his leman " ; instead of : He was drowned in White-water when he *had gone* south *to Hraun* (a homestead), etc. ; *i.e.*, he was drowned, not in going, as the translation has it, but in coming back. The text indicates clearly and correctly the trysting place as a homestead.

P. 44 12. Hans son vas Biarne, es deilðe við Hrólf enn Yngra ok sono hans um Tungo'na-Lítlo :—" His son was Bearne who had a feud with Hrod-Wolf the Younger and his *son* about Little-Tongue " ; instead of : . . . and his *sons* (sono, acc. pl.). On the preceding page the *three* sons of " Hrod-Wolf " come in for biographical treatment ; the author of " Landnáma-Bóc " could therefore not refer here to *one* of his sons without mentioning his name.

P. 44 15. Grindr, acc. pl., the translator deals with as a name in the singular.

P. 44 18-20. hans son vas Care es deilðe við Karla Conals son . . . um oxa ; ok reyndesk svá at Karle átte :—" His son was Care who had a feud with Carle Conalsson . . . about an ox ; and it turned out so that Carle *got* the ox " ; instead of : who had a dispute with Karle . . . about an ox, and it was found out that it was Karle who owned it.

P. 45 10. Syster Loft-hœno vas Arnþrúðr . . . Móðer þeirra Arnþrúðar vas Astríðr Slœki-drengr :—" The sister of Lopt-hen was Arn-thrud . . . The mother of Arn-thrud was Anstrid Slœki-dreng " ; instead of : The mother *of Loft-hen and* Arn-thrud . . . þeirra indicating that both sisters were included in the statement.

P. 46 1. Þóraren vá Músa-Bolverkr, es hann bió í Hrauns-áse :—" Thor-arin slew Mouse-Balework in fight,

when he was dwelling in Rawn's-ridge"; instead of: Mouse-Balework, while he dwelt at "Rawn's-ridge," slew Thoraren ("in fight" is a needless addition). Þóraren can be *no other* form than the acc. of Þórarenn, and Bölverkr no possible case but the nom. There were other aids here: Illugi the Red had given to his brother-in-law, Bolverk, the homestead of "Rawn's-ridge" (43 8-10), so that "hann" who was dwelling at "Rawn's-ridge" was Bolverk. He built a fort for himself there after slaying Thorarin. Tind and Illugi the Black, brothers of Thorarin, in the translator's own words "attacked Bale-work in his own work"—the man whom, three lines above, the translator says Thorarin had slain.

P. 46 5-6. Hrosskell gaf land Þórvarðe, föðor Smiðcels, föðor þeirra Þórarens ok Auðunnar, es reð fyrer Helles-mönnom:—"Horse-kell gave land to Throw-end,[1] the father of Smith-cell, the father of these, Thor-arin and Ead-win, *who were the leaders* of the CAVE-MEN"; instead of: . . . the father of Thor-arin and "Ead-win" who *was the leader*, etc.; for reð is 3rd sing., reðo(-u) 3rd pl. pret. of ráða.

P. 46 9. Hans (Þórgauts) syner vóro þeir Gíslar tveir:—"His sons were these two Gislis"; no further information about them; instead of: those two Gislis (you know), presuming that the readers knew all about the Gisli who was flogged by Grettir, and him who was slain by Bardi.[2]

P. 46 15. keyfte, read keypte. The Editor has, rightly, as we think, broken completely with the old spelling tradition pt and writes ft wherever the derivation favours such a spelling. The case noted here is merely one of inadvertence.

P. 46 20. Hann (Blund-Cetill) lét ryðja víða í skógom ok byggja þar ("ryðja" and "byggja" both governed by "lét"):—"He had the wood cleared far and wide and took up his abode there"; instead of: he had

[1] This is elsewhere the rendering of Þróndr, while Þórvarðr comes out as Thor-ward and Thor-wend.

[2] Grettis Saga, 136; Heiðarvíga Saga (1904), p. 86.

clearings made wide about in woods, and had abodes taken up there (by others, of course, as he had his own manor in Ornolf's-dale).

P. 48 17. Norðrár-dalr :—" North-dale," for : " North-water-dale."

P. 49 7. ok þá dala es þar ganga af :—" and the *dale* that *goes* out of it " ; instead of : and *those dales* that *go* out of it—pronoun, noun and verb, all in the plural! This is all the more unexpected that in the " double text " immediately following (49 12) the same statement is rendered correctly, or, very nearly so.

P. 50 9-10. þeim gaf hann land upp við fiöll :—" he gave them land *up on* the fell " ; instead of : *up against* the mountains. No human being could exist on " land on the fell." The difficulty the translator has in distinguishing fiall (sing.) and fiöll (pl.) is really puzzling.

P. 51 1. Hitdœla-kappe :—" Champion of Hot-river-dale " ; instead of : . . . *of the men of* Hit-dale ; dœlir = inhabitants of a dale.

P. 51 4. Haugom (dat. pl.) :—" Howe," for : Howes.

P. 52 7, 11. Leiro-lœkjar (gen. sing.) :—" Lear-becks " ; instead of : Loam-brook (lear = clay, loam, seems not to exist). Lœkjar, gen. sing., as 28 17, taken for gen. pl. : lœkja.

P. 52 16. Griót-ár :—" Grit " ; for : Grit-river.

P. 54 5-6. Engo (*read* Enga, so Cd.) varðar yðr at vita aðra an sveinenn í sel-belgenom :—" It is of *little worth* to you to know this [answers he] though it is " (not : of ' little worth ' surely, but : of worth) " to the boy in the seal-skin bag " ; instead of : To none other of you does it matter to know (it) than the boy in the seal-skin bag.

P. 54 10-11. En síðar um vetrenn (not vettr- as elsewhere) reru þeir Grímr svá at sveinnenn var á lande :—" Later in that winter Grim and his men, all but the boy, went a-fishing " ; instead of : Later in the winter Grim and his crew went out fishing so that the boy was left ashore.

P. 54 13. Skalm geck fyrer allt sumaret :—" Skalm went forth all the summer " ; instead of : Skalm led the way . . . (fyrer = in front).

P. 54 22-55 2. maðr . . . mikill ok illilegr . . . geck . . . upp til bœjar þess, es í Hripe heiter, ok gróf þar í stöðols-hliðe :—" A man . . . great and wicked-looking . . . walked . . . up to the homestead that is called Rip, and dug a *fort* there *in the slope* by the fold-gate "; instead of: and did digging there in the fold-gate.

P. 55 2-4. En um nóttena kom þar upp iarð-eldr, ok brann þá Borgar-hraun—þar vas bœrenn sem nú es borgen :—" And that night there came up fire out of the earth, and burnt the Borg-lava. There was *a* homestead there *then* where the lava-mound now is "; instead of: But in the night a fire broke out of the earth there, and then happened an eruption of the Borg-lava—there was *the* homestead (of Rip, mentioned in the preceding line) where now is the crater cone. In the translation " brann " (intr.) is taken to mean the same as " brende " (trans.).

P. 55 11. Skalm dó í Skalmar-keldo :—" *at* Skalm-*well* "; instead of: *in* Skalm's *ditch*. Kelda, though it can mean a well, must here be taken in the specific Icelandic sense of ditch, cf. Heimskr. (Jónsson's ed.), II., 144 8, and Dict. *sub voce*.

P. 56 10. Goðlaugr nam síðan land frá Straumfiarðar-á til Furo :—" Afterwards Gudlaug took land in settlement from Stream-frith on to Force "; instead of: . . . From Stream-frith-*river* to Fura. On the next page (57 1) this river name figures as " Fur [Shallow]." It seems more reasonable to connect the name with Dan. fure, Engl. furrow.

P. 59 10-11. En kyrtil Einars bito eige iárn :—" but no iron could bite *as* Einar's kirtle "; instead of: no iron (weapon) could cut through Einar's kirtle. The same phrase is correctly rendered p. 129 11; so we have here probably to deal with a misprint.

P. 60 15. Hann nam land frá Berovíkr-hraune til Nes-hrauns :—" He took land in settlement from *Bear-sarks-rawn* to Ness-rawn "; instead of: . . . from *Bear-wick-lava*, etc. This locality is situated on the western shore of Snæfells-nes, while the Bear-sarks'-lava is a long distance

off to the north-east, a short way west of Thorsness.

P. 60 17. Saxe Alfarensson :—" Saxe, the son of Elf-wine." (?) 56 21 : Alf-warin ; 61 18 : Alf-arin.

P. 61 7. Þeirra son vas Skegge, faðer Þórkotlo, es átte Illoge, son Þorvallz, Tinnz sonar, faðer Gils . . . :—" Their son was Sceg, father of Thor-catla, whom Illugi had to wife, the son of Thor-wald, the son of Tind, the father of Gils." By the translation Gils is made the son of Tind, but by the text he is correctly stated to be the son of Illoge. Translate : Their son was Skeg the father of Thorkatla, whom Illoge, the son of Thorvald Tind's son, and father to Gils, had for wife.

P. 61 12-13. The words in parenthesis are left out, which elsewhere happens in a great number of cases, as if passages so marked did not belong to the text. But they are only so marked by the Editor as being, in his opinion, later interpolations. They form however an integral part of the text.

P. 62 3. Ormr enn Mióve hét maðr . . . Hann (nom.) rak braut Óláf Belg (acc.) :—" Worm the Slender was the name of a man . . . An-laf Bag drove him away " ; instead of : He drove " An-laf " Bag away.

P. 62 17. Onundr Sióne :—" A-mund Seone " (misprint for An-und ?), but the same man, p. 51 19, figures in the translation as " Ean-Wend Seone."

P. 62 20. Þórbiorn enn Digre stefnde Geirríðe Bœgifótz dóttor um fiolkynge ; efter (read : fiolkynge, efter) þat es Gunnlaugr son hans dó af meine því, es hann tók þá es han fór at nema fróðleik at Geirríðe :—" Thorbeorn the Thick summoned Gar-rid Bow-foot's daughter for witchcraft. After (read : witchcraft, after) his son Gund-laug died of *madness*, which he caught when he went to learn wisdom from Gar-rid " ; instead of : Thorbeorn the Thick summoned G. B.'s daughter for witchcraft, after his son G. had died of the hurt he got when, etc.

P. 63 4. En efter þat hurbo Þórbirne stóð-hross á fialle :—" But after that *a stallion* of Thor-beorn was lost in the fell " ; this is emended in *Corrigenda* to *some stallions*,

but should be "some *stud-horses*," cf. 65 $_{15}$, *Corrigenda.*

P. 63 $_{8}$. í túneno :—"in the yard"; instead of: in the home-field.

P. 63 $_{13}$. Nagle hlióp grátande um þá, ok í fiall upp :—"Nail fled weeping away and up into the fell"; instead of: Nail ran weeping *past* them (um þá), etc.

P. 63 $_{17}$. Efter þat brende hann skip þeirra Algeirs í Salteyrar-óse :—"After that he burnt Alf-gar's boat at Salt-eyre-mouth"; instead of: After that he burnt the ship of Beorn the Eastman (63 $_{7}$) and Alf-gar. In this passage, which is an abstract from Eyrbyggja Saga, it is not stated that Biorn was a part-owner in the ship with Alfgeir; but "þeirra" shows that the author bore that fact in mind, and by this idiomatic turn of phrase indicated it to the reader.

P. 64 $_{16}$. ok nam Eyrar-land, ok á miðle Kirkio-fiarðar ok Kolgrafar-fiarðar [1] :—"and took in settlement Eyre-land and *the river* between Kirk-frith and Col-grave-frith"; instead of: and took the land (*i.e.*, the peninsula) of Eyre and (the land) between Kirk-frith and Coal-graves'-frith. That is to say: besides the peninsula of Eyre proper, Vestar took land westward along the shore as far as Kirk-frith, while the eastern boundary of his settlement was Coal-graves'-frith. To take in settlement a river, not even alluded to in the text, is an odd idea. Of course, *á*, in the phrase "á miðle," amidst, can also, as to form, be the acc. sing. of "*á*, a river."

P. 66 $_{5}$. Biörn sat efter at eignom föðor síns þá es Ketill fór til Suðreyja :—"Beorn abode behind *in his own land* when his father Ketil went to the Southreys"; instead of: Beorn sat behind *on his father's* property, when Ketil went to the South-isles. Here the translator connects "föðor síns" with "fór," not seeing that it is closely linked to and governed by "eignom."

P. 66 $_{14}$. hafðe selför upp til Selja :—"had the shielings

[1] Cd. (Hawk's book) has Kolgrafa, gen. pl., so also the old Catalogue of Firths, A.M. 415 4^{to}c. 1300; Kolgrafar is found in no Landnáma MS. The frith took its name from the homestead of Kolgrafir, pl.

up at Shiels." This will hardly be understood as meaning: he was wont to fetch home dairy produce from the outlying dairy of Sel. Passages relating to this branch of Icelandic husbandry are difficult to deal with, and cannot be literally translated.

P. 68_5. Þeir lendo þar inn frá í vágenn, es Þórolfr kallaðe Hofs-vág:—"They landed there in a creek which Thor-wolf called Temple-voe." Construe: Þar inn frá lendo þeir í vágenn, etc., *i.e.*, there in from = south there from (where they found Thor, out on the ness) they made for land into (í with acc.) the creek which, etc. They skirted the western side of Thorsness, going south, till they hove into Temple bight.

P. 69_6. skilðer, not: "set at peace," but: parted.

P. 69_9. inn í neset þar sem nú es, not: "inland to the ness where it now is"; but: up (inn) into (í) the ness (*i.e.*, east into the ness), etc.

P. 72_5. Steinn Miöksiglande:—"Stan the wide-sailor"; two other persons with an identical by-name are mentioned in "Landnáma-Bóc," Thengil of Halogaland and Thrand Beorn's son in Sodor; in their case the by-name is rendered, respectively, Far-sailer [Fast-sailer], and Far-sailer. But there is reason to believe that in all these cases the by-name arose from the same cause as in that of Thrand (Landn. III. 15 2, p. 155_{9-10}): from fast, swift sailing. "The Fast-sailing" is the best translation.—"Stan" was the brother of Þórer Haust-myrkr: "Thore-haust-myrk"; instead of: Th. Harvest-gloom.

P. 72_6. nam Skógar-strönd til mótz við Þórberg, ok inn til Lax-ár:—"took in settlement Shaw-strand up to match with the land of Thorberg, and *inside to* Lax-water"; [Shaw-strand is the southern shore of Hvam-firth; Thorberg had settled both Long-dales, the easternmost of which formed the western terminus of Shaw-strand]. The statement therefore means that "Stan" took in settlement Shaw-strand west to the boundary of Thorberg['s land] and in = up (frith), *i.e.*, *east* to Lax-water. "Inside to" gives no sense, that we can see.

P. 73 5. set-stocka :—" seat-stocks [high-seat pillars]" There is an abundance of evidence to show that the " set-stockar " were not pillars, but horizontally fixed beams in front of the " set " or sitting and sleeping platform running along either side-wall of a hall. When " Landnáma.-bóc.," V. 11 2, p. 220 14-16, says that Hastein " shot over-board his *seat-stocks* after ancient custom," and thus used them for the same ceremony that high-seat pillars were otherwise used for, that does not change the name or the nature of a *seat-stock* into a standing pillar ; it only shows that seat-stocks could be hallowed to a divinity, the image of which was carved on them.

P. 76 8-9. Þeirra son Þorer, es átte Hallveigo, Tinnzdóttor, Hallkels sonar :—" Their son *was* Thori, who had to wife Hall-weig, the daughter of Tind, *the wife* of Hall-kell " ; instead of : *the son* of Hall-kell.

P. 78 20. í innan-verðom firðenom (dat. sing.) :—" at the inward of the *friths* " ; instead of : at the head of the *frith*.

P. 81 8. Riúpa [" Caper-cailzie "]. This is not right. Riúpa is the *lagopus ptarmigan*, or l. vulgaris ; while the caper-cailzie is the þiðurr, Dan. Norw. tiur, Swed. tjäder, tetrao urogallus, a bird more than double the size of the riúpa. But " Þórunn Grœningja-riúpa " figures in one instance as " Thor-und Grœnings-rœpe " (p. 25 9), in another as " Thor-Wen the Granings'-ptarmigan " (219 1-2)!

P. 81 14. Thórgeirr goðe (*i.e.*, Thorgeir the famous gode of Ljósavatn, Light-water) figures in the translation under the odd name of " Thor-gar-gode." There are many cases of this amalgamation of title with first name.

P. 82 16. Þórhallr faðer Halldóro ; comes out as " Thorkell " by inadvertence in the translation.

P. 87 5-6. Hiorleifr . . . es kallaðr vas enn Kven-same :— " Heor-laf . . . who was called the man of Quin [the county] " ; instead of : who was called the *Amorous*. In Icelandic to call a man of a county named Kven " Kvensamr " is as much out of the question as it would be in English to call a man of the county of Kent Kentsome !

Besides, no such county as " Kven " or " Quin " exists in Hordland, or elsewhere in Norway.

P. 87 10-11. Halfr Konungr vas faðer Hiörs Konongs, es hefnde föðor síns með Solva Högna-syne :—" King Half was the father of King Heor, who avenged his father *upon* Solwe, Hagene's son " ; instead of : . . . who *in company with* Solwe " Hagene's " son avenged his father. The genealogy here is very plain : The children of Hogni in Njarðey were : Hildr en Mióva and Solwe. Hild's son was Half, and Half's son was Hiör, who, aided by his grand uncle Solwe, avenged his father (Half) on Asmund, King of Hordland. See the Saga of King Half and Half's " Rekkar," Fornaldarsögur II.

P. 88 19-20. Til ferðar rézk með hónom Ulfr enn Skiálge, frænde hans ; ok Steinolfr enn Lage :—" On the voyage with him were Wolf-*squint* (!), his cousin, and Stan-wolf," etc. ; instead of : to this journey betook themselves with him Wolf the *Squinter*, etc.

P. 89 4, 5. Klofa-steina, Klofa-steinum, gen. and dat. pl., rendered " Cloven-stone " in both cases.

P. 89 14-15. Reykja-hólom, dat. pl.—the name is unknown in the sing.—rendered : " Reek-hillock."

P. 90 8-9. Geirmundr . . . nam land frá Ryta-gnúp vest*an* til Horns ; en þaðan austr til Straumness :—" Geirmund . . . took land in settlement from Gull-peak *west to* the Horn, and thence east to Stream-ness " ; instead of : Geirmund . . . took land . . . from Gull-peak in the west east unto Horn, and thence (farther) east to Stream-ness. Gull-peak is west of Horn, not east of it. [-an in local adverbs = Gr. *θεν*, vestan = *δυσμόθεν*.]

P. 91 4. ok börðosk á ekronom fyr útan Klofninga :—" and fought on the cornfields to the west of the ' Clovenings ' " is omitted in the translation.

P. 91 4-5. þar vilðo hvárer-tveggjo sá :—" Both wished *to have it* " ; instead of : there they both wanted *to sow (corn)*.

P. 91 8-9. Hann átte Herriðe dóttor Gautz Gautreks sonar ens Orva :—" He had to wife Her-rid, daughter of Geat, Geat-ric's son, the open-handed " ; instead of : daughter

of "Geat," the son of "Geat-ric" the Openhanded.

P. 62 8. Yngvilldr: trans. wrongly "Ing-unn."

P. 93 11. Þórarenn Krókr nam Króks-fiörð til Hafrafellz frá Króks-fiarðar-nese:—"... *up* to Hafr-fell from Crook-frith's-ness"; instead of: *(west)* to Hafr-fell. "Up," which is the translator's own invention, gives quite a false idea of what is meant; Crook-frith's-ness being the *eastern*, Hafr-fell the *western* promontorial limit of the bay in question, it follows that Thorarin took in settlement the habitable land of the whole frith, from one promontory to the other.

P. 96 4. Þorbiörn Loke ... nam Diúpa-fiörð ok Grónes til Gufu-fiarðar:—not: "*up* to Gowe-frith," but *west* to G., or then simply *unto* G. That is to say: he took in settlement the land of Groness that faced the waters of Deep-firth and extended his land-take as far as the opening of "Gowefrith," the next frith west of Deep-frith.

P. 96 16-17. hann hafðe veret í vestr-víking ok haft af Írlande þræla Írska:—"and had gotten Irish thralls in Ireland"; instead of: ... and had brought from Ireland Irish thralls.

P. 96 20. fór hann inn á Nes:—"he went *inward* to *a ness*"; instead of: he went east-ward to the *Nesses* (*i.e.*, Alftanes, Seltiarnarnes, Gufunes), cf. 23 19-20 above.

P. 97 4. Cetill feck œngan bú-stað á Nesjom:—"Cetil found no place for a homestead in the *Ness*"; instead of: got no messuage on the *Nesses* (the same group as in the preceding paragraph).

P. 97 5-6. á Gufu-skálom (við Guf-á: enn fiórða vettr vas hann á Snæfellz-nese at Gufu-skálom); the words in brackets are missed out in the translation, by reason of the homotelefton Gufu-skálom, with the result, that Cetill is made to go from Borg-frith ... "*east* into Broad-frith," though east of Borg-frith there is nothing but howling wildernesses and glaciers, and Broad-frith lies *N.W.* of Borg-frith. However, by inserting the missed-out passage: "by 'Gowe'-river: the fourth winter he spent on Snowfell's-ness at 'Gowe'-hall,'" the direction "east" towards Broad-frith comes right.

M.

P. 97 17-18. kom af þinge um morgonenn þá es þeir vóro ný-farner braut :—"*was coming* back from the Moot *early* the *next* morning just after they had got away"; instead of: *came* from the "Moot" *the same* morning when they had just gone away.

P. 98 14. hann nam nes öll til Barða-strandar :—not: "all the ness," but: all the nesses (*i.e.*, Bœjarnes, Svínanes, Skalmarnes, Vattarnes, Hjarðarnes).

P. 102 7-8. því at þar geck eige sól af um skammdege :—"because the sun did not *set* in the short days there"; instead of: because the sun did not go out of sight there in the day-time of the short-days'-season.

P. 103 19. til Hals en ýtra í Dýra-firðe :—"to the Upper Neck"; instead of: to the Outer Neck; *i.e.*, to the western-most of the two localities named Neck on the southern side of Dyri's- (not Deer-) frith.

P. 104 1. Magnus Goðe is a misprint for Magnus góðe, Magnus the Good. The translator renders the name "Magnus *gode*" (gode, italicised, invariably meaning chief, which, indeed, this person was, though he was not *called* gode).

P. 106 9. dótter, read dóttor—Mág-Snorre: "Mac-Snorre" looks like a freak.

S. text:

P. 107 5. Liótr kauper slátr at Gríme til tottogo hundraða, ok galt lœk, er fell meðal landa þeira, sá het Ósómi. Grimr veitte *hann* á eng sína ok gróf land Liótz:

"... and paid (for it) with a brook, which fell between their properties, called Osomi (Disgrace). Grim turned it on his meadow and dug (for the purpose) the land of Liot."

Editor's "emended" text "according to Hávarðar Saga":

ok galt veite-enge es hét Gersœme. Lœkr fell meðal landa þeirra: Grímr veitte *hónom*[1] á eng sína ok gròf land Lióts[2]: "and paid for *them* with a meadow watered by the brook that ran between their lands, and was called Gersemi [Jewel]."[3]

The emendation here is more than doubtful. Hávarðar Saga, to begin with, is a very untrustworthy record. It does not say that Liot's meadow was *called* Gersœme, it says the meadow was the greatest "gersœme" or treasure. But it was that only because the brook Osome, the name of which Hávarðar Saga does not know, could be turned on it for irrigation purposes. Without irrigation it was probably of little value. The Editor's emendation is nothing but loose guesswork, and is not called for.

P. 107 20-108 1. Gestr kvez eigi siá œrlög hans:—"Guest said that he could not *forestall* his doom"; instead of: . . . could not see his fate.

P. 108 5. Austmaðr reidde Gest á heiðe upp, ok studde Gest á bake, es hestr rasaðe under hónom:—"The Eastman *was helping* Guest *up to* the Heath and holding him steady on his horse and the horse stumbled under him"; instead of: The Eastman *took Guest riding* up on to the heath and steadied him on horse-back as the horse stumbled under him.

P. 112 13. Móðer Snæbiarnar Galltar vas Ceolvor ok vóro þeir Tungo-Oddr systra-syner:—"The mother of Snow-beorn Boar was Ceol-ware, and they were first cousins [on the sister-side] *of* Ord o' Tongue"; instead of: The mother of Snow-beorn was "Ceol-ware" and Snow-beorn and Ord o' Tongue were sons of (two) sisters. In "Landnáma-Bóc" I. 10. 4 we have the express statement: "Ceol-ware was the mother's sister of Ord o' Tongue." There is no hint here of any "they" who were first cousins of "Ord."

P. 112 21. þar vóro sauða-hús hans:—"where his sheep-*house was*"; instead of: there his sheep-*pens were*.

P. 113 5-6. Hon hefer kvenna bazt hærð vereð á

[1] The Editor's own form, instead of "hann," which is the reading of S.

[2] In the footnote to this passage, as in several other footnotes to "Landnáma-Bóc," we are told to "see notes," but there are no such notes to be seen in the work!

[3] But the footnote on this very page says: "The *meadow*, not the brook, took the name of *Jewel*." This is a direct disavowal of the translation.

Íslande með Hallgerðe Lang-brók :—" She had the best hair of any woman that have " *(sic)* " ever been in Iceland (save Hall-gerd Long-breeks) " ; instead of : She, together with Hall-gerd Long-breeks, has had the finest hair of all women in Iceland.

P. 113 19 foll. Snow-beorn of Ceol-ware-stead with a company of eleven men pursued Hall-beorn who was accompanied by three men only. Hall-beorn was overtaken : við hæðer þær, es nú heita Hallbiarnar-vörðor. Þeir Hall-biorn fóro á hæðena ok vörðosk þaðan :— " at the hillocks that are now called Hallbeorn's-cairns. Hallbeorn and his men went up on the ***hillocks*** and defended themselves therefrom " ; instead of : Hall-beorn and his men went upon the ***hillock***, *i.e.*, one of the two hillocks. A company of *four* could not reasonably divide themselves on *hillocks* in defence against a band of twelve.

P. 119 6. Blæingr :—" Clong " ; a footnote states that Blæingr is the reading of S. and Klæingr that of Cd. ; the reverse is the case, and the wrong form of the name is adopted by the translator : " Clong."

P. 119 9, 11. Berse Goðlauss . . . ok átte þar annat bú :— " Berse God-leas [Temple-tenant ?] . . . and *they* had another homestead " : instead of : Berse the Godless . . . and *he* owned *there* another homestead. There is no reason for supposing that " lauss," in goð-lauss, stands in any connection with " leas," if that vocable is meant to express something in the way of tenancy, as " Temple-tenant " seems to indicate. There were godless heathens, who never would sacrifice, not a few of whom are mentioned.

P. 121 18-19. Þeir Helge lögðo út enn sama dag, ok tyndosk aller á Helga-skere fyr Skriðins-enne :—" Helge and his mates put to sea the same day, and were all lost *aboard Helge's ship* off Scridin's-brow " ; instead of : and were all lost *on Helge's-rock* off Scridin's-brow.

P. 122 12. Refr :—" Fox," the by-name of Þórolfr, is left out in the text, but supplied in the translation.

P. 122 17. Skammhöndungr, the by-name of Skegge, is

left out in the text, but given in the translation in the form of "Short-hand."

P. 124 8-10. Hans son vas Þórbrandr, faðer Asbrannz, föðor Solva ens Prúða á Ægis-síðo, ok Þórgeirs es bió at Hólom:—"His son was Thor-brand, the father of Os-brand, the father of Solwi the Proud ['or Brude'?] of Egi-side, and also of Thor-gar [i.e., Thor-brand's son] that dwelt at Hills"; instead of: His son was Thor-brand, the father of Os-brand who was the father of Solwe the Proud at Sea-side and of Thor-gar who dwelt at Holar. The translator's explanatory parenthesis makes Thor-gar of Holar son of his grandfather, although his own translation correctly makes him a son of Os-brand.

P. 125 11. Bœjar-bót is given in the translation as "Pride-of-the-Bench," Bekkjar-bót, which is the reading of S. The reading of Cd. is "Beiar-," which probably is a corruption of Bekkjar, the better reading, though set aside by the Editor.

P. 126 16-17. Ingimundr unðe hverge:—"Ingi-mund could find no peace"; instead of: Ingimund felt nowhere at home.

P. 126 19. í ham-förum, a difficult expression to deal with, is left out in the translation. Ham-för: journey in a shape or form other than the natural, shape-change journey.

P. 127 15. Ingimundr nam Vatz-dal allan upp frá Helga-vatne ok Urðar-vatne fyr austan:—"Ingi-mund took in settlement all Water-dale up from Helge-mere and Wierd-mere in the east"; the original means: Ingimund took in settlement all *the eastern side of* Water-dale up from Helge-mere and "Wierd"-mere. Fyr austan: to the east of the main river that runs through the valley = its eastern side.

P. 128 1. til Gilj-ár:—"to Gills"; instead of: to the Gill-river. The translator has taken Gilj-ár as gen. pl. of Gil, which is not Gilj-ár but Gilja.

P. 128 13. ok siglðe fyr norðan land vestr um Skaga fyrstr manna:—"and sailed *the north-west course* round the Skaw first of all men"; instead of: and sailed by the

north of the land west about Skaw the first of men. So far from sailing a "north-west course round the Skaw' Ingimund's course was practically due west (slightly to the south) until he had cleared the Skaw, when his course changed sharp to due south for Cub-mere.

P. 129 10. systrungr :—"sister's son"; instead of: mother-sister's son, *i.e.*, Liot was the son of a sister to Hrolleif's mother.

P. 129 16-17. ok skylðe ganga or á fyrer Hofs-mönnom :—"and the Temple-men had the first right of going on the river to fish"; instead of: and he (Hrolleif) was to clear out of the river before the men of Temple.

P. 129 20. á ána :—"to the river"; instead of: into the river, which here makes all the difference to the pathetic scene.

P. 130 5. ok hafa kost-grip af arfe :—"(and) get his choice out of the heritage"; instead of: and have of the heritage the prize-keepsake (gripr) he should choose.

P. 131 6. Iökull vas son Bárðar Iökuls sonar, es Olafr konungr enn Helge lét drepa :—"Iockle was the son of Bard, Iockle's son, whom King Olaf the Saint had slain"; instead of: The son of Bard Iockle's son was "Iockle" whom K. Olaf the Saint had slain. The tragic end of "Iockle" Bardson is recorded in the sagas of Olaf the Saint: Fornm. s. V. 29-30, Flat. b. II. 317, Olaf saga ens Helga, 1853, 190-191, Heimsk. (E. Jonsson) II. 422-424, cf. also Fornsögur, ed. G. Vigfússon 1860, pp. 188, 193.

P. 132 15. ok svá þar fyr norðan hals :—"and so *along to the mouth of* the Neck"; instead of: and likewise north of the neck there.

P. 136 19. ok Goðdala, *read* of Goðdali, so Cd., um Goðali alla, S.

P. 136 21. Helgo, not: "Helge" (man) but Helga (woman). This mistake is repeated elsewhere.

P. 137 4. Biarne Brodd-Helga son :—"Beorn-beord Helge's son"; instead of: Bearne Brord-Helge's son. As a rule the translator distinguishes the two names

Biörn and Biarne, but he gives to the latter however the variations: Beorn, Beare, Bearne.

P. 138 18. Hann vas kallaðr Tungo-Care—omitted from the translation.

P. 139 3-4. Orrecs-heiðr:—"Orrec-stead"; instead of: Orrec's-heath; and Höko-staðer:—"Hawk-stead"; instead of: Chin-stead.

P. 139 9. I þann tíma kom út skip í Kolbeins-ár-óse:—"At that time there came out a ship into the mouth of Colban's-river oyce-mouth"; instead of: . . . into the mouth of Colban's-river. Oyce-mouth was perhaps meant as an alternative reading.

P. 140 7. upp frá Þverá—missed out.

P. 140 14-16. Syner þeirra vóro þeir Hergrímr ok Herfiðr, es átte Höllo . . . Gróa hét dótter Herfinnz, ok Höllo; hána átte Róarr:—"Their sons were these: Her-grim and Her-fin, *who had to wife Halla* . . . The *daughters* of Her-fin were Gróa [Gruoch] and Halla, whom Hrod-gar had to wife"; instead of: . . . Groa was the name of the *daughter* of Herfinn *and Halla;* and Hrodgar married her (not Halla, his mother-in-law).

P. 141 2-3. dóttor Sigmundar Þorkels sonar es Glumr vá:—"daughter of Sigmund Thor-kel's son, that slew Glum"; instead of: whom Glum did slay!

P. 141 11. miðle Griót-ár:—"between Grit"; instead of: Grit-river.

P. 141 12. Healta-dalr:—"Shelty-dale," surely: "Shelty's dale" seeing that it was taken in settlement by and named after Healte Thord's son; but p. 271 2 the name is "Healte-dale."

P. 141 20. á-nyt:—"rent"; á-nyt = áa-nyt: hire of ewes. The case arises when farmer A hires from farmer B a certain number of milking ewes for the summer, agreeing to pay a certain amount of money for the use of them. The word is not found in any dictionary I have at hand.

P. 144 5. Staf-ár:—"Staff"; for: Staff-river.

P. 144 11. Stafs-hóll:—"Staff-holt," but 145 3: Staff-hill; as the place took its name from Oddleifr Stafr, the

name should be Staff's-hill (" holt " is out of question, as it confuses this place north in Skagafrith with Staff-holt south in Borgfrith.

P. 145 12, 17. Ulfs-dala (pl.) :—" Wolf-dale " ; instead of : Wolf's-dales.

P. 145 19-20. Óláfr nam . . . Óláfs-fiörð suman :—" Anlaf took in settlement . . . Anlaf's-frith *from the south* " ; instead of : *some* part (or part) of Anlaf's-frith. In the *Corrigenda* we are told " *for* suman " to " *read* sunnan," which reading justifies the translation here. But suman is the reading of both the MSS. on which the text is based ; and sunnan, which is found in some inferior MSS., is rightly condemned as " wrong " by Jón Sigurdson and all other Editors, naturally on the ground that south of Olaf's-frith, which cuts almost due south into the country, there is nothing to take in settlement but bare mountains.

P. 146 5-6. miðle Ulfs-dala ok Hvann-dala :—" between Wolf-dale and Hwan-dale " ; instead of : . . . Wolf's-dales and Hwan-dales.

P. 146 15 16. Hann nam Óláfs-fiörð fyr austan upp til Reykja-ár, ok út til Vá-múla, ok bió at Gunnolfs-á :— " He took in settlement Anlaf's-frith *east-ward* (" upp " left out) to Reek-water, and *west* to Wo-mull, and dwelt at Gund-wolf's-river." " Anlaf's "-firth cuts very nearly due south into the country, and Reek-water is the river that halves the valley running up from the frith, also almost due south into the land. The translation therefore must be : He took in settlement the *eastern side of* " Anlaf's "-frith, *up to* (= inland to, *south* as far as) Reek-water and *out* (= *north*) to Wo-mull. Evidently the Editors had really no idea of the topographical bearings here, nor could they have consulted any map of the country ; nor even seems Vigfússon to have known the very common turn of speech : N.N.-fiörðr fyr austan (vestan, etc.) = the eastern (western, etc.) side of N.N.-frith.

P. 146 19. Hrólfs frá Am :—" Hrodwolf-a-River " ; instead of : a-Rivers, ám being dat. pl. of á, a river, if that indeed is the origin of the name. The Editor's

spelling of the name shows that he does not believe in that derivation; and he may be right.

P. 147 7. þá fór hann til Noregs: hann kom vestr á Agðer :—" then he journeyed *west* into Norway *with twelve men* into Agd . . . "; instead of: then he went to Norway: he came west to Agder. . . . "With twelve men" has got somehow or other into the translation from S., which is not the text on which this passage is based.

P. 147 11. En es á leið um váret :—" But when the spring was coming on "; instead of: But in (the course of) the spring as it was wearing on.

P. 147 13. hann tók hann höndom :—" Beorn caught his hand "; instead of: Beorn laid hands on him.

P. 149 8-10. ok sá, at svartara vas inn at siá myklo til fiarðarens,—es þeir köllo̊o Eyja-fiörð af eyjom þeim es þar lágo ute fyrer :—" and saw that it was far blacker [less snow] to look on further up in *a* frith, which they called Ey-frith, because of the islands that *lay out of the mouth of it* "; instead of: and saw that it was far blacker looking up to *the* frith, which they called Ey-frith from the islands that lay there out in the offing. There was no question here of *a* frith to be called Ey-frith; for Helge had dwelt a whole winter at Hamundstead in Svarfadar-dale, a good long way up the very frith he gave this name. The islands from which it took name were not outside the mouth of it, but well within it, in sight from Hamundstead, and " þar úte fyrer " refers to the point of view from Hamund-stead. Off the mouth of Ey-frith there are no islands.

P. 149 17. ok helgaðe sér svá allan fiörðenn nesja miðle :—" and so hallowing to himself all *the country-side* between *the rivers* "; instead of: all *the bay from ness to ness;* that is, from Mastness (Siglunes) on the western, all round unto Rowan-ness (Reynisnes) on the eastern, side of the mouth of Ey-frith, cf. 149 15-16. There is no reference here to " rivers."

P. 150 1-2. varð Þórunn Hyrna léttare í Þórunnar-ey í Eyja-fiarðar-ár-kvíslom :—" Thor-wen Hyrna gave birth

to a child *at the springs of Ey-frith* in Thorwen's-ey" (!) instead of: "Thor-wen" H. was delivered of a child in "Thorwen's-ey," in the forks of Ey-frith-river; *i.e.*, in the delta formed by the Ey-frith river, where it joins the sea at the head of the bay.—The child born, Þór-biörg Holma-sól, is here called: Thor-berg Holm-sun, but 168$_{1}$: Thor-borg Haulm-sun (haulm = halmr!) Of course, she got her by-name from the place of her birth, a Holm.

P. 150$_{4}$. Þver-á en(ne) Ýtre:—"*Upper* Thwart-water"; instead of: *Outer, i.e., Lower,* Thwart-water. On the eastern side of Ey-firth river, up the valley a considerable distance from the head of the bay, there are two homesteads called Thwart-water: Þverá en œfre = Upper Thwart-water, also known as "Monks' Thwart-water," and Þver-á en ýtre = Outer Thwart-water, *i.e.*, the Outermost of the two Thwart-waters, or the one farther down the valley, or nearer the sea, the northern-most, in fact. The translator makes one of these two localities, calling both Upper-Thwart water.

P. 150$_{13-14}$. faðer . . . Arnórs ens Góða Rauðæings:—"father . . . of Arnor the Good, the Red-water-men's *gode*"; góða figures in the translation first correctly as "good" and then as "gode" chief, and Rauðæings = the man's of Red-water, is taken to stand for Rauðæinga = the men's of Red-water, who do not exist.

P. 150$_{19}$. Rauða *read* Rauðe.

P. 151$_{4}$. Olafr Volo-briótr:—"Anlaf *Sibyl*-breaker." We suggest that *knuckle-bone* breaker would do as well: Vala (= knuckle-bone, Lat. talus, Gr. ἀστράγαλος) has gen. sing. völo (-u), which form is also the gen. sing. of völva, "Sibyl."

P. 151$_{12}$. Karl . . . nam strönd alla út frá Ufsom til Mígande:—"Karl . . . took in settlement all the *strands up* from Ufse to Migande"; instead of: all the *Strand out* from Ufse to M. Út means, of course, ***out,*** down frith, sea-ward or, geographically stated: ***north;*** while the "up" of the translation = up frith gives the opposite wrong direction. Ströndd = Ufsa-Ströndd.

P. 151 16-17. Hámundr gaf Erne . . . (lönd) þau es vóro fyr útan Reistar-á :—" Hamund gave Erne . . . *further* the land *west* of Reistar-river " ; instead of: Hamund gave to Erne such countrysides as lay *out* from Reist-river, *i.e.*, *north* of Reist-river along the western shore of Eyfrith. *West* of Reist-river there were no countrysides in Hamund's possession to be given away but bare mountains of no extent.

P. 152 5. Breiðdal :—" Bride-dale " must be a slip for Broad-dale, which elsewhere is the translation of this name.

P. 152 9, 14. við hann ero Narfa-sker kend :—" After him Narfe's-*reef is* named " ; instead of: After him Narfe's-*rocks are* named.

P. 152 10. Hello-Narfe :—" Slate-Narfe," but six lines below " Cave-Narfe," the translator taking there " hello," which is gen. sing. of hella, slab or slate, for " hellis," gen. sing. of " hellir," a cave.

P. 155 7. En Öndóttr gat halldet féino til handa Þronde systor-syne sínom :—" But Ondott kept hold of the heritage for Throwend *and* his sister's son " ; instead of: But Onund managed to retain the money on behalf of Throwend, his sister's son. The context here is very clear: " Landnáma-Bóc " III. 13 1 states how Biorn Hrolf's son from Am was first married to Hlif, and had with her the son Eyvind Eastman. Secondly Beorn married Helga, sister of Ondott, and their son was Throng (Throwend). There was therefore no temptation for the translator to make of " Thro-wend " somebody who was *not* Ondott's sister's son.

P. 156 2. þvi at hann vilde ecki segja :—" for he did not wish to say [where the boys were] " ; instead of: for he would say nothing.

P. 156 20-21. ok rero braut til eyjar es liggr á Hvine :—" and rowed away to the *islands* that *lay* in the frith of Hwin " ; instead of: . . . to *an island* that *lies* in the frith of Hwin ; " eyjar " can be gen. sing. and nom. and acc. pl., while " til " governs the gen. exclusively ; no mistake therefore ought to have been possible here.

P. 157 2. ok gengo til húss :—" went to the houses," as if the original read : ok gengo til húsa !

P. 157 8. Ásgrímr geck at iarlenom :—" As-grim ***walked into the hall*** " ; instead of : Asgrim went for the earl. A few lines before it is stated that Asgrim and Asmund " went *to the chamber* in which they were told the Earl was sleeping," and there they were at this moment.

P. 158 8. Ásgrím in the text rendered As-gar in the translation.

P. 159 14. Þeir Ásgrímr biðo á Vekels-hauge enom syðra :—" Asgrim waited for him at the *settlement* of We-kell's Barrow " ; instead of : Asgrim and his company waited on the southern Wekel's-Barrow.

P. 160 1. föðor (*gen.*) Asgríms, *read :* faðer (*nom.*).

P. 160 7. Möðro-fell :—" Madder-field " ; instead of : Madder-fell, a different place to Madder-field = Möðro-veller.

P. 161 1-2. Helge gaf Hrólfe . . . öll lönd fyr austan Eyjafiarðar-á frá Hvále upp, ok bió hann í Gnúpo-felle :— " Helge gave Hrod-wolf . . . all the lands *from the east of Ey-frith* from Erne's-hillock up," etc. ; instead of : Helge gave Hrod-wolf . . . all lands on the east side of Ey-frith-*river* up from Erne's-hillock. This place, the northern limit of Hrod-wolf's settlement, was situated about mid-way up the long valley running south from Ey-frith. Hrod-wolf's lands therefore stood in no connection whatever with the sea.

P. 161 8-9. Helgi gaf . . . Þorgeire . . . land út frá Þver-á til Varð-giár :—" Helge gave . . . to Thor-gar . . . land *west* from Thwart-water to Ward-geow " ; instead of : out from, *i.e.*, *north* from Thwart-water to " Ward-geow." Land given to Thorgar as the translation defines it would have covered the main portion of the territory which Helge had already conferred on his son-in-law, Hamund.

P. 161 15. Heðinn enn Milde, not : " Hedin the Mild," but : the Bounteous.

P. 162 13-14. Þeirra son Ongull enn Svarte ; ok Rafn, faðer Þórðar at Stocka-hlöðum, ok Goðríðr (*nom.*) :—" Their

son was Ongul the Black, and Raven, the father of Thord of Stock-lathe, and of Gudrid"; instead of: Their son was Ongul the Black and Raven the father of Thord of Stock-lade, and (their daughter was) Gudrid. By the translation Gudrid is made a daughter of her own brother Raven.

P. 162 $_{17}$. Hann nam land . . . út frá Hniósk-á til Grenevíkr:—"He took land in settlement . . . *west* from Tinder-water to Pine-wick"; instead of: . . . from Tinder-water *north* to Pine-wick. Whatever lies "*west*" from the line of "Tinder-water" to "Pine-wick" lies in the waters of the Ey-frith!

P. 163 $_{11}$. Eyvindr . . . blótaðe þá (*i.e.*, Gunnsteina, acc. pl.):—"Ey-wind . . . sacrificed *there*"; instead of: Ey-wind *worshipped them* (the Gunstones).

P. 164 l. 4 of trans. "He had many children" is added by the translator, from the text of S., with no editorial explanation.

P. 164 $_{15}$. ok braut skip sítt:—"and ran his ship ashore"; instead of: and wrecked his ship; cf. 167 $_{20}$, 168 $_{17}$, and elsewhere.

P. 164 $_{18\text{-}19}$. hann nam land fyr neðan Eyjadals-á:—"He took land in settlement *from under* Ey-dale-water"; instead of: below = north from E.

P. 165 $_{3}$. faðer Þórgeirs Goða:—"father of Thor-gar-gode"; his name was Thor-gar and he was a gode, and he was referred to in speech as Thorgar the Gode, but never was his name Thor-gar-gode.

P. 166 $_{5}$. Horða-land:—"Hausda-land," probably misprint for Haurda-land, which is one of the forms adopted by the translator, the others being Horda-land and Hæreda-land.

P. 166 $_{6}$. Eyvindr fýstesk til Íslannz:—"Ey-wind went to Iceland"; instead of: Ey-wind had a desire to go to Iceland.

P. 167 $_{6}$. Þórey:—"Thor-ney," by misprint, apparently.

P. 167 $_{11\text{-}12}$. hann nam Þegjanda-dal:—"He took in settlement *Thawing*-dale"; instead of: . . . *Silent*-dale.

P. 167 19. Þiódolfs in the text is a mistake for Þórolfs; oddly enough this is corrected in the translation but left standing in the text.

P. 169 8. hann (Onundr) vas son Blæings Sótasonar, bróðer Balca í Hrúta-firðe :—" He was the son of Blaeng, Soti's son, the brother of Balci of *Red*-frith " ; instead of: He was the son of Blaeng Sotisson, *and* brother to Balci of *Ram*-firth.

P. 169 16. Grœnavatn(e), es gengr af Mý-vatne :—" Green-mere that *came* out of Midge-mere " ; instead of: Green-mere, *an offshoot* of Midge-mere.

P. 170 3. Fyr þat vog [read: víg] vóro þeir görver norðan or sveitom :—" for this manslaughter they were driven *north out of that country* " (no country named to which " that country " can refer) ; instead of: for that manslaughter they were *expelled from the communes* in the north.

P. 170 5. Geira-staðer :—" Gar's-dale." Here the text follows Cd., but the translation, the better reading of S. ; no editorial comment.

P. 170 6-8. þeirra börn vóro . . . ok Þórgerðr, es átte Þór-arenn Ingiallz son : þeirra son Helgo-Steinarr :—" Their children were . . . and Thor-*gard*, whom Thorarin, the son of Ingi-ald, the son of Helga Stan-here, had to wife " ; instead of: . . . and Thor-*gerd*, whom Thorarin Ingiald's son had to wife : their son was Helga's-Steinar. So, by the translation, Thorarin, the father of " Helgo-Steinarr," becomes his *own son's grandson*.

P. 170 12-13. þá fór hann til Íslannz :—" then Einar bought a ship and sailed to Iceland." " Bought a ship " is a loose translation of " þá kauper Einar í skipe " (in S.) = then Einar bought a part in a ship. But why these words should enter into the translation when they are excluded from the text, seems odd.

P. 170 14. Þeir siglðo fyr norðan land ok vestr um Slétto í fiörðenn :—" They sailed north about the land, and went into the *friths* round Plain " ; instead of: they sailed north about the land, and west round Plain into

the frith—"fiörðenn," acc. sing., taken for "fiörðona," acc. pl. of fiörðr!

P. 170 17-18. Svá helgoðo þeir ser allan Öxar-fiörð:—"*and then* they hallowed to themselves all Ax-frith": instead of: *thus* (*i.e.*, in this manner) they hallowed to themselves all Ax-frith. The manner of the hallowing was unique in the history of the settlement.

P. 170 21. Glíro Halli:—"Glire Hall," but 172 11 "Glera Hall."

P. 171 9-10. Oddr fór at leita þeirra, ok fann þá báða ærenda, ok hafðe hvíta-biörn drepet þá, ok só or þeim blóðet:—"A white bear slew them both, Arn-gar and Thorgils. Ord went forth to seek them and the bear was by them and sucking their blood"; instead of: Odd went in search of them and found them both dead, and a white bear had killed them and was sucking the blood out of them.

P. 171 11. Oddr drap biörnenn ok fœrðe heim, ok át allan:—"Ord slew the bear, and ate it all"; instead of: O. slew the bear *and brought it home* and ate it all.

P. 172 1. Húns-ness *read* Hunds-ness; the translator has got at the right reading as he translates: "Hounds-ness." Why was the text then not corrected at the same time?

P. 172 15. Hroðgeir:—"Hrod"; "gar" left out inadvertently.

P. 173 8. Vápna-fiarðar-ár:—"Weapon-frith"; instead of: Weapon-frith-river, which here makes all the difference.

P. 174 3. Þórsteinn:—"Thor-beorn"; erroneously.

P. 174 18. ok lifðe her fá vettr:—"and lived *there* a few winters"; instead of: and lived *here* (in this land) but a few winters.

P. 175 6-7. Hakon . . . nam Iökuls-dal allan fyr vestan Iökuls-á, ok fyr ofan Teigar-á, ok bió á Hakonar-stöðum:—"Hacon took . . . all Iockle's-dale from the west of Iockle's-river," the rest of the quotation is sprung over; instead of: Hakon took . . . all "Iockle's"-dale on the

western side of "Iockle's"-river, and above Teig-water, and dwelt at Hakon's-stead.

P. 175 10. þann löðgo þeir til hofs:—"they gave it to the Temple"; instead of: this they set apart for *a* temple (which was not in existence yet when the gift was made).

P. 176 3-6. Ketill ok Graut-Atle . . . námo land í Fliótz-dale, . . . Lagar-fliótz-strander báðar: Ketill fyr vestan Fliótz-á, miðle Hengi-fors-ár ok Orms-ár . . . 176 20-21 Graut-Atle nam ena eystre strönd Lagar-fliótz, allt á midle Gilj-ár ok Valla-ness, fyr vestan Oxa-lœk:—"Cetil and Grout-Atle . . . took land in settlement in Fleet-dale . . . Cetil took in settlement *both banks of Lake-fleet from the west of Fleet-water*, between Hang-force-river and Worm's-river . . . Grout-Atle took in settlement the east strand of *all* Lake-fleet between *Gill* and Field-ness, west of Oxen-beck"; instead of: Ketil and Grout-Atle . . . took land in Fleet-dale . . . both banks of Lake-fleet: Ketil, to the west of the Lake-Fleet, between Hang-force-river and Worm's-river . . . Grout-Atle took the eastern bank of Lake-fleet *all the way* between Gill-*river* and Fields'-ness, west of Oxen-beck.—The topography here is very clear when we eliminate from the text the Editor's mistake in introducing a "Fliótz-á." Cd., on which the text here is based, reads Fliót, short for Lagar-fliót, "Lake-fleet," which is quite accurate. But S. reads: Fliotz aa milli Hengifors aar, etc. Here the *z* in Fliotz is an involuntary scribal repetition of *z* in Lagarfliotz in the same or the preceding line of the MS. From the phrase: aa miðle = amidst, between, the Editor has cut the aa and tacked it on to Fliotz, and thereby obtained the river-name Fliotz-á; but no river so called exists in the whole of Iceland, for the simple reason that such a name in Icelandic would be about as impossible as *Fluminis-amnis* would be in Latin. This mistake once removed leaves the statement of Cd. perfectly clear: Each brother settles a certain portion of either bank of Lake-fleet; Ketil the *western*, from Hang-force-river (up

the valley) to Worm's-river (down the valley); Atle, the *eastern*, from Gill-river (up valley) to Field-ness (down valley). There is no justification for making "Cetil" settle *both banks* of Lake-Fleet. We shall see, presently, how important it was to understand this passage of "Landnáma-Bóc" correctly.

P. $176_{9\text{-}11}$. (*Context:* "Cetil bought from Veþorm Arneid, earl Asbeorn's daughter, whom Holmfast, the son of Veþorm, had taken captive)—þá es þeir Grímr systor-son Veþorms, drápo Asbiörn iarl í Suðreyjom:—"What time Grim We-thorm's sister's son slew earl Os-beorn in the Southreys"; instead of: When Holmfast and Grim, etc., "þeir," they, implying both cousins.

P. 176_{16}. Enn es kaupet var orðet—"but when the bargain had been made"—is left out.

P. 177_{5}. Brynjolfr . . . nam land fyr ofan fiall: Fliótz-dal allan fyr ofan Hengifors-á, fyr vestan; en fyr ofan Gils-á fyr austan; . . . ok svá Völlona út til Eyvindar-ár:—"Bryne-wolf . . . took in settlement land *down from* the Fell, all Fleet-dale *down from* Hang-force-water on the west, and *down from* Gil's-water on the east; . . . and also the *field* or *plain* to Ey-wind's river"; instead of: and took in settlement land *above* the Mountain (a standing term for the range of mountains which divides the Fleet-dale-district from the neighbouring East-firths), all Fleet-dale *above* Hang-force-water on the western side, and *above* Gil's-water on the east side and also the *Fields* out (= east) to Ey-wind's-water.

In the preceding chapter it was plainly stated, as the paragraph on $176_{3\text{-}6}$ shows, that Cetil's land reached down along the west bank of Lake-fleet from Hang-force-river to Worm's-river, and that his brother's reached down, along the east bank, from Gill-river to Fields'-ness. How then could the translator come upon the idea that Bryniolf's land-take stretched "*down from* Hang-force-water on the west, and *down* from Gil's-water on the east," and thus covered the very settlements of Cetil and Atle? This becomes all the more incredible, when it is

borne in mind that "fyrir ofan" never can mean anything but ***above.***

P. 177 16. fyr ofan Gils-á :—"*down from*"; instead of: ***above.***

P. 178 15. Hans (*i.e.*, Hrafnkels) son vas Asbiörn, faðer Helga; ok Thorer (nom.), faðer Hrafnkels :—"His son was As-beorn, the father of Helge and of Thore" (gen.), etc.; instead of: His sons were As-beorn father of Helge, and Thore, etc. The translation makes Thore son of his brother Asbeorn, instead of of Hrafnkel ("Raven-kell").

P. 180 3. Þeir Hróarr, not: "Hrod-gar's folk," but: he (*i.e.*, Tiorve) and Hrod-gar (his uncle, cf. 179 20).

P. 181 10-11. En þeir fóst-bræðr tóko Austfiörðo (acc. pl.) :—"And the sworn-brethren made East-*frith* (sing.); a bay of this name is unknown. But Austfirðir—East-friths—is a standing collective term for the indented littoral of eastern Iceland from Lodmund-frith in the north to Swan-frith in the south. "Tóko Austfiorðo" therefore = made the East-friths.

P. 181 15. en es hann hafðe lítla hríð leget :—"and when he had *been* a little while"; instead of: and when he had laid down a little while.

P. 181 19. Ingolfs-höfða, Editor's mistake; silently corrected into Heor-laf's-head (Hiörleifs-höfða) in the translation.

P. 182 8. austr fyr Sólheima :—"east *upon* Sun-ham"; instead of: east *beyond* Sun-ham.

P. 184 6. Þórhaddr enn Gamle vas hof-goðe í Thróndheime inn á Mærine :—"Thor-heard the Old was Temple-gode in Throwend-ham *inside on* the More"; instead of: in "Throwend-ham" *up at* More. The translation gives to understand that "More" was a district; but Mærin was the name of the most ancient temple in "Throwend-ham," up at the head of the bay.

P. 184 16-17. fyr neðan Tinnodals-á ok út til Orms-ár :—"*north* of *Tinder*-dale-water and out to Worm's-river"; instead of: *down below (i.e., east of) Flint*-dale-water and out (= *east*) to Worm's-river. North of Flint-dale

water there is nothing but a barren mountain of no extent.

P. 185 4-5. ok nam þar alla ena nœrðre strönd Berofiarðar:—"and there took in settlement all the *nether* strand of Bear-frith"; instead of: the *northern-(most)* strand . . .

P. 185 5-6 ok fyr sunnan um Búlanz-nes, ok inn til Rauða-skriðna öðrom megin; ok bió þriá vettr þar es nú heiter Skále:—"and on the south over By-land's-ness and on to Red-slip on the other side, and there he dwelt three winters at the place now called Hall"; instead of: and on the south side (of Bear-frith he took all the coast) round Byland's-ness and up to Red-screes on the other side; and he dwelt for three winters at the place now called Hall (Skale). This homestead is still in existence on the *northern* shore of Bear-frith, and not, as the translation indicates, on the south of Bylands-ness in the neighbourhood of Red-slip.

P. 185 9. Biorn . . . nam Alfta-fiörð enn nœrðra:—"Biorn . . . took in settlement *Nether* Elfets-frith"; instead of: *Northernmost* "Elfet's"-frith.

P. 188 17. hafðe með ser kono sína ok sono:—"and *son*" instead of: *sons.*

P. 188 20. á Nesiom:—"at the Ness"; instead of: in the Nesses, cf. note to 23 20.

P. 188 16, 22. Hrollaugr . . . fór austr þannog:—"Hrodlaug . . . went to the coast to where they were"; instead of: H. went east thither (*i.e.*, to Horn-frith, in the extreme east of the country from "Lear-voe" in the extreme S.W.).

P. 189 1-2. ok nam land austan frá Horne til Kví-ár:—"and took land . . . east of Cape-Horn to Fold-river"; instead of: from Cape Horn in the east south to Fold-river.

P. 190 1-2. Auðunn . . . keypte land . . . útan frá Hömrom (dat. pl.) ok út öðrom megin til Við-borz:—"Ead-wine . . . bought land . . . out from Hammer and on the other side to Wood-ford"; instead of: "Ead-wine" . . . bought land up from Hammers and

round (the head of the bay) out to "Wood"- (or Wind-) board on the other side.

P. 190 6. Skála-fell :—"Horn-fell"; misprint for Hall-fell (?)

P. 190 5-6. Heina-bergs-ám :—"Hoan-rock-river," but seven lines further: "Horn-quarry-river"; "Hoan" and "Horn" apparently mistakes for Hone. Hone-stone-rivers is a close translation of the name.

P. 191 5. undan Tofta-felle :—"under Toft-fell"; instead of: *away from under* Toft-fell.

P. 192 17. Ketill enn Fíflske :—"Cetil the Fool," but 235 8: "Beguiler."

P. 193 14. land *read* lönd.

P. 194 13. leifðe þeim eige þar vist :—"would not let *him*" instead of "*them*" have quarters there.

P. 195 3-4. tímgaðesk :—"*throve*"; instead of: *bred*.

P. 197 17. meiddesk sialfr í viðom (dat. pl.) :—"was himself maimed by the mast"; instead of: in (amidst) the timber (on board), or the timbers of the broken ship; "by the mast" is an impossible rendering of "í viðom."

P. 198 18. Eyvindr enn Eyverske :—"Ey-wend the Ey-wersh [Island-dweller]"; instead of: "Ey-wend" *the Orkney-man*, or *of Orkney*.

P. 200 15. þar bió faðer hans, left out in the translation.

P. 200 18. Þrase vas son Þórolfs :—"Thrase was the son of Thor-wolf Horn-breaker"; this by-name does not belong to Thor-wolf but to his father "Heriolfr," cf. 200 11.

P. 201 1-3. Skógom (dat. pl. of Skógar) :—"Shaw"; instead of: Shaws, three times.

P. 202 8. sende Haralldr konungr menn til hans :—"King Harold sent *a man* . . ."; instead of: . . . *men* . . .

P. 202 15. Þórgerðr :—"Thor-borg" wrongly.

P. 203 10-11. Eyja-sandr :—"Ey-sands," the name is used only in sing.

P. 203 20. Eldo-eið :—"Ellide's tarbet" is an acknowledged false etymology.

P. 203 21. fór svá norðr í Álost á Sandnes :—"went north to Alost in Sandness"; instead of: went north to

Sandness in Alost; Sandness being Thorolf's homestead in the island of Alost.

P. 204 8. from "miðle, after lönd," to "miðle, after land" (l. 10) all is left out in the translation.

P. 204 10-11. Allt fyr norðan Reyðar-vötn:—"right up to *Reyd-mere*" (Reyðr otherwise generally translated Trout-); instead of: all to the north of *Trout-meres*.

P. 204 14-17. Hœngr hafðe ok under sér lönd öll fyr austan Rang-á ena eystre, Vaz-fell til lœkjar þess es fellr fyr útan Breiðabólstað, ok fyr ofan Þver-á, allt nema Dufþax-hollt ok Mýrena:—"Salmon" (*i.e.*, "Cetil Hong [Salmon]," p. 203 tr. 4, 1) "had also under him all the land to the east of East Rang-river *and* Mere-fell to the beck that runs outside the Broad-bowster and above Thwart-water, all save Duf-thac's-holt and the Mere"; instead of: Salmon had also under him all lands to the east of East Rang-river: Waterfell, to wit, unto the beck that flows on the west side of "Boad-bowsterr," and above Thwart-water all (land) save "Duf-thac's"-holt and the Mere.

P. 206 3. föðor-systor:—"foster-sister"; instead of: father's sister.

P. 207 5. Biór einn lá ónumenn fyr austan Fliót, miðle Cross-ár ok Ioldo-steins:—"a gore of land lay between Cross-river and Marc-rock"; instead of: a gore of land lay *unsettled east of (Marc-)Fleet*, between Cross-river and *Mare's*-rock.

P. 208 6. fóro útan:—not: "went *forth*," but: went *from the west*.

P. 208 10-12. Um víg þesse urðo Baugs sýner seker aller or Hlíðenne; fór Gunnar í Gunnars-holt; en Eyvindr under Fiöll austr í Eyvindar-hóla; en Sniall-Steinn út í Sniallz-höfða:—"For *this slaughter* the sons of Beag were made outlaws *all over* the Lithe. Gunn-here went to Gunn-here's-holt, and Ey-wend-*under-Fell* eastward to Eywend's-hill, and Stan went to Snell's-head"; instead of: for *these manslaughters* the sons of Baug were outlawed *all of them* from the Lithe; "Gunn-here" went into

residence at (*i*) "Gunn-here's"-holt, but "Ey-wend" went east under the Fells (*i.e.*, Ey-fells, Eyjafiöll) into residence at (*i*) "Ey-wend's"-hills; but Snell-stan went into residence *west* (út) at Snell's-head. No "Ey-wend-" under-Fell is known to have existed.

P. 208 19-20. Þeir vóro báðer afreks-menn um afl ok vænleik:—"they were both men *of valour*, strong and *determined*"; instead of: they were both *peerless* men for strength and *goodliness*.

P. 210 3. Þann (acc. sing.) *read* þeim (dat. plur.).

P. 210 4. Þá bað Mörðr til handa Eilífe Þórkötlo Ketil-biarnar-dóttor . . . en til handa Sigmunde bað hann (Mörðr) Arngunnar:—"Then Mord asked for Thor-katla, Cetil-beorn's daughter, on behalf of Eilif . . . But as for Sigmund, he *took to wife* Arn-gund"; instead of: but on behalf of Sigmund he (Mord) asked for Arngunn.

P. 211 7. Odda enn lítla:—"Little-point"; but l. 10 Oddi is translated Ord; elsewhere "Ord or Edge," Oddi never meaning Edge.

P. 212 17. Þórsteinn lét reka (*read* telja) sauð sínn or rétt tottogo hundroð; en þá hlióp alle (*read* alla) réttena þaðan af:—"Thorstan *was wont to* tell over his sheep, *driving them out of the fold* twenty hundred, and then *they stopped counting* for the sheep took to leaping the wall"; instead of: Thorstein had his sheep counted out of a fold up to twenty hundreds, but thereon all the sheep in the fold rushed out.—"Reka" of the text depends on no MS. authority; a footnote by the Editor states that "telja" is the reading of S., leaving it to be inferred that "reka" is the reading of Cd. (Hawk's book), but both MSS. agree in this passage word for word.

P. 213 1. rak sauðenn allan út í forsenn:—"all the sheep rushed down into the Water-fall"; instead of: all the sheep were driven (by magic) into the force.

P. 213 10. en hann galt eige; þvi at hann hafðe sent konunge lítlo áðr hest, etc.:—"but he would not pay, *though* he had sent the king a little before a horse," etc.; instead of: . . . *because* he had sent, etc.

P. 214 12. Þorunnar-halsar, not: Thor-wen's-neck, but: Thor-wen's-necks.

P. 214 22-23. svá at þat hefer enge fundet síðan :—" so that *nought of it* hath *ever* been found "; instead of: so that *no one* has found it *since*.

P. 215 1. Þórsteinn átte fyrr Þóríðe Gunnar's dóttor, Hámundarsonar :—" Thor-stan had to wife first Thor-rid Gun-here's daughter, the son of Ha-mund "; instead of: . . . Thor-rid daughter of " Gun-here " the son of Ha-mund.

P. 215 6. strander *read* Strander.

P. 215 16. Flose átte Goðrúno, Þóris-dóttor, Skegg-Brodda sonar :—" Floce (by misprint) had to wife Gudrun, Thore's-daughter. the son of Beard-Brord "; instead of: . . . Gudrun daughter of Thore the son of Beard-" Brord."

P. 216 1. Rangár-völlo alla ena ýtre :—" Outer Rang-river-wold "; for: the whole of West Rang-river-*wolds*.

P. 216 17. Þiórsár-holta (gen. pl.) :—" of Steers-river-*holt*," for: *holts*.

P. 217 1-2. Hann vas faðer Iórunnar, móðor Goðrúnar, móðor Einars, föðor Magnús byscops :—" He was the father of Ior-wen, the mother of Gudrun, the mother of Einar, the *mother* of bishop Magnus "; instead of: . . . *father* of bp Magnus!

P. 217 17. fyr útan Rauða-lœk :—"*from outside* Red-beck "; instead of: *westward from* Red-beck.

P. 217 21. Asgautr :—" Os-gar," which otherwise represents Asgeirr, and must be a mistake for As-geat.

P. 218 4-5. Hann átte Þórunne Eyversko :—" He had to wife Thor-wen the Island-dweller "; instead of: . . . " Thor-wen " *of Orkney*.

P. 218 7. þaðan (*i.e.*, from " Háfe ") hafðe Hialte, mágr hans, reiðskióta til alþingis :—" Thence did Sholto, his *son-in-law*, get mounts to go to the All-moot "; instead of: from thence Hialti, his (*i.e.*, Þorwald of Ridge's) *brother-in-law*, got mounts to go to the Althing. Hialte was *son-in-law* of Gizur the White, whose daughter, Vilborg, was his wife. But Thor-wald of the Ridge, son

of Skeggi of Haf, was married to Koltorfa, Hialte's sister.[1]

P. 218 14. nam land fyr útan Þiórs-á :—" took land . . . *beyond* Steer's-river "; instead of: *west* of Steers-river. " Beyond " conveys no topographical sense here.

P. 218 18. Sumer *read* sumar.

P. 219 3. Vemundr enn Gamle . . . mágr Biarnar Buno :—" the *kinsman-in-law* of Beorn Buna "; this vagueness was not called for here, since in p. 25 4 it had been clearly stated that Beorn had to wife Velaug; the sister of Vemund, whose *brother-in-law*, therefore, he was.

P. 219 11. Alviðra :—" *All-water* "; an unexpected rendering, seeing that the name had already been appropriately translated All-weather, p. 105 2, 109 4— " water " is out of the question.

P. 219 19-20. Ketill Hello-flage :—" Cetil *Cave-flag* "; instead of: *Slate-* or *Slab-flaker*. We have here again a case of " hello," gen. sing. of " hella," a slab, being mistaken for " hellis," gen. sing. of " hellir," a cave!

P. 220 5. mægðesk við Hákon iarl Griótgarz son :— " was become kinsman-at-law to earl Hacon Gritgardsson "; Harald married Asa, daughter of Earl Hakon; therefore the translation should run: had become *son-in-law* to, etc.

P. 220 8-9. Þeir fundosk á Fiolom í Stafa-ness-vége :— " They met *at Fiola in Staff-ness-voe* "; instead of: they met *in Staff-ness-voe* in *(the folkland of) Fialer*. The translator evidently thought that Fiola was some place (island presumably) within the bay of Staff-ness; but it is the same folk-land which he calls Fiolom 19 3, 55 12, and Fialafolk 218 21.

P. 220 19. Holtom, dat. pl. :—" *Holt* "; for *Holts*.

P. 220 21. Stiornu-steinom :—" *Stern-stone* "; for *Stern-stones*. But it seems odd to render stiornu, gen. sing. of stiarna, a star, by *Stern*; and the alternative rendering: " *or* Anchor-rock," makes stiornu a gen. of stiðri, an anchor, which does not mend matters.

P. 221 3. Atle vas faðer Þórðar Dofna, föðor Þorgils Errobeins-stiúps :—" Atle was the father of Thord Domne,

[1] Cf. Kristnisaga, Biskupasögur I. 21.

the father of Thorgils, Scarleg's *step-father*"; instead of: the father of Thorgils *the stepson* of Scarleg. Only three pages further on the story is clearly told: Thord the father of Thorgils had for wife Thorunn daughter of Asgeir. Thord was lost at sea. A year later *Thorgrim Scarleg* comes to live with his widow, Thorunn, and ultimately marries her and becomes her son's stepfather (Orig. I. p. 223_{9}-224_{2}).

P. 221_{7}. Olvér hafðe land-nám allt fyr útan Gríms-á:—"Alwe took in settlement all along *out to* Grims-water"; instead of: "Alwe" had all the settlement west of Grim's-water. "Fyr útan" can never mean "out to."

P. $221_{17\text{-}18}$. hans son var Tyrfingr, faðer Þórríðar, móðor Tyrfings, föðor Þórbiarnar prestz, ok Hámundar p(restz) í Goð-dölom:—"His son was Tyr-fing, the father of Thorrid, the mother of Tyrfing, the father of Thor-beorn the priest of God-dales"; instead of: . . . the father of priest Thor-beorn, *and of priest Hamund* of God-dales.

P. 222_{10}. Sigurðr Hrise:—"Sig-rod Bastard," but 299_{21}: "Sig-rod Wrise."

P. 222_{11}. Þiórs-á:—"*Sker's-river*" for: *Steer's-river.*

P. $222_{20\text{-}21}$. (Context: Erne of Weal's-garth (?) summons Bod-were for sheep-stealing. Bod-were handsells all his goods to Atle, son of Ha-stan)—en hann (*i.e.*, Atle) únýtte mál fyrer Erne:—"but he got the case squashed *by* (*Corrigenda:* against) Erne"; instead of: but he brought the action of Erne to nought.

P. $223_{10\text{-}11}$. Hann reið heim um nótt, ok vas í blárre kápo:—um nótt, by night, omitted from the translation.

P. 224_{4}. Sand-lœkr:—"Sheep-brook"; but 225_{13} the same stream is rightly called Sand-brook.

P. 224_{7}. Thorer Dríva:—"Thore Dufa," probably misprint.

P. $225_{18\text{-}19}$. Þvi vas hann Barna-karl kallaðr, omitted.

P. $226_{9\text{-}10}$. móðer Þóroddz Goða, föður Skafta:—". . . father of *Long-shaft.*" This is the same famous Speaker-at-law who otherwise figures in the translation under these sundry aliases: Skafte or Shafto 182_{21}, 217_{15},

Skapte 232_{20}, Scapte or Shafto 299_5; he is never called by any name that suggests Long-shaft. It really looks as if "langa-spiót" or "löngum-spaða," from the family of the Earls of Normandy, had wandered here by some inadvertence into the translation.

P. $227_{20\text{-}21}$. (þeir) námo enn œfra hlut Hruna-manna-hrepps, sjón-hending or Múla í Ingiallz-gnúp, fyr ofan Gyldar-haga:—"by taking the upper part of the Rape o' the men of Rune straightforward [*i.e.*, as the crow flies] from *Mull in Ingiald's-peak down over* Gyldes-hay"; instead of: by taking the upper part of the Rape of the men of Rune according to a straight line from the Mull (mentioned a few lines above) unto Ingiald's-peak *above* Gyld-Pasture. Fyr ofan can never mean "down over" any more than it can mean "down below." Clearly the line indicated, the sjón-hending, "glance-throw," passed from the Mull east to Ingiald's-Peak by the *north* of Gyld-Pasture.

P. 228_7. Hann (Ketilbiorn) kom í Ellíða-ár-ós fyr neðan Heiðe:—"He put into the mouth of Ellide's-river, *north* of Heath [Blue-Shaw-heath]." The correctness of this parenthetical explanation is more than doubtful. The paragraph from which our quotation is drawn has found its way into the Sturlunga Saga, I. 203, in a somewhat dislocated form; making no mention of Ketilbiorn's place of landing or of its relation to the heath, but averring that he stayed with Thord Skeggi, his father-in-law, the first winter in Iceland "*below Blue-Shaws'-heath*" (Bláskóga heiðe). This italicized statement proves itself by its vagueness to be an interpolation by one who did not know the dwelling-place of Thord. The interpolator read, namely in Hawk's book, that Ketilbiorn went the next spring up over the Heath in search of land and erected a temporary shed at Hall-brink in *Blue-Shaws*,[1] and, ignorant of the localities, jumped to the conclusion that the Heath that Ketilbiorn had crossed to reach Blue-Shaws must have been Blue-Shaws'-heath. Sturla

[1] Sturla's "Landnáma" makes no mention of Blue-Shaws.

Thordson could not be the author of the statement, for he knew well enough where Thord dwelt and where Ketilbiorn stayed the first winter, namely, as he states in his "Landnáma," at *Skeggi's-stead* on the southern bank of Loam-voe's-river within the parish of Mosfell the Southmost, in the immediate proximity of *Mosfells-heath*, which indeed is "the Heath" in question here. But Blue-Shaw-heath was the upland wilderness north of the basin of the lake of Thing-vellir, dividing Borgfrith from the South-Country, a long distance to NE. from Thord Skeggi's residence. Any locality situated "*north*" of Blue-Shaws'-heath must be in a howling wilderness of lavas and scoriac sands.—Some authors have been inclined, on the authority of the Sturlunga passage, to suppose that Moss-fell's-heath was called Blue-Shaws'-heath of old. The transparent spuriousness of the interpolated words deprive that passage of all credit.

P. 228 11. kómo þeir at á þeirre es þeir kölloðo Œxar-á :—"they came to *a river*, which they called *the river* Axe-water"; instead of: they came to *the* river which they called Axe-water.

P. 229 9-10. þá ók hann silfre*t* upp á fiallet, á tveimr yxnom, ok Hake þræll hans, ok Bót ambótt :—"then he drove the silver up on the fell behind *or* on two oxen, and Hake his thrall, and Bot his bond-woman"; instead of: then he and Hake his thrall and Bot his bond-woman carted the silver on two oxen up on to the mountain.

P. 232 17. fyr útan Varm-á :—"*outside* Warm-river"; instead of: *west* of Warm-river.

P. 233 5. Súgande :—"Stigande," wrongly.

P. 235 5. Graut-Atle ok Ketell Þiðranda syner :— . . . "*son*," for *sons*, cf. p. 176 3.

P. 235 10. Höfða-Þórðr :—"Thord o' the Heads"; but Thord of Head 84 1, Thord o' Head 129 13, 134 5, 135 1, 141 1, 144 10.

"LIBELLUS ISLANDORUM."

P. 287 3-4. En með þvi at þeim líkaðe svá at hava eða þar viðr auca, þá skrifaða-ec þessa of et sama far . . . :—"And with as much of it as they wished to have thus or to add thereto. I have written also this one of the same. . . ." Instead of: But according as it pleased them to let the matter stand as it was, or to add thereto, I wrote this (book) on the same course of events (far).

P. 288 12. Hann bygðe suðr í Reykjar-vic,—þar es Ingolfs-höfðe callaðr, fyr austan Minþacs-eyre, sem hann com fyrst á land:—"He settled south in Reek-wick, *at a place* called Ing-wolf's head, east from Min-thac's Eyre, where he first came to land"; instead of: He settled south in Reek-wic. It is called Ingolf's-head there, east of Minthaks Eyre, where he first came to land. Ingolf's-head on the east coast of Iceland is separated from Reykjavík by a distance of more than 200 miles. This mistake would certainly have been obviated if in the text the punctuation of the MSS. had been observed, which put a full stop after "Raikiar vic," and in which all editions of "Libellus" agree.

P. 292 21. Helga (woman):—"Helge" (man); the same mistake we have met with elsewhere.

P. 292 22. En þeir vóro sótter á þinge því es vas í Borgar-firðe í þeim stað es síðan es callat Þing-nes:—"*And the suit was taken* at the Moot that was in Borg-frith, in the place that was afterwards called Thing-ness"; instead of: But *they* (Thorvald Tongue-Odd's son and Hen-Thore) *were prosecuted*, etc.

P. 295 3. Þiórs-á:—"Thurs-water"; otherwise Steer's- and Sker's-water!

P. 295 4. Þiórs-ár-dalr:—"Thurs-water-Dale"; otherwise Steer-water-, Steer's-river-, and Thior's-water-dale.

P. 295 4. Gizorr enn Hvíte Teitz son, Ketilbiarnar sonar:—"Gizor the White, the son of Tait, the son of Cetil-beorn's son"; instead of: . . . the son of Cetil-beorn.

P. 295 12. oc ætlaðe at láta meiða eða drepa ossa landa fyrer (*read* fyrer,) þá es þar vóro austr :—" and was about to have those of our land *murdered* or slain who were then in the east " ; instead of : and intended to have maimed or slain *therefor*[1] those of our countrymen who were east there.—Not for a moment could Are impute to the King the intention of committing *murder ;* besides, " meiða " never means to murder.

P. 300 1, 5. nýtr, not : " accomplished," but : profitable.

P. 300 5-6. Ísleifr átte iii sono ; þeir urðo aller höfðingjar nýter : Gizorr byscop ; oc Teitr prestr, father Hallz ; oc Þórvalldr :—" Is-laf had three sons . . . : Gizor the bishop, and Tait the priest, the father of Hall and Thor-wald " ; a comma or semi-colon after Hall is necessary to remove ambiguity, as Thor-wald was not the son of Tait, as the translation has it, but of Isleif.

P. 302 4-7. vas þat í lög leitt, at aller menn . . . töldo oc v rðo allt fé sítt, oc sóro at rétt virt være, . . . oc gœrðo tíund af síðan :—" it was made law that all men . . . *should count* and *value* all their wealth, and swear what the true worth was . . . and then give tithes thereof " ; instead of : it was made law that all men . . . made a statement and valuation of all their wealth and swore that the appraisement was right . . . and then fixed a tithe thereof. The statement deals with the historical effect of the law, not the purpose of the legislators.

P. 302 9-10. at fè allt vas virt með svar-dögom, þat es á Íslande vas ; oc landet sialft ; oc tiunder af gœrvar :— " that all wealth should be valued under oath that was then in Iceland and tithes given of it " ; instead of : that all wealth then in Iceland was valued under oath, *and even the land itself ;* and tithes were assessed thereon.

P. 303 8. at lög or skyllde scrifa á bóc at Hafliða Móss sonar :—" that our law should be written in a book *by* Haf-lidi Marson " ; instead of : . . . at the house of Haflidi Marson.

[1] That is for the treatment Thangbrand, according to his own report, had been the object of in Iceland.

P. 303 9. at sögo oc umbráðe þeirra Berg-þórs:—"according to the *speech* and counsel of Bergthor"; instead of: according to the *inditement* and *arrangement* of Bergthor and his associates.

P. 303 10. Scylldo þeir gœrva nýmæle þau öll í lögom, es þeim litesc þau betre an en forno lög:—"they were to make all *the novellae in the land*, which they should deem better than the old laws"; instead of: they were to make all *such amendments to the laws*, as seemed to them better than the old laws.

P. 303 12-13. ok þau öll (skyllde) halda es enn meiri hlutr manna mælte þá eige gegn:—"and keep all those which the greater part of men said nought against"; instead of: and all such *should be holden to* as the more part of men *should not* oppose *then*.

P. 303 13-14. en þat varð at fram fara:—"And it came to pass" (that the manslaughter section was then written). The "Editor" deals with "fram fara" as a verb, as one word (framfara), meaning the same thing as the phrase "at fara fram," to proceed, pass. No such verb, however, as framfara is on record. And against its being a verb here is the pret. "varð" = must needs, indicating that the writing down of the law "came to pass" in spite of all opposition. But no such opposition existed. There can be no doubt that here we have to deal with a noun. The old vellum read: "framfara," as is evident from the fact that the word is so written in both the copies taken of it by Jón Ellindsson. "Framfara" must be dat. sing. of framfari (formed in strict analogy with misfari), *progress*. The meaning of the quotation therefore is: And such (þat) progress resulted (varð) or: And it resulted in such a progress that (so and so much was written of the law).

P. 303 19. at biðja skyllde Þórlac Rúnolfs son, Þórleics sonar . . . at hann skyllde láta vígjasc til byscops:—"that they should ask Thorlac, Run-wolf's son, the son of Thorlac,"[1] etc.; who, then, was "son of Thorlak" according to the translation?

P. 304 1-2. Ok fór hann útan þat sumar; en com út et næsta epter. ok vas þá vígðr til byscops:—And he [Thor-lac] went abroad that summer, and came out the next after and was then hallowed bishop"; instead of: and was then a hallowed bishop; "var vígðr" with a pluperfect sense: was already = had been consecrated bishop.

P. 304 7. þá vas Ioan Ogmundar son vígðr til byscops fyrstr til stóls at Hólom:—"then John, Ogmund's son, was hallowed bishop first to the sea of Holar"; instead of: was hallowed *the first* bishop to the see of Holar.

P. 304 8-10. En xii vetrom síðarr, þá es Gizorr hafðe allz vereð byscop xxxvj vetra, þá vas Þórlácr vígðr:—"But twelve winters *after Gizor had been made bishop*, in all six-and-thirty winters, then Thor-lac was hallowed . . ."; instead of: But twelve winters later, whenas Gizor had been bishop for altogether six-and-thirty winters, Thor-lac was hallowed.—In the lines immediately preceding this quotation Ari says, that Bp John was consecrated, when Gizor had been Bp for xxiiij years, but xii winters later, when Gizor had been bishop (xxiiij + xii =) thirty-six years, Thorlac was consecrated. This happened, not as the translation says twelve years after Gizor's, but twelve years after John of Holar's consecration.

P. 304 11. Þá vas Þórlácr ii vetrom meir an xxx:—"Thor-lac was *there* (*i.e.*, at Skalaholt presumably) two winters more than thirty"; instead of: Thorlac was *then* (at the time of his consecration) thirty-two years of age. But his episcopal sojourn at Skalaholt extended only to fifteen years.

[1] The translation gives Thorlac for both the names Þórlakr and Þórleikr, with the sole exception of the latter being rendered Thor-laic p. 98 12.

EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON.

REVIEWS.

THE SAGA LIBRARY. Done into English out of the Icelandic by WILLIAM MORRIS and EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON. 6 Vols. *London: Bernard Quaritch. Price* 12*s.* 6*d. net.*

THE appearance of the sixth volume of the Saga Library gives the opportunity for a brief notice as a whole of this great undertaking, now, alas! never likely to be completed. Among the works originally promised were translations of the two Eddas and of various important Sagas, besides re-issues of the Volsunga Saga, Grettir's Saga, and the three short Sagas published under the title of "Three Northern Love Stories." We appeal to Mr. Magnússon and Mr. Quaritch to include at least these latter in the series under review. It is surely owing to the memory of William Morris that the great work he projected should include all the Sagas which he himself helped to translate, and these works have been long out of print.

Although the performance falls short of the promise, yet a goodly tale of work remains, for which lovers of the Sagas may well be thankful. The six published volumes contain, first, three short Sagas of varying types, the stories of Howard the Halt, of the Banded Men, and of Hen Thorir; second, "Eyrbyggja," one of the greater Sagas, and "Heiðarviga Saga," which is one of the oldest and of great interest, though unhappily incomplete; thirdly, running through the last four of the published volumes, the great historical work known as "Heimskringla," which has long won a recognized place among the world's great histories. This is now for the first time Englished directly from the original Icelandic, the version by Samuel Laing, for which many of us have had cause to be devoutly thankful, being rendered from a version in modern Norwegian. When to these translations are added prefaces dealing fully with the history and geography of the Icelandic Sagas, notes, lists and explanations of kennings, genealogies, indexes, etc., some idea of the value of the work to scholars and students may be gleaned.

First and foremost, however, stands the translation itself, and, as the style of the Saga Library has provoked much criticism, not altogether without reason, owing to William Morris's love of archaic English, it is only fair to quote what Mr. Magnússon in the preface to the latest volume has to say in defence:—

> As to the *style* of Morris little need be said except this, that it is a strange misunderstanding to describe all terms in his translations which are not familiar to the reading public as "pseudo-Middle-English." Anyone in a position to collate the Icelandic text with the translation will see at a glance that in the overwhelming majority of cases these terms are literal translations of the Icelandic originals. . . . It is a strange piece of impertinence to hint at "*pseudo*-Middle-English" scholarship in a man who, in a sense, might be said to be a living edition of all that was best in M.E. literature. The question is simply this: Is it worth while to carry closeness of translation to this length, albeit that it is an interesting and amusing experiment? That is a matter of taste; therefore not of dispute.

Probably everyone who has read and tried to render any portions of the Sagas into English will have felt the fascination alluded to by Mr. Magnússon, and will have been tempted to use the archaic words and phrases that come so closely to the words and idioms of the original Icelandic. Yet it can hardly be denied that it is this feature in these translations which has stood in the way of their popularity, and has given fresh currency to the ignorant idea that Sagas are something strange and weird, in which the average reader would find it impossible to interest himself. Morris's own opinion, quoted in this preface, "that the realism of the Icelandic Sagas would secure for them a perennial popularity in England," would, we believe, prove correct, if once they were put before the reader in a suitable form. In spite of this feature in the translations, and often indeed because of it, they are astonishingly forceful, and, beside them, Laing's version, which is free from archaic oddities, but labours under the disadvantage of being a translation from a translation, seems flat and tame. About all the work of Morris and Magnússon, moreover, there is a literary air which distinguishes it favourably from such versions of Sagas as those contained in the "Origines Islandicae," while they have the great merit of dealing faithfully with their texts, and do not leave integral parts of the story, as it has come down to us, untranslated from a theory that these are later additions to, or expansion of, the material of which the Saga originally consisted.

The new volume of the Saga Library consists of the preface, introduction, indexes, etc., to the "Heimskringla." It is, however, far more interesting even to the general reader than would be supposed from a list of its contents. The preface, besides a very interesting description of the way in which the joint translators divided the work and of their aims and methods, contains a charming appreciation of William Morris by his friend and fellow-worker. A memoir of Snorri Sturlason, the author of "Heimskringla," follows, covering some seventy odd pages. This, to the best of our belief, is the only account of this great historian and his work, on anything like an adequate scale, which has appeared in English. It is divided into two sections, the first biographical, dealing with Snorri as the Chief, and giving a complete picture of his life and of the events in Iceland and Norway in which he played a part. The second deals with Snorri as Author. It includes some account of the writers who preceded him and to whom he was partly indebted for his material, as well as of his different works and the various manuscripts of "Heimskringla" and other historical Sagas connected with it on which we have to depend. Both sections are full of interest, and the second in particular will be of great value to students.

The indexes, of which there are three, are no mere lists of names and page references, but indicate also the subject matter of each reference. They practically form an analysis of the whole work, and will be invaluable to anyone who has to refer to it. The first deals with names of persons and peoples, the second with place-names, giving the modern name and locality, the third with the subject matter. With regard to this third index the author says in the preface:—

> A register or a dictionary of terms illustrative of the culture of the life of the ancient Scandinavians (and Icelanders) has been for a long time a keenly-felt desideratum. This want, so far as the Heimskringla is concerned, ought now, approximately at least, to be supplied; for I trust that nothing of real importance has been overlooked, nor any item included of no importance at all.

This is no idle boast, as may be gathered from the fact that the notices relating to Dress and Weapons, which are grouped together, extend over ten pages, while those relating to the Ship and her equipment cover no les than thirty-three. We have, however, found one omission in the latter on a point where we sought enlightenment. Chapter 51 of the Ynglinga Saga tells how King Eystein, sitting in his ship, was swept overboard by "the sail-yard" of "another ship which was sailing anigh." Laing's version says "the boom of the other ship struck the king." There is no hint that the sail came down, so we fail to see how the king could have been hit by the yard; yet it seems unlikely that the square sail of the period could have been fitted with a boom. The subject-index has no reference to either sail-yard or boom, and we do not find any note which might throw light on the passage.

We have also discovered a misprint in the Index of Places, where Thelmark is described as an "island," instead of an *inland*, "folkland of Norway."

A few such slips are almost inevitable in a work of such labour. They cannot detract from the value of the work, which is a worthy complement of the volumes which have preceded it.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

VIKINGERNE, BILLEDER FRA VORE FORFÆDRES LIV. By ALEXANDER BUGGE. ANDEN SAMLING. *Kjøbenhavn og Kristiania.*

AGAIN Professor Bugge has contributed to the rapidly increasing literature on the Vikings of old, a valuable and highly enjoyable book. It is, perhaps, not quite as fresh as was the volume issued in 1904, but it is every whit as solid, though the topics dwelt on now are not always so fascinating. The subjects Professor Bugge deals with he groups under five headings. After an introductory essay, he comes to the first chapter of his work, the first Viking period in the North. The second chapter deals with the people of the Viking period contrasted with the people of the present time; their similarity to primitive people in general; their higher culture and differences from other primitive people. Chapter three sets forth the itinerary life, and life at Court in the North; and chapter four is occupied with Danes and Norsemen in England.

At starting, our author declares that if we are to come to a thorough understanding of the period which now goes under the name of "Viking-period," we must remember that it was preceded by an earlier period of a similar character, the "Migration-of-Nations" period, which, in round numbers, may be said to run from the middle of the third to the middle of the sixth century.

What in this chapter will arrest special attention is Professor Bugge's

account of the much-debated Eruli, and their relations to the Danes. Danes are first mentioned by Jordanes, who says that they drove the Eruli away from their homes. The primitive home of the Danes was, as students of history generally grant, the southern part of Sweden, now called Skåne (Skaane). From this tract the Danes invaded and made themselves masters of the island and continental territories which now go by the name of Denmark. Want of space prevents our following the Professor's long account of the extraordinary wild and shiftful war wanderings of the Eruli. He comes to the conclusion that they never were a tribal nationality, but a community of warriors from all northern lands. In that respect he attaches a special importance to two facts—first, that no hereditary, but only an elective chiefship obtained among them, and secondly, that, while all other tribes in Scandinavia have given names to the territories they occupied, not a single territorial name traces its origin to the Eruli, or its Scandinavian form Erilar. They were a military caste, not a tribe; hence the fact that Erilar is the primitive form of Jarl, a prince's military and administrative *locum tenens*, not a head of a tribe. Justly, as we think, Professor Bugge lays stress on the fact that Halogaland (The Holy Land), in northernmost Norway, also was active in Viking-warfare at this early period, and was ruled by kings. Halogaland's early wealth and importance must have been due chiefly to its trade in fish.

From Primitive Man, the Viking of the later period retained many traditions, such as not cutting the hair until a deed of prowess conferred the privilege on the wearer. Various savage traits ascribed to Vikings are shown to be revivals of a primitive state of barbarism.[1] Of similar origin is the "Swine-array" of battle, the war-arrow call-to-arms, the devotion of enemies to perdition by the ceremonial throw of a spear over them, insulting altercation as a proem to battle, &c. From past ages superstitions follow the fighter in his bloody career: Valkyrias preside at the high court of battle over life and death, and decide the future state of the fallen; it is they, apparently, who have the power even to spell-bind the doomed by a sort, not of panic fear like the Celtic *geilt*, but of paralysing dismay; associated with the demonic powers of war are ravens, vultures, wolves, which infest the field of battle after the fray. What imagination this association could call forth is shown in Hornklofi's Ravensong, where the Valkyrja addresses the ravens:

What now, ye ravens,	Flesh clogs your talons,
Whence have ye drifted,	Your throat breathes of carrion;
With beaks that are gory	Nigh unto corpses
At break o' the morning?	Ye spent the night, surely?

Professor Bugge lays stress on the fact that, as compared with other primitive people, the Vikings, "in spite of all their barbarism and bloodthirstiness, are not savages; they have a capacity for civilisation." But why? One main cause, we think, was this, that when we get the first glimpse of Viking life in the North, society is already so far advanced

[1] It deserves to be noticed that *torture*, properly speaking, was foreign to Viking ways of doing and acting. We are inclined to father it in the main on Byzantine Christianity.

that the life at least of each free individual is *worth* something; but in that fact is embedded the primitive consciousness of right, and out of that consciousness civilisation flows. The test of a savage is not his conduct to enemies in war, but his manner, when in power, of dealing with his own kith and kin. The difference between the savage and the Viking may perhaps be summed up thus shortly: the former is a slave before God and prince, the latter free before both.

Journeys by sea and travels by land always tell a true tale of the civilisation of the regions they are confined to. "On Journey to the King's Court," is, therefore, a very well-chosen subject by Professor Bugge in illustration of that side of life during the Viking period, which may be labelled "public order." Sea voyages were dangerous on account of pirates infesting particularly the narrower seas. Even more dangerous to travellers than the sea was the land, especially out of the beaten tracks, where, through woods and wildernesses, roamed at large (on *skis* in winter) desperate characters in conflict with the law of the settled land. Only bridle-paths did the service, as a rule, of highways. The real highway for travellers was the sea, hence the site of royal residences of old was near the highway, seaward, not inland. These residences are briefly described, together with their environments, and their difference from West-European castles pointed out. Of buildings in a homestead, the *dyngia*, or women's bower, is specially, but very briefly mentioned. It is a building which is dying out in Norway when its history begins, as no *dyngia* seems to be mentioned there after 898; nor is it on record in Iceland, apparently, after 1024. It does not occur in the songs of the Edda and the *salkonur* of those poems can scarcely be put in connection with the *dyngia*, an underground abode, while the *salr* was an overground one. The last portion of this section is devoted to Harald Fairhair, and his court is shown as an exponent of the great conqueror's state and splendour, and as the intellectual circle of the whole nation.

On the section: "Danes and Norsemen in England" (Britain) we have no space left to say more than that Professor Bugge's study of the Domesday-book ought to be particularly interesting for English historians. Many of his ingenious interpretations he gives as mere guesses which, in the case of such a lapidary record they must necessarily be.

We are most thankful to Professor Bugge for this brilliant contribution to the history of the Vikings; too thankful in fact to care to put on record our dissent from him on various points. The book is a gallery of *pictures* (Billeder) from the life of the Vikings; critical dissertations on debatable points are therefore excluded by the plan of the work; and matters are taken for granted which do not quite answer that description.

The editorial work—owing, no doubt, to the fact that the proofs were read south in Copenhagen—is somewhat lax occasionally. Thus lines 13-14 on page 307 should stand as lines 1-2 on that page. P. 304_{26} for *midderlig* read: *middelalderlig*. P. $309_{22\text{-}23}$ for *Lodbrokssonum* read: *Loðbrókarsonum*.

EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON.

CAITHREIM CELLACHAIN CAISIL; The victorious career of Cellachan of Cashel, or the Wars between the Irishmen and the Norsemen in the middle of the 10th Century. The original Irish Text, edited with translation and notes by ALEXANDER BUGGE, Professor in the University of Christiania, published for "Det Norske Historiske Kildeskriftfond." *Christiania: J. Chr. Gundersens Bogtrykkeri, 1905. Price 5s. net.*

ON THE FOMORIANS AND THE NORSEMAN, by DUALD MACFIRBIS. The original Irish Text, edited with translation and notes by ALEXANDER BUGGE. *Christiania: J. Chr. Gundersens Bogtrykkeri, 1905. Price 1s. 6d. net.*

It is with a certain sense of self-reproach that workers in the field of Irish learning receive from the hands of a Norwegian scholar two texts, now published for the first time from Irish manuscripts, which bear upon the history of the Norsemen in Ireland. Dr. Alexander Bugge has already done good service to the same cause by the publication of his articles in the *Historisk Tidsskrift*; and his recent publication in which, among other questions, he deals with the influence of the Celt on the Norseman,[1] shows that he is not confining his attention exclusively to the historical side of the problems offered by the interaction of the Celtic and Northern races, but is following in the footsteps of his father, Dr. Sophus Bugge, and extending his investigations to the solution of the literary questions that arise out of the historic connection between the two peoples.

The first of the two tracts before us treats of the resistance offered by a prince of Eastern Munster, Cellachan of Cashel, to the Danes of Limerick, Waterford, and Dublin. He lived in stirring times, for he was a contemporary of the famous Olaf Cuaran (Olav Kvaaran) or Olaf o' the Sandal, and if he came to the princedom of Cashel in 934, as Dr. Bugge thinks (he is first mentioned in the Irish annals in the year 936), he rose to local power just before the drawing off of the flower of the Norse troops from Ireland by Olaf Godfreyson, King of Dublin, and Olaf Cuaran, to contend for the Crown of Northumbria at the great battle of Brunanburgh (937) against Æthelstan of England. The power of the Danes must have been much shaken by the decisive defeat sustained at Brunanburgh, and though, in the words of the fierce pæan of victory preserved in the pages of the English Chronicle, "The Northmen departed, in their nailed barks, o'er the deep water, Dublin to seek," it was only a broken fragment of the fine army which returned to Ireland. A few years later (944) the Danes of Dublin were driven out of the city by a prince of Leinster, and the third period of their occupation ended in its total destruction by fire and the flight of the Danes to a neighbouring fort, and the expulsion of Blacaire, their prince and leader.

We do not agree with Dr. Bugge in considering that Sitric, who is mentioned in our Saga as harrying Waterford, and also as a principal chieftain of the Danes of Dublin, was actually King. The frequent

[1] "Vikingerne, Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv." See Part I, page 251.

long absences of the two Olafs from Dublin on foreign expeditions would necessitate the placing of some person of position, probably a prince of one of the royal houses, as acting Lieutenant during their absence. We find Blacaire and Olaf Cuaran both apparently exercising authority on the return of Olaf to Dublin, and it is more natural and simple to suppose that Sitric and Blacaire were military leaders, holding enlarged powers when their princes were absent, than to imagine four reigning princes calling themselves at the same moment Kings of Dublin. This would fulfil all the requirements, and would explain why this Sitric is not mentioned in the Annals. Moreover, we learn from a Northern poem that Sitric was carried off as a hostage for the Danes of Dublin by the powerful King of the O'Neills, Murtough of the Leather Cloaks, whose exploits fill so large a place in the history of this period; and it is unlikely that a prince actually occupying the throne would have been given in hostage for his people. But it was common for a prince of the royal house to be detained in this way; usually the son or cousin of the King or Chief was kept as hostage, and we imagine this to have been the case in the present instance. It was only in the case of Cellachan himself that Murtough, having defeated him, would accept no other hostage, and the fact that he carried away a reigning prince of Munster in fetters to Donegal made a sensation at the time which formed the burthen of many poems.

The career of Cellachan of Cashel is not nearly so creditable or disinterested as is that of the Northern Prince, and we do not wonder at the deadly enmity which is reflected in this Saga as existing between them. It was Murtough who betrayed the coming of Cellachan's deliverers to the Norsemen of Armagh when the Munster prince was shut up there, and who endeavoured to obstruct their passage through his country. Cellachan, during the early years of his life, showed no hesitation in joining with the enemies of his country to gain his own ends; he is more occupied with devastating Meath and Connaught in conjunction with the Gaill than in driving them out of the country; and it is with a certain satisfaction that we see him carried a chained captive to Donegal in his early years, and later, bound to the mast-head of a Danish ship in the harbour of Dundalk. The Annals of Clonmacnois call him "that unruly Kinge of Mounster that partaked with the Danes." Wholly unmindful of the great public events that were happening in his own and the sister countries, Cellachan pursued his own selfish and unworthy policy of self-aggrandizement, and but for the light thrown upon his career by the Saga which bears his name, he would probably have been forgotten by his country.

The piece bears all the ordinary marks of a Munster composition of the period. Its style is florid and it bears so close a resemblance in some passages to the "Wars of the Gael and Gall" that there has either been copying from the one to the other or both have adopted a current method of expression. The second piece before us "On the Fomorians and the Norseman" shows the same knowledge of a common original. This piece, written by the great Irish genealogist, Duald MacFirbis, who lived at the close of the 16th century, is an extract from his large work,

the Book of Pedigrees; it contains a brief summary of the history of the Norse descents, and the pedigrees of Irish families descended from them, with the pedigrees of the MacLeods and MacCabes. Matters of interest in these tracts are the enumeration of the slain chieftains of Munster by the heads brought in from the battle, which closely resembles the old Scoto-Irish "Lay of the Heads"; the mention of the mail-clad Danes, as compared with the Irish troops who fought in their ordinary linen and woven garments, and of the disabilities under which the Irish laboured in consequence; the mention of the wife of the Coarb or Abbot-bishop of Cashel, showing the continuance of marriages among the Irish clergy of high rank up to the 10th century; and that of the famous Amazon, the "Red Maiden," in Tract 2, on which Dr. Bugge gives an interesting note. There are numerous passages which recall similar incidents in romantic tales and in Irish translations from the Classics; some of these Dr. Bugge has pointed out in his notes.

ELEANOR HULL.

BIDRAG TIL DET SIDSTE AFSNIT AF NORDBOERNES HISTORIE I IRLAND. By ALEXANDER BUGGE. Reprint from *Aarböger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1905.

THESE gleanings from the Public Record Office in Dublin deal with traces of the Northmen in Ireland after the English Conquest, and thus form the last link of the author's series of contributions to the history of the Northmen in Ireland. He is inclined to think that, while Dublin and Waterford were Norwegian colonies, Limerick and Cork were Danish, for the two principal Sagas of Munster only apply the names, Danair, Danmarcaigh, and Dark Gentiles, to the settlers of the two last-named towns. In the later centuries, especially after 1170, they were called Eastmen (Ostmanni), and as late as 1295 the spelling Oustmans shows that the Norse pronunciation of the initial diphthong was still kept up. They continued to have their own privileges, liberties and laws, and were considered to be the equals of Englishmen and free men in contradistinction to the Irish natives.

The messengers who urged King Hakon in 1263 to come and take Ireland, "for they held all the best places along the coast," must have been Ostmen.

Armand (ármaðr, ármann), the title of the ruling chieftain of Waterford, who was taken prisoner in 1170, throws a light on the new uses to which Norse terms were applied in Ireland.

The derivation of Wexford from Veisufjörðr, through a thirteenth century form, Wesefordia, is new.

JÓN STEFÁNSSON.

Heroes of Iceland. Adapted from Dasent's Translation of "The Story of Burnt Njal," the great Icelandic Saga. With a new preface, introduction and notes by Allen French. Illustrated by E. W. D. Hamilton. *London: David Nutt. Price 5s.*

It can hardly be denied that there was room for an abridgement of "Burnt Njal." However much we may love and prize Dasent's translation, one has to admit that the complexity of the story and the extraordinary number of persons who pass across its pages make it difficult to bear in mind all the details, or to keep the minor personages distinct, even when one has read it again and again. This must be still more a hindrance with those who are not naturally drawn to the glorious Northern literature and require to be convinced of its beauty and attractiveness, and to them Mr. French's work may be heartily commended. They will find it a very fair representation of the original, while the appreciation of the story in the preface and the introduction are quite sufficient for those who have not time or patience to study Dasent, or the masterly examination of Njala and other Sagas in Professor Ker's "Epic and Romance." The author states that in preparing the abridgement "clearness of meaning and continuity of narrative have been the sole aims," and "it is believed that the present edition contains everything of real interest, in a story without halt, or repetition, or irrelevancy." In re-casting the story on these lines it is inevitable that much of the flavour and charm of the original, which lies partly in the way the story is told, must evaporate, while ideas as to what is of real interest must needs differ greatly; but for the purpose he had in view the author has done his work not unskilfully, though the clash of weapons and slaying of men loom even larger in the abridgement than they do in the original. But boys, to whom the book should appeal, will not find that a fault and, if a few of them are led on to the study of the original and the kindred work of other Sagas, Mr. French will have earned his reward. The illustrations are well conceived, but the artist has little knowledge of the old life of the North and has not studied his text very closely, or he would not have represented Icelanders as fighting half-naked, or the scene of Gunnar's death as in an open valley, instead of in his hall. Possibly the former error, which greatly mars the effect of his drawings, is due to the mention in the Saga of "baresarks" and to an idea that this meant men who fought naked. The winged helmet (see Viking Notes, p. 412) of course appears in several of the pictures, but this is now so firmly established an attribute of the Viking of fiction, or the stage, that an artist can hardly be blamed for adopting it. It is unfortunate, however, that he has chosen to illustrate the words "Many men went over into Hauskuld's Thing" by a picture apparently meant to represent a "trek" from one place to another. The reference is of course merely to that of men transferring themselves from the jurisdiction of one "goði" to another. We must also call attention, as we have had occasion to do before, to a mistaken idea as to the right pronunciation of th in Icelandic. A note on the pronunciation of names says: "Th

has invariably the sound of T." This is true of modern Norwegian or Danish, but not of Icelandic, ancient or modern, where both sounds of th exist as we have them in English.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

FROM PALEOLITH TO MOTOR CAR; OR, HEACHAM TALES. By HARRY LOWERISON. Illustrated. *London: A. J. Whiten and the Clarion Newspaper Co., Ltd.*

THE author describes this book as the first attempt after the late Grant Allen's "Annals of Churnside" to localise English history. This he does in a series of fourteen stories whose scene is Heacham in North-West Norfolk at various dates from the Paleolithic Period to the present day. Local colour is of course very pronounced, and the physical changes which the district has undergone are described, the earliest tale dating back to the time when a plain occupied a great part of what is now the North Sea. Mr. Lowerison's descriptions of prehistoric remains and local discoveries of flint-implements, etc., are interesting and cleverly worked into the stories, while he does perhaps even more than justice to the savagery of man in early times. But from the periods of the Saxon and Danish Settlements, in which we are mainly interested, the clash of arms is almost absent. That a tribe of Saxons should chance to land and settle peacefully on a part of the coast that was deserted owing to pestilence is of course quite possible, but the picture of the Danish landing is less convincing. It is hardly credible that a Danish ship should have left the host to make an independent settlement at a time when Ingvar and Hubba were attacking East Anglia, or that the Saxon warriors of the coast villages should have been at home instead of with the East Anglian army, as depicted by Mr. Lowerison. It is doubtful also how far the author is justified in making an Angle of the heathen period tell the legends of the Edda, the Baldur myth for instance, as part of the mythology of his race, for while there can be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon mythology was substantially the same as the Scandinavian, the myths of the earlier race are so completely lost that we cannot say they were identical with the Eddaic myths. Some writers of course would have it that these latter are mostly of very late origin. We also greatly regret that the author has given fresh currency to the old error that the warriors in Valhalla "drink mead out of the skulls of the enemies they have slain." The blunder that turned "the curved horns from the skull," *i.e.*, drinking-horns, into "the curved bones of the skull," is, we believe, largely responsible for the belief that the Scandinavians were savages and their religion a blood-thirsty glorification of fighting and revenge. We are bound to enter a protest, though we understand that the author has corrected the error in a second edition which will appear shortly. The book thoroughly deserves the success it has achieved, for the author has attained the object he aimed at, though it is possible for the students of a particular period, who want accuracy in every detail, to pick holes in his work.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

STORIES FROM THE NORTHERN SAGAS, selected from various translations and edited by ALBANY F. MAJOR and E. E. SPEIGHT, with a Preface by the late Professor YORK POWELL. With illustrations by W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. and R. MORTON NANCE. Second edition revised and enlarged. *London: Horace Marshall & Son. Price 2s. 6d.*

Carlyle, after finishing "Frederick the Great," said to his friend John Ruskin: "If I had known the Sagas earlier in life, Frederick would never have been written." Their rugged, dramatic force, so closely akin to his own, appealed to him. The editors of this excellent volume are giving their countrymen the opportunity to learn early in life of the deeds of their Viking ancestors, told in their own words. The fact that a second edition has been called for and that the London County Council has authorised the book for use in schools is eloquent of success.

It is true as the Italian proverb has it, *traduttore traditore*, a translator is a traitor. The editors have depended largely on earlier translations, but they have improved upon them and made them more readable. The only one of the translations used not fully adequate is Laing's of Heimskringla. And here a stickler for consistency might say that they have dealt too leniently with the earlier translators in the spelling of names. Aki, Aake, Hauskuld, Höskuld, Astrida, Astrid, Thorodd, Thorod are examples and Hoy is Háey, not Há. This, however, is not of the slightest consequence, for their aim and purpose is to bring home to the reader the intense human interest of the Sagas, which usually is wrapped up and hidden in the verbiage of Dryasdust and his companions. To open the eyes of Englishmen to the treasures that they possess here, which still lie unused, is a noble work.

It is worth noticing that Prof. York Powell in his singularly stimulating preface writes "wicking." This is based on the fact that the word is found in Old English before the Viking time in England, namely, in the Epinal Glossary about A.D. 700. There seems, however, no reason why it should not be a loan-word in this passage, since there had already then been intercourse and trade for centuries between England and Scandinavia.

JÓN STEFÁNSSON.

BRITAIN'S SEA STORY, B.C. 55—A.D. 1805: Being the Story of British Heroism in Voyaging and Sea-Fight from Alfred's Time to the Battle of Trafalgar. With an Introduction tracing the development of the structure of Sailing Ships from the earliest times. Edited by E. E. SPEIGHT, B.A., F.R.G.S., and R. MORTON NANCE. Illustrated from paintings by R. Morton Nance. *London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 2s. net.*

THE scope of this book is so fully set forth in its title that it is only necessary to say that the story it relates is set forth in passages selected from sagas, chronicles, and various writers. Mr. Nance's name is a guarantee of the accuracy of the illustrations and, as Mr. Speight is

largely responsible for the fact that the Viking Age is gradually being recognised, even in school books, as a part of British history, it is needless to say that the records of that period play a due part in the earlier pages. For the introduction the editors, as they acknowledge, are largely indebted to Mr. Eirík Magnússon's paper on ship-building in early times in the North in the last SAGA-BOOK. We note a slip in the "Chronological Outline," where Olaf the Saint's defeat "at the great sea-fight at Stiklestad" appears. No doubt Olaf Tryggvisson's defeat at Svoldr is meant, as Stiklestad was a land battle. The editors believe that this book is "the first to give a simple, concise account of British ships and sea exploits" through the period in question. If so, the fact is strange, and they are to be congratulated on being the first to observe such a yawning gap and on the ability with which they have filled it.

A. F. M.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES. A HANDBOOK FOR CURATORS. Translated, by permission of the Authorities of the Royal Museums, from the German of DR. FREDRICH RATHGEN, Director of the Laboratory of the Royal Museums, Berlin, by GEORGE A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D. (Cantab.) and HAROLD A. AUDEN, M.Sc. (Vict.), D.Sc. (Tübingen). *Cambridge University Press. Price 4s. 6d. net.*

THIS is a book which should be invaluable to all curators of museums or collectors of antiquities, and the translators deserve their gratitude for the work they have undertaken. After a preface treating of the literature of the subject, the book deals exhaustively with the changes undergone by antiquities of all kinds in earth and air, the various methods of preserving and renovating them, and their subsequent care after undergoing preservative treatment. It is to be hoped that the book will find its way to every museum and collection of antiquities, and do something to arrest the deplorable decay which too often sets in after objects, which have been recovered comparatively uninjured from kindly oblivion, have been entrusted to what should be safe keeping and an intelligent regard.

A. F. M.

WALL PICTURES FOR HISTORY LESSONS, FIRST SERIES, OLD ENGLISH PERIOD. *London: Horace Marshall & Son. Price 9s. net for the set, or 2s. 6d. net each.*

THESE pictures are the first of a series specially designed as aids to the teaching of history, and are well designed for the purpose. The child who has not only been told about King Alfred, but has seen the picture of his jewel, is not likely to share the views of the small boy who learned history, but objected to being asked about King Alfred because "that's prehistoric": and such pictures as those of the old English drinking-horn, shield and byrnie, or of the Viking ship, would be admirable object-lessons for a class reading such a book as Miss C. L. Thomson's "The Adventures of Beowulf," published by the same firm. Pictures of

"Harvesting" from an old English Calendar and of William the Conqueror crossing the Channel and the Death of Harold from the Bayeux Tapestry complete this series, for which the publishers deserve the thanks of all interested in our children learning aright the story of their race.

A. F. M.

TALES OF THULE. By JOHN NICOLSON. *Paisley: Alexander Gardner.*

THIS is a little volume of Shetland tales which natives of "the Old Rock" will no doubt welcome, and which are not without interest for students of northern folk-lore and customs. The interest of the stories lies mainly in their environment and the glimpses they give of life among the fishermen and farmers of Shetland.

A. F. M.

Curtis & Beamish Ltd., Printers, Coventry.

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